A World Search For Democracy

by

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In Explanation

The trip around the world in 1936, which forms the basis of this book, was made possible by a grant from the Oberlaender Trust for a six months stay in Germany. I purposed there to study education and industry and I did. But curiosity for the plight of democracy there and in the world drove me to eastward in the end and here I am, due West. I thank the Oberlaender Trust.

W. E. B. Du Bois

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Chapter 1 - What is Democracy?

"Professor, just what is Democracy?"

Professor Jones hesitated; why, he could hardly have said. He knew exactly what he would say for he had said it a hundred times and more. Moreover the student who asked was an obvious type: he had not read the day's assignment and preferred argument to recitation. Nevertheless Professor felt a distaste for the hackneyed answer which he heard himself repeating: "A government of the people, for the people and by the people". Of course the student came jauntily back, as the professor knew that logically he must: "Is there any such thing as democracy anywhere today?" Professor opened his mouth for a quick decisive answer. He opened his mouth and closed it. Then he opened it again and began to think aloud, almost forgetting the class, to its perfect content.

"I do not know. I used to know. I was quite certain. But today I am puzzled. I believe in democracy still quite surely, almost passionately, which in itself is an alarming sympton. I know it exists, but where and in just what form - that I do not know, and I want to find out. Something has happened to the world and to me, and I feel like undertaking a new search - a sort of voyage of discovery."

"Do you think it might be hiding in Russia?" It was a girl this time, an earnest sceptical body, who read much, believed little, and got low marks.

"It might be," answered the professor, thoughtfully, "and it may be hiding here - "

"Well if it is in Georgia, it's sure hiding," affirmed the first questioner; and then the debate got quite out of the professor's control until it was ended by the bell.

Now all this was more serious than it would seem to a stranger. Hartwell A. and I. College was a conservative orthodox institution for Negro youth, supported in Macon by passing the hat among Northern whites and governed in the name of a highly respectable

absentee
do-nothing board of trustees. The president, a small brown man, was keen, precise and careful, and ruled the college intensively by carefully organized gossip. In his office all lines of information were gathered up - teachers' tales, students' gossip, servants' tittle-tattle, stories from town, and all that the president's bright eyes themselves saw, which was not a little. He heard very soon of Professor Jones' discussion of democracy - his mention of Russia, his doubts of the United States. This called for action and fitted in with the letter on his desk. This was an application from a new Ph. D. to teach sociology, political science, history and allied and associated subjects; and he could be had cheap as jobs were scarce. And Bolshevism and lack of patriotism would hurt Hartwell in high places, North and South where it had friends.

Professor Jones was not surprised to be summoned to the President's office next day. The President received him gently and inquired solicitously after his health. Was he - er - well? He looked a little fine drawn - yes, er fine drawn. Poor Professor Jones whose health never troubled him in the slightest, began to feel slightly ill.

"I wonder if you ought not to have a little rest and - er - change of scene? It happens I have here fortunately, right here word from a young man who might - well er of course not take your place, but substitute for you, if you took say a year's leave - "

Professor Jones leaned forward eagerly.

"I was thinking of study - I did want to search for - "

"Without pay of course", added the president and hastened on as Professor Jones looked aghast. "Well I am sure the trustees will consent and we may, provisionally of course, consider the matter settled; and," he rapidly calculated a saving of $250 next year on the difference in salary, and deftly forstalling another attempt of Professor to get in a word, said as he rose, "And dear Professor Jones, er - if I were you, and I am sure you'll pardon my mentioning the matter, I would refrain for the remainder of the term from mentioning - er - Russia or disparaging our beloved country. And somehow too I - er - doubt the widsom of admitting to unformed minds any lack of precise know-

ledge and conviction on - er - current - er - controversies. Well, good-bye - good day - so glad - " And Professor Jones found himself in the hall.

Of course he went straight to Jane. He always did. Jane Kent was tall and straight. She was not pretty, but clean, light brown and beautiful of skin. Her hair was crinkly and black. She had a cool reserve, that made white people dislike her, and colored people afraid of her. A close friendship had grown up between her and Professor Jones in the last four years since both had begun teaching at Hartwell. His name at first appalled her - Abraham Lincoln Jones! It sounded like a Williams and Walker comedy. But she gave him quick sympathy when one day he suddenly told her how he too hated it and yet would not change it. He still believed in Abraham Lincoln. "Of course he wasn't God, was unwilling to attack slavery and wanted all Negroes to go to Africa. But he learned! He learned, he learned - what more can a man do?"

Jane looked at Jones. He was not impressive. He was shirt and inclined to be stout, with a mahogany skin, and nondescript features. He was the type of colored man that white people call "George" and mistake for a porter. His manners were not good and his clothes usually did not fit. But from the first, Jane liked him. He was so perfectly honest and naive. His great and beautiful black eyes had that rapt and other-worldly look, which told of a soul a-search for truth and beauty. So Jane who was fed up with pretty men and masterful males bent on easy conquest, took up Jones, first in sympathetic self-defense and gradually in genuine friendship. They could talk together as "man to man". There was no small "woman stuff" or sex dalliance. He always came as he did today, without greeting, plunging into his talk. Of course they had no place for pleasant conversation or leisurely meeting. That would have savored of "immorality" at Hartwell. Others went to homes out in town or took trips by auto or refuge in cinemas. But Jones and Jane walked down the long front walk of the open campus and even this annoyed the President. Once he mentioned the matter to Jane, but only once.

Jones told of his interview. Jane listened thoughtfully. Poor Jones, she thought silently, he's lost his job and doesn't know it. All he's worrying over is whether or not

he should use his savings on a trip to discover democracy, when he'll probably need them to support him until he finds new work. But I don't care! He must go. It will make him. What matters if he does starve a while when he returns - he can have my savings - and then came a terrifying thought: suppose she went too?

Jones meanwhile was talking with growing excitement: "I have got nearly a thousand dollars in the bank, and I might borrow a few hundred more on my small life insurance, which might be a good thing as the company has been wobbly and may go yet. I could go to England, France and Germany - "

"But you wouldn't dare to leave out Russia, China and Japan?"

"I suppose not - but what of India and South America and - "

"I'll lean you another thousand."

And Jones almost blurted out, "O, you come along too," but he didn't. He did not dream that Jane would marry him. She was too good-looking. She might easily marry a well-to-do physician or insurance agent. And Jane who knew almost exactly what he was thinking was almost disappointed. Could she marry him? He was certainly not handsome and his children would be ugly; but - the prospect of Hartwell, or indeed any place without this constant friend was appalling, and if he had asked her then - well -

"You are lucky, Jones, to get a chance to leave this place," she hastily said. "We are all wrong here. I am teaching 'English' - piffle! And 'expression' to children who haven't a damn thing to express." (Jones winced. He always winced when Jane swore and she would swear now and then.) He winced instinctively as a born Baptist. But he never said a word of protest as a reasoning being.

"I love your silences," she said one - "you can be so intelligently silent." "You see," she continued, "today we ought to be reciting sociology and history and physics in English - good, idiomatic, correct and corrected English. Every examination paper ought to be at once a test in both English and Mathematics or Biology or what-not? Or why shouldn't we do French History in French and German in German? We are all cut up and isolated mentally from each other so that I am supposed to be an expert on Expression and yet am as ignorant of the social facts of this muddled world as I would be if I were illiterate

or deaf and dumb. I hate it. And look at the rest of us: there's Jackson, expert in chemistry, and don't know English grammar; and Gorman teaching history and don't know what psychology is; and Winston, a Ph. D. in psychology and can't read German; and Seales who never heard of Karl Marx, teaching business. All these separate ignorances applied to a small soul is suppose to make it educated. If I don't get fired soon I'll fire myself. Jones you're lucky."

Jones looked alramed. He did not like the assumption that he was fired, and he was not sure just how to use this sudden leisure, even if he were to return.

"Easy," said Jane. "Go to England and then to France, and so round the world and just snoop. Just look at the scene and say: what is this world order? How far does it spring from popular demand; how far is it serving the real interests of people? How far are the people running it themselves? And above all who are people, so-called? On the voyage take along some bibles: Aristotle, More, Marx's "Capital" which nobody reads and everybody refutes; Wells' vivid dreams; Smith's "Wealth of Nations" - O you know so much better than I. Rest and read for ten days - for of course you'll take a slow boat - and then look and learn."

"I'll do it!" said Jones.

"And meanwhile I'll read what you don't see. I'll bone up on India, Africa and the South Seas and perhaps South America.. Above all I'll keep you posted on America. That's the card - I'll mull over democracy right here and now and among us Negroes. There'll be the election meanwhile and God willing a few deaths on the Supreme Court bench." Again Jones winced, but again kept silent.

Chapter 2 - Jane Plans the Search

Jones dragged his steamer to a deserted corner and read his steamer letter from Jane. He was feeling, not sea-sick, but uneasy in soul and stomach, which he attributed now to the loss of Jane and now to the motion of the boat. It was certainly not home-sickness. He saw Liberty fade into the west with positive relief. He settled himself and read.

"Dear Jones" - he liked Jane's salutations. It was not the stilted "Dear Mr. Jones" nor the some sickening diminutive; of course it couldn't be "Abraham"; - and "Abe", dear God; "For some time I have been invading your domain and getting from advice and chance words from you, material for giving you advice. I've been reading Economics. I have read the latest college text-books, and tried to keep au courant with modern politics here and in Europe. And I have come to one conclusion, right of , and that is: if you want to know a country, know the distribution of its income. Income isn't all, and doesn't explain all, but without exact knowledge of it, little else can be explained. I am convinced that our present frustration and muddle all over the world is primarily due to our ignorance as to whom wealth belongs and just where income goes and why.

You are my ambassador to prove this. Do not fail me. I prize the Louvre - I'd give a tooth this minute for a half hour before the Venus of Milo. But if the world is going to have people who can look at Venus and recreate her beauty and half appreciate it, it must abolish Ignorance and Poverty - and the greatest of these is Poverty. Don't come back to me, then Dear Jones, telling me how Hitler looks, or what you saw in the Winter Palace; I'd love to know - but; I shall not be interested in Art or Literature, Politics or Elections, until I know what part of the folk have enough to eat and wear, and homes for children and children in them, and chance for knowledge; and what voice they have in the conduct of civilization. When I know that, then I can judge the meaning of the result in Culture. I don't despise culture, I hate Work, and I am no lover of Mobs as Mobs. But I am fed up with the Lie that Art is the pet perquisite of a few snobs who by hook or crook got more money than they needed; or that civilization is the product and property of the few people who are today civilized; or that the present number of cultured, effici-

ent and honest people, is anywhere near a fair sample of the possibilities of mankind. You said in that memorable hesitation before your class, that you believed in Democracy. So say we all of us. But I conceive Democracy first of all as opportunity to secure from the multitudinous manifestations of the human body and spirit - white men, yellow men, brown men, black men; from the dives and the gutters, jails and asylums, homes and palaces, a new and magnificent humanity, ~~on which a new and magnificent humanity~~, on which a new world can be built, incomparably wider, vaster, deeper, than anything we have now with our dependence on sheer accident, brute strength, murder and theft for making men. In part America herself proves this - didn't we comes from jails, gutters, asylums and slave ships as well as homes and manors?

"So go, Dear Friend, and look at the world today, and tell me what of the night; what does Democracy mean today? Does it mean voting and who votes? Or does it mean Power to direct Government? If it means Power, then inseparable from that power must go control of Wealth and Income. If economic power rules the world, in whose hands does this power rest, for where it rests there is the real ruler. How wide then is the basis of this power? If it is one man, its basis cannot last for man lives but seventy years; if it is an oligarchy of technique or monopoly, it is doomed by the inevitable accidents of degeneracy; if it is an aristocracy of a million or ten million, then it will survive only if its chief aim is progressive widening of its base to a hundred millions, to the thousand millions of humanity.

"Am I quite insane, my friend? Search and see!

But heavens how I run on. Forgive me and think of me - all alone.

P. S. And O Jones about the voyage; ~~of course~~ you'll meet all sorts of petty discrimination, but for the most part it is petty and you're so big and calm, you won't mind. Of course you won't be truculent - you couldn't be, but don't be a door-mat - don't let them walk on you, Jones, for the sake of others to come. I remember your telling me of the woman who pretended to mistake you for a waiter and ordered a glass of water. You got it. Well I'd have gotten it too but I'd have poured it down her neck, not for my sake but for hers.

Of course you've already been put through it for a seat in the dining-room and are now at the darkest corner table, perhaps with a few derelicts. Tip the waiter well. He'll remember when the next Negro sails. Its justifiable bribery. You'll find two sorts of Americans abroad - those who resent your presence, and those who want to pity you. Avoid both. Most will do neither, only let you severely alone. Thank God for them. Don't expect to make friends but if possible for your own sake, make a few enemies. They always come in handy.

Chapter 3 - Jones Considers England

There was a long silence before Jane had a letter. She knew it would be so. Jones would have no idea of time, once he was launched on his quest. Above all it would never occur to his mind that Jane was hanging on a word from him. Not simply from him personally - she was not aware herself the extent of that - but word of his search. At last he wrote:

I think I am beginning to understand something about Democracy. Partially my understanding has come from not following your advice about white people. That glass of water would have helped her thick hide but little, and it didn't hurt me. She meant to humiliate me, but my reaction left her fat, funny and surprised. There was a white man at my table, who made no effort to be seated elsewhere, and also did not try to make talk by talking down to my supposed level. He was simply courteous. His accent Englished him, and I started in one morning without preliminaries, on the British Constitution. We talked off and on during the whole voyage and during my stay in London, we met often and my previous reading and present observation was thus checked by one born and bred in England and yet not so British as to be unable to see the empire and world beyond. These conclusions then are not simply mine; they are mine checked and criticized by England.

Democracy in England is effective as far as it goes, but it is straitly limited in the matters to which it may be applied. In the vaster and most important matters of modern life, there is little democratic control: that is, in the determination of the work men do; of the kind and quantity of goods produced and their distribution; in the allocation of human services; in the ownership of accumulated wealth and division of income, there is little democratic control; yet these matters as you say form the primary interests of life. The voter to be sure approaches these matters; he may to some degree set minimum limits to wages, and determine some conditions of labor and relieve extreme poverty. But in the main matters of industry and income he has no voice. England rules more or less completely vast numbers of colored peoples. Over most of this area, English voters also

have no real voice. Of course Englishmen are beginning to think on these matters as matters of government: the right to decide on limits of private wealth or size of income; the kind of goods which the nation shall produce; who shall be employed and how and at what wage and at what kind of work; while government and policies of all kinds in colonies comes only remotely before public opinion and conscience, and only now and then and in very general terms under the control of English voters.

In most of these matters outside the present purview of English democracy, it is still said that they are in the realm of private judgment and initiative; yet they touch the most important and vital interests of all Englishmen and are matters today especially of the very greatest public concern. That they may come under the control of the voters eventually, no Englishman would deny. But the power to decide what and when democracy in England shall rule, lies outside democracy entirely, and in the hands of a powerful oligarchy. This oligarchy was long an aristocracy of birth, whose power rested on land and privilege. By slow and momentous change, this basis of power became invested capital, with its opportunity for education and social training, and on conspicuous ability.

The present British oligarchy is perhaps the most remarkable in the world. It is rich and educated, and it is saved from degeneracy and imbreeding by constant recruiting of ability from all ranks of life in England, its colonies and dependencies, and even from foreign lands. This oligarchy controls democracy and limits its scope by an ingenious combination of methods: first by sheer ability; the level of ability in the ruling class in England has not been surpassed in a generation in any part of the world, and whereever in England ability appears, it is very apt to be appropriated by the oligarchy, rewarded handsomely and often incorporated in it. Eventually ability must of course conform. A certain latitude in dress and manners will be tolerated; a certain freedom of speech and pronunciation; but there must be ultimate respect for British Institutions: for the Throne, which includes subtly, Property, Nobility, Invested Capital, and more vaguely, but quite certainly, the Empire. To insure this ultimate economic orthodoxy, comes education. It is frankly and openly class education; and confines

itself not merely to the formal training of the schools, but is a strict and life-long training in manners and morals, which makes the English "gentleman" a widely copied ideal for physique, clothes, speech, and deportment. Practically the full course of English education is available only for the rich and the inner sanctum only for the high born. Popular education while possible lags in length and depth. Finally the English oligarchy has made extraordinary use of drama, and by sternly repressing ridicule and even humor, has retained with solemn pomp, the Crown, titles, public pageantry, ancient even silly customs, in a way that tremendously impresses children, half-educated people, snobs, climbers, foreigners, and the ambitious in all lines. Once the glamour, charm, color and manners of social England, together with its vast wealth, is trained on a provincial or a radical and he usually succumbs without a murmur to its subtle lure.

That lure is no mere matter of display and arrogance. It is the long-studied determination to guide and limit democracy in England for the benefit of English aristocracy, under the firm conviction that these interests coincide with the best interests of England - in other words in the honest belief that English aristocracy is England, and by that token the hope of the world.

English democracy, therefore, shows itself in trained leadership, which may be guided and in some degree controlled by public opinion and popular vote, and even at critical times definitely ordered in certain directions. But entrance into the ranks of administration is strictly limited by wealth, birth, education and conspicuous ability; and not only that, but the path, method and goal of government is narrowly fixed and alterable in its main lines only with great difficulty and very slowly by public opinion. And entrenched in the inmost recess of this conserv tism are the rights of Property. Yet Property and its power and privilege have since the triumph of capitalistic production, become the central stronghold which democracy must carry or perish.

In this way Democracy in England is allowed, within set limits, considerable freedom in general law-making; the choice of a large number of officials; and slow, indirect, but strong influence on general governmental policies. In restricting democracy, the

English administrators have learned thoroughly certain rules of the game: the positive value of opposition to rulers; the wisdom of freedom of speech even for those whose thoughts are wrong and possibly dangerous; and the absolute necessity of watching for ability and as carefully as possible bringing it into the service of the state. On the other hand, there are certain things which England has not learned, and these may yet be her undoing: first, that there is ability, desert and human need outside the Anglo-Saxon race, and that the limited methods so successful in England could also work in Asia and Africa. Moreover a central thesis of English rule still remains the conviction that ability, while inherent in the English ruling class is largely accidental and a sport of nature outside that class. To be sure English history proves just the opposite, but nevertheless deep-seated belief assumes that present methods of education and opportunity is securing for England a fair maximum of ability, while in all probability, it is securing a dangerous minimum and thus curtailing and killing democracy at its very source. Even in England and the white British dominions, the ability and capability of mankind has not begun to be exploited. Today it is largely sheer accident that a Ramsay McDonald or a Keir Hardy escapes jail, asylum or dumb obscurity. A system of real education for children and adults; an increasing attempt to give the wider and wider masses of men the same opportunity to develop strength and ability, as is now reserved for the darlings of the gods, and a few sports of fate, would in time widen the basis of democracy in England or rather make it feasible so to broaden the limits of democratic control as to bring under its purview, the whole realm of work and wage, wealth and income, production and distribution; as well as the welfare of the five hundred million persons whom Great Britain rules today chiefly for private profit. Lack of faith in the possibilities of the people - English and white, as well as yellow, brown and black, is the danger of British Democracy.

But it is not mere negative lack of faith in men that limits British democracy - it is the positive demand for income and large income on the part of the English ruling class. Their high scale of expenditure is well-known and world famous. The so-called

necessary expense for "comfort" on their part requires for an English upper class family as much in a week as would support a Chinese peasant a year. The ordinary ideal of a well-to-do Englishman is to have an assured income which relieves him of all necessity for work, and lets him follow Art or Politics with assurance, with no temptation of bribery and with liberty to cultivate the amenities of human intercourse.

Thus the British Gentleman is a type and ideal of what real existance may mean. On his shoulders rest the maintenance of certain standards of conduct and customs of living, and that elusive, but real thing called "Sportsmanship". But all this requires income and regular and certain income in large sums. This has led in the past to slavery and the slave trade, the Industrial Revolution, and still leads to a ruthless exploiting of large masses of English labor for profit. When and as the Factory legislation and the increasing political power of labor, together with the diminishing returns of investment in England brought down this rate of profit or threatened to, England turned to forced labor in Africa and coolie labor in Asia and the South Seas. Cheap colored labor thus gradually displaces white English labor, and the British Empire becomes mainly a matter of profitable investment. English labor was long the skilled manipulator of raw material raised by blacks and yellows, until gradually in China and Japan, colored labor began to do this skilled manufacture and throw white labor out of employment or reduce their wage. Brown India and black Africa will eventually follow the same path, under the pressure of the English oligarchy and others for income based on private profit. This prospect arouses labor unrest in England, and the Oligarchy must allay it at any cost. It is accepting today a staggering burden of taxation, probably heavier than in any other civilized land, and using the income for doles and other temporary expedients so as to avoid admitting a further encroachment of democratic control over industry and income. Comes such control, and oligarchy loses income, power and supremacy. Rather than lose that oligarchy will fight with national army and navy and police. This will be revolution. But such revolution is not imminent, because of the continued skill of oligarchy and the dilemma of labor looking across a color line and still deluded by ambitions to become bourgeois.

Oligarchy recruits its ranks continually from the best brains and ability of the nation that is able to rise from obscruity. Few of the possible have such a chance to emerge. But some do. Any Englishman of evident ability may die a gentleman or a lord, even if he sprang from the gutter. This resembles at first glance, the acme of democratic opportunity. But in truth, the rising Englishman is subjected to influences that almost invariably change him as he rises in power and wealth into a member of the ruling oligarchy, as eager as any to maintain its privileges and income. Labor loses a leader and oligarchy loses an enemy and renews its strength.

The method of oligarchic rule has been carefully perfected over generations, and continually adapted to change. It must deal with two main classes which imperceptibly fade into each other: the middle class of shopkeepers, civil servants and engineers; and the laborers, skilled and common. The middle class is allowed, or cannot be kept from, Freedom of speech and agitation, and political power enough to force reform in time. Oligarchy retains only a suspensory veto which slows up reform and allows new enthusiasm to cool. Labor in England is ruled exactly like labor in Africa, by devolution of authority, which gives a semblance of power, leaves an area of freedom and self-determination, but maintains the paramount authority of the ruling class so far as the vital matters of wealth, wage and income are concerned. On the other hand, labor itself is uncertain: its really vital problem is the competition of colored labor and the recognition of colored workers as a laboring class. Any really efficient labor movement must face the fact that the labor world cannot exist half slave and half free. Nevertheless upper class labor, represented by the trades-unions and aping bourgeois aristocracy, resents a world where "chinks", "niggers", and even "dagoes" get English wages. They can then usually be counted on as allies of the capitalist oligarchy in any real crisis, - especially in war.

Thus the English oligarchy of income, rule at home and abroad, by yielding enough to democratic demand to keep order and yet preserve income. The middle classes get votes and freedom and achieve substantial reform. At the same time the Oligarchs have in all parts of the earth, been among the worst robbers and murderers the world has known. Out-

siders, not comprehending this inner paradox, have explained the anomaly by the phrase "Albion perfide", not realizing that the seeming hypocrisy is the clash of two ideas, which some day must settle the question of supremacy by reason or revolution. The middle class and labor are depending on votes, if once they get clear objectives. The Oligarchy has always depended on brains backed by force.

The results are well known. Industrial oligarchy needs wealth, great wealth. Its path is a path of gold, its expenditure the greatest on earth. It cannot brook democratic interference - leveling of income. Production must cater to its whims. We see the astounding anomaly of naked blacks of Africa, digging diamonds, by hundreds of thousands, to deck the bodies of the idle rich. We see little Chinese children working ten hours a day for the cost of a good cigar, in order that sheets may be cheap and clean for the bodies of England. We see Poles sweating and starving in order that English laborers may have a Sunday suit. This is the price of English oligarchy. Is it worth it? English labor says, Yes. African and Indian labor say, No.

One hardly knows what to say of the Coronation - that popular circus and pageant of empire which England plans after Edward's repudiation. It is Propaganda like Germany's Olympic games. It shows ~~are~~ low average intelligence and our ~~deep~~ high dramatic instinct. If only we could reason! If only the stuff of our art could be more real and true.

Chapter 4 - Jane Glances ~~at America~~ and Democracy

Jones, dear, I've got it. It's been slowly maturing in my mind for days, but it cleared today as I was reading your letter from England, walking down the long path. "The president was spying, damn him - wince, Jones, but "God", "damn", and "hell" are good English, and as Barrett Wendell once said, 'Swearing is all right, only most folk swear so inartistically'; I'm going to find something male to walk down this path with me if it is a cat.)" Jones reflected that this was not exactly complimentary, but smiled and continued to read:

Democracy is the inescapable logic of human government. All else is paradox and contradiction. There are no hereditary kings. I mean there has not been discovered in any family or strain of blood such heritable qualities of human leadership that designate a man or a family, a clan or a nation for the beneficent domination of men. All effort at royal families has petered out, and of this Europe in general and England in particular are positive examples.

Self chosen leadership is a leap in the dark, a gambling with death. It has been brilliantly successful at times as in the case of Toussaint l'Ouverture and Lenin and Keir Hardie. But such choosing must be straitly tested and restrained. We look always eagerly for genius and unusual gift; but selecting it, and placing it, and conditioning its action must always be a function of democracy. Oligarchy, or the rule of a group or class, depends either upon undependable heredity, or the conscious choosing of the members of the class; which reveal oligarchy as a limited democracy. The reason for limiting democracy in any way would be the recognition of the inequality of men and of the undesirability of having all interests recognized as equals. The delays and frustrations of the anarchy of opposing wills and wishes, threaten the established distribution of goods and services no matter how much it may forward self-expression and science. The paradox of majority rule which temporarily resolves anarchy, bridging over sharp antagonisms with temporary and shifting

surrenders of principle, becomes also dangerous. The tendency then is to restrict democracy and equality, and to revert to oligarchy or despotism, and to class status based on income and privilege.

Real democracy, on the other hand, is based upon the widest recognition of human equality. It assumes that wisdom in government comes from the widest knowledge concerning the governed, a knowledge eventually so wide that it becomes in effect a pool of human experience to which all human beings contribute. Shut off one rill from this ocean of human life and it is incomplete. But when it is all there despite its waves and storms, the sheltered inlets and hidden rocks, it becomes for the guiding of men the voice of God.

A knowledge of human experience wide even as the world does not settle but poses the problem of government. For what should this wide wisdom be used? Here comes the second invoking of human equality. No simply do we need in democracy a broad knowledge of human experience but we need also in the carrying out of democratic government a determination to give all human beings as nearly as possible equal consideration for their desires and wishes.

Government establishes authority. Authority in human organization is necessary to compose conflicting interests and desires of men and to regiment all human action into accord with inexorable natural law. The ultimate object of government is to leave for men outside this frame, for avoiding conflict and inevitable submission to the authority of natural fact and law, the widest possible freedom of human action and that unrestrained anarchy of feeling and art which the goal of the higher life. In this conflict of wills a government might consider the wills only of certain men and certain classes but here enters the great democratic concept of equality that all wills should have place and consideration.

This is no easy task. Manifold are the difficulties of democracy. First of all and the one most harped upon by critics is the manifest inequality of human beings; difference in natural endowment, difference in development between youth and age; between lives who have had contact with other lives and those who have not; between persons of different training and education or of no education at all; between sexes, nations and races. We have

grossly exaggerated these difficulties in the past; ~~we have made them in the past;~~ we have made them absolute, cutting the world into Greek and barbarian, chosen Israelite and heathen, Roman and enemy. We still today set meets and bounds between white people and yellow and black; between rich and poor, classes and masses. Just how far human differences have been exaggerated in the past, and are in the present, we do not know but we may shrewdly guess.

We may imagine a world peopled by folk unconstrained by poverty, trained and educated, given wide experience and incentive, and we may believe that the remaining differences based on actual difference of natural endowment will not be swept entirely away but will be much less than most people now believe. Nevertheless, the inequality of men, as it now exists or it may exist in some millenium, is a matter which democracy must consider.

Human judgment, democratically controlled by intelligent healthy voters, will and must weigh the wishes and desires of men in accordance with their gifts and desert; and we shall probably find here far less difference of opinion and complaint then we imagine today among a people whose judgment of men is marred by regarding labor as a commodity, regarding some races as having no rights which others are bound to respect, coercing the desires and wishes of their fellows by threat of starvation. More important, probably, than the natural inequality of human beings and the just guiding of action necessary to different human deserts and values will be the strict and to a degree unalterable physical laws of procuring a livelihood; the fact of the rhythm of the seasons, of the incalcuable chances of human existence, of the fact that work and hard work is necessary if men will eat and be sheltered and have the comforts of existence. There was a time when it took every ounce of energy and sacrifice to procure this for a few. There looms a time when perhaps three or four hours a day of labor by all will give everyone a civilized existence; but there can be no conceivable time when inexorable physical law will not condition human action and limit human freedom if men continue to live. Beyond natural inequality and physical law there comes the disposition of men to add to these two difficulties because of selfishness and envy; to make

such unequal incomes as will keep most men in poverty and a few men in unhealthy luxury; as will let the itch for power and pride push the world into massed murder. Of these difficulties of human disposition today, the matter of unequal income is the worst and at the bottom of war and race hate. ¶ We cannot today, to be sure, realize approximately perfect democracy and least of all perhaps democracy in industry, but we can pave the way. We can pave the way by a dictatorship which shall train nations in intelligence, and health, and equal income. It will perhaps begin work after bloody revolution, murder, loot and violence. But the strain on such a dictatorship will be immense. It will be working in a world which worships wealth display and individual power. It will have to use men trained in the economic inequality of the 20th century and not in the economic equality of the 25th century. I seem to see in the bourgeoisie and dictatorship of Germany and Italy the using of the authority of government for the benefit of the few and of the least worthy supportors of human culture. ¶ Surely one may have a dictatorship which resolutely seeks to hold authority and use it for the benefit of the mass of men, particularly for the mass of workers who are making livelihood for the world. Is such a dictatorship for the proletariat possible? Is it working in Russia? Will it work elsewhere? If it does work, then its job will be the paving of the way for democracy by organized and planned industry, but abolishing that anarchy of business enterprise which came into the world in the 18th century shouting the battle cry of freedom. But it meant freedom for capitalists and not for laborers. And lastly, and perhaps more important than all, is the systematic education of all men by schools and public propaganda. This is a costly and time devouring thing and therefore must wait upon planned industry and equal income before it can be carried through successfully, for no democracy can eventually permeate a nation or belt the world without the basic support of educated voters.

Here it is set down in regular teacher fashion, a philosophy of democratic government. Now, Jones, either demolish it or set your search for democracy into this matrix and then you and I will see it through.

Chapter 5 - Jones on Democracy

Jones replied didactically with an essay on democracy which he had spun out during a week spent in the British Museum and written evidently before he visited Germany or Russia. "It is not Truth," he said. "It is merely an hypothesis of truth, to be discarded when inexplicable fact obtrudes; but to be used for clarity of thought so long as it actually makes thought clearer. It is not original. It is compounded of Aristotle and Hegel, Marx, Laski and Pareto; but its composition is mine, and it has one added thought."

Through unconscious custom and tradition human society moves slowly but with increasing logic toward democracy among a select few. The authority vested by custom in the father, the clan leader, and the master of slaves is typified now in monarchy, now in oligarchy, now in a democracy of free citizens. This democracy involves equality among these few and eventually, by the urge of sympathy and unselfishness sprung from family life, leads to further equality, moving with religious sanctions from the witchcraft of the taboo through the pessimism of other-worldliness to the final optimism of ethics. From equality among men, from the custom of treating larger and larger groups as being composed of individuals of essentially equal worth, emerges the disruptive force of the individual urge for freedom, freedom of body and freedom of mind, self realization and expression, the inevitable questing for knowledge about the human soul and the physical world, among ever-widening circles of awakening men. This leads to art in imagination, anarchy in social action, and in mental development to science and technique; and toward wider and wider democratic equality in government, limited eventually only by the bounds of all humanity.

But fear and selfishness cut across and impede and distort this development toward democracy and equality; men fear the enemy without, but even more so, poverty within. Food, shelter, and most of the satisfactions of life are limited. There is at first not enough to go around and support life for all. Some must starve, or succumb to

weakness and disease. Then as knowledge and technique increase, and labor is more regular, and the number of laborers larger, there might be enough for all if they were equally divided. But if some by reason of their status receive more than others in services and goods, there is certainly not enough to support all at the higher level even if this were desirable. And to those favored, equality of goods and services seems less and less desirable because not only of their well-being but of social power which their possessions and rights bring them. The spread toward democratic equality forthwith meets opposition from the possessors of this economic power. This economic power was increased by geometric ratio in the 18th and 19th centuries because of the African slave trade, African slavery, and the black labor which was the foundation of the cotton kingdom.

Liberalism, freedom of thought and action, revolt against dogma, efforts to increase standards of living came in the 16th and 17th centuries. All its trend was toward democracy; toward the right of the governed to have a voice in government; and that voice tended to become not the corporate voice of the family and the guild and city but the voice of the emancipated individual. However, the cleft between the rich and the poor became more and more a great horizontal division into classes; and individual thought, freedom, and self-assertion made it necessary for both religion and government to pay attention to poverty and to guide incipient democracy. Ideals of perfect states arose. Europe moved toward greater and more inclusive democracy. Then there culminated a series of happenings that disturbed and threw aside the previous development and this was the African slave trade.

I know this is a new theory and I know it attacks and sets aside, or rather re-arranges, modern economic history as written. But I am convinced of its essential truth. For four hundred years labor which in Europe was a matter of serfs and souls; and in Africa of family; and in Asia of guild and village, became in an old and increasingly integrated world a commodity. Commerce added to the exchange of inanimate consumption goods, the bodies and blood of men whose value lay solely in their labor. And this black African slave trade became an institution because the labor could be applied on free land, on an almost endless mass of

fertile land; nor was that all. This land could and did produce an astonishing mass of goods, new goods in the sense that they were goods demanded not simply by the rich but also in increasing amounts by the poor. Thus there arose and made itself manifest by the middle of the 18th century the capitalism based on the buying and selling of labor as a commodity and profit which arose therefrom. A profit which furnished the first accumulation of capital goods and which was the incentive back of invention and technique which startled the world between 1738 and 1830. There was the cotton gin, the steam engine, the flying shuttle, the power loom, and the beginnings of our knowledge of electricity. All these things were not the cause of the Industrial Revolution; they were the result of the African slave trade and the new and growing crops of cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar, molasses, potatoes, indigo, and what not. A new attitude toward labor was being evolved at the same time that the new democracy was growing.

There came the mighty years which we may call the Imperial Dozen, the years between 1776 and 1789, when on the one hand, the Declaration of Independence and Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason" declared for free government and free thinking; when on the other hand, the Northwest Ordinance dedicated a new world to free labor and the "Wealth of Nations" dedicated the new trade and commerce to free and untrammelled enterprize. And when in the midst of this and as its perfect flower Warren Hastings raised hell in India.

The demand for freedom which burst in the French Revolution was primarily the demand of those who were making profits on the buying and selling of labor as a commodity and only secondarily the demand of the poor for higher standards of living. Thus freedom came for industry; and poverty came as a universal problem. Democracy as a method of government showed itself in the right of free commercial enterprize; not simply to be represented in government but to conduct government; and to allow the mass of people only limited participation in administration and law making. The determination of the poor to go further than this and to interfere in the new industry led to the series of attempted revolutions in the 19th century, but the net accomplishment of democracy was not large. The major problem of poverty, of wage, employment and income should have become the major matters of government but the new democracy through the ignorance of its voters was compelled to ignore the most important function of government and still ignores it.

In the last four centuries, geographical discovery, and a new slavery of labor led to an extraordinary exchange of goods over ever-widening areas of the world; when the resultant impulse to thought and action brought a series of scientific speculations and technical experiments. The thought, my Dear Jane, of the slave trade as a cause of the Industrial Revolution rather than as an accompaniment or result is most intriguing. I shall want to study it more carefully. I suspect already a mass of concealed and ignored facts. The surge toward de-

democratic equality among Europeans was too strong to be resisted [illegible]. It swept away religious dogma, curtailed privilege of aristocracy, and dethroned kings. But the new set of capitalists, who thus came to power, and who represented the new equality among men, who insisted on and took increasing freedom of thought and action themselves, in self defense of their new economic prosperity began unconsciously and deliberately to establish their democracy as a stronghold against intrusion from without. As owners of wealth and engineers of production they barricaded themselves against the poor of their own land and the slaves and heathen of the rest of the world. They were large enough in number and triumphant enough in culture to consider themselves the people. Any wide distribution of goods and services beyond their limits would serve not only to impoverish the people upon whom civilization depended but would do the laboring masses no good because they were not capable of rendering any service in return which would compensate increased consumption on their part. The rich and the poor were the necessary antithesis for the thesis of the cultural state, and beyond this the white European spelled real civilization as against the colored Asiatic, African, and American.

Nevertheless, this bourgeoisie soon found itself opposed by labor masses who claimed the right of entrance into the new democracy, who claimed presumptuously a share in the new wealth, even though this deprived the industrialists of many of the luxuries and quite possibly of some necessities. To the demands of this Mob Without, the Government Within had to respond by forms of democracy and equality without its substance, by a grant of universal suffrage, and even of the right to form labor unions and to demand in exigencies a dole of food and shelter and clothes.

If the workers had been unconnected with the owners and engineers of industry, they could have been barred from its benefits by force. But their connection with industry was two fold: first, their labor was an ingredient of production; and because since the 15th century and coincident with the whole Renaissance, they had bought and sold black African labor as a commodity, and too for a time white indentured servants; it was easy for them to regard white European labor also as a commodity to be bought and sold for profit. But on the other hand, and in flat contradiction to this status of labor as a commodity, was its status as consumers for whom most goods were produced and most services rendered. Manifestly the total labor involved in production equals in value all that it produces; nor can there be any other claim to share in the results of production save capital. And capital either represents past labor or is the monopolized bounty of nature belonging of right to all men. No magic of time can change these eternal facts except the unfairness of any free "bargain" between the privileged and the starving which would seek to

destroy it. Big business incubates eggs for its own discomfiture. Its success depends on profits and more profits to maintain and extend its power. The size of its profits depends on low wages but the less wages paid labor the worker the less power of purchase has labor the consumer. Without sale of goods profits dwindle and disappear. Hence the most successful business methods are the surest way to business collapse. There would remain only the problem of just distribution - difficult to be sure, but not insuperable. If however, any power in the community had the right to divert to one portion of the people, a larger share of the goods than their labor produced, the share of the others must be smaller than their efforts deserved. Moreover if labor were displaced by machinery and natural forces, then those who owned these agents or had legal right to their use, would own the resultant goods, while the displaced laborers would have nothing wherewith to purchase these goods. There would result "over-production" and "unemployment". Not only that, but through colonies and "spheres of influence", cheap labor and cheap materials could be gathered from the ends of earth, not only displacing home labor again, but accumulating in the hands of the owners of capital a new mass of wealth and new power based upon it. Home labor becomes helpless in the face of this, except as soldiers in wars to protect this new colonial wealth for their masters to gain more. Inevitable resultant war is inevitable revolution. This revolution will be beneficent, that is, a change in the right direction, if it be consciously guided by a dictatorship of the working classes which is aimed not only against the power of national or European capital but against colonial empires in Asia, and Africa, in South America, the West Indies, and the islands of the sea; and if it be intended not for white supremacy of white labor but supremacy of all labor - black, brown, yellow, and white, over all capital.

The danger of this, seen clearly in the later part of the 19th century, arrayed capital in opposition not simply to national democracy but to the appalling prospect of allowing primitive and half-civilized peoples and peoples with non-European types of culture, to act and think for themselves and share in government. Missionary Christainity and liberalism sought to envisage such a program, but their aims were turned awry and their acts made tools of exploitation and despotism by new organizations of capital. This

was made easy not only by the power of capital but also by the doubts of liberals and philanthropists. They continued to regard the heathen as a human liability for whom they were sorry. They could not dream of the mass of humanity as a source of power, ability, genius, and infinite source of enlightening experience. The vast possibility of a pool of human knowledge as wide as the living world never arrested their attention. They could not imagine that the freedom and development of all men would make in time a world Renaissance, beside which the little European Renaissance would seem small and petty; that art and science could look forward to greater and more wonderful conquests if it contemplated using the ability of all the world and not simply of a narrow section.

The possibility of any such world vision had to be smashed in its very beginnings. Only for a moment, in the United States of America in 1867, when four million black slaves had enfranchisement and the possibility of economic power added to their legal freedom, did the world trend set toward universal human development. Capitalism girded its loins. It swiftly nullified the Negro vote. It quickly warned Europe with terrible fiction concerning American Reconstruction. And in the meantime in both America and Europe capital set its house in order for a new conquest of the world.

This new orientation of capitalism sought first to buy concentration of power with wide bribery of profits. Hence arose Trusts, Cartels, and world monopolies. Secondly, this concentration of power led to oligarchy and despotism in the inner fortresses of capital with larger and larger numbers of stockholders, engineers, officials, and skilled laborers depending upon profit however it might be made. While without the strongholds of capital democracy was confined to fewer and fewer essential functions; elections became farces, and representative government and the courts represented capital and not labor. Even the forms of democratic control were done away with by the Fascists and the Nazis. Third, race hate and antagonism had to be raised to the status of instinct and religion so as to array not only the barriers of logic against the majority of the peoples of the world but the most dangerous barriers of unconscious, non-logical reaction. On this could be erected a new patriotism and new world empires of glory and conquest. Drums beat and the nations marched, sailed and flew. Then comes, late, sanity after blood and murder, cripples and

poverty, pain and despair, world revolution precipitated by capital and not by labor;— democracy invades industry, freedom speaks and acts, and the worker, satisfied, with simple food and shelter, sees the passing of poverty and war, and democratic equality for all men and all races. Gradually men realize that the talent and genius needed for civilization is here in abundance, instead of being submerged in gutters, killed in war or buried alive under dark skins and human hate.

Only one government in the world today recognizes the fact that the work and wage of a people is the first affair of government. What to do about it is another matter; but if Russia disappeared tomorrow, her unique contribution to modern life would remain: she has pointed out that the production and distribution of wealth is the first business of government. Has she done more than this? I do not know. But this I know, and my English experience confirms it: every democracy today is trying desperately to keep the matter of wealth, its production and distribution, just as far from democratic control as possible; and even where desperately against the will of captains of industry, governments are compelled to undertake some control over such matters as employment, wages, poverty and relief, and excessive wealth, they are doing it unwillingly, half-heartedly, with temporary planning; with eagerness to escape the task at the first minute, and with bitter refusal, on pain of physical punishment and social ostracism, to allowing even discussion of the possibility of a democracy which would deal not simply with choice of officials, but with the infinitely more important matter of the distribution of wealth. You mustn't even voice the idea - Bolshevik! Anarchist! Attack on Civilization! they yell, and this in the name of Freedom. The trouble with democracy today is that it refuses to admit that the production and distribution of wealth is in its domain. Even when forced, it sees only temporary necessity of dealing with these matters.

The reason of all this was the making of the most important body of labor in the world into a mere commodity, and the influence of that commodity idea of labor upon the whole labor of the world. Still today black and colored labor is regarded as a means of wealth

rather than as the object for which wealth is created. The shadow of this conception of labor lies over all white labor and will lay there until basic revolution of thought and action lifts it.

Singular is the light which all this throws on the Marxian philosophy - on Surplus Value and class consciousness. Marx assumed logically that when a labor class had been reduced to nadir it had nothing to lose but its economic chains. It had no effective motive except that of increasing its income and it would cling together into one gigantic fist to hammer its way to economic freedom. But across this idea in a way that Marx did not realize was race prejudice and race antagonism, an inculcation of human hate and the despising of men, and particularly black men, born into the world simultaneously with capitalism or even before the modern phase of capitalism. Thus one can find in the United States as the American communists did find that the lowest white labor would rather approach starvation than consort with Negroes and that race prejudice was the most effective bar to labor class consciousness in America. On the other hand, an unnoted proof of the Marxian theory of Surplus Value comes if we agree that Surplus Value is made by human labor and not by machines. The great profit of Modern Europe and America comes from the exploitation of colored human labor in Asia, Africa, and America and not from the use of machines in Europe and the United States. Yet the owners of machines through their economic power are able to gather to themselves a high average return of profit which is furnished by the Surplus Value created by colored labor.

Chapter 6 - Jane on Committees

All on my own I am going to study democracy right here in America, while you are gone. And the logical beginning of such a study, I have long thought, is with committees, trustees, boards of directors, and such. You see, Jones, that's how we are really governed today. We appoint a committee, we elect a board, we hand the whole matter over to trustees, and then we go home and await the salvation of the Lord. One of these days I am going to write a learned brochure on "Committees I have known". Usually the appointment even on important matters is a perfunctory thing, and tends among us more and more to Fascist methods. "Let the chairman appoint." This allows us to bring secret influence on the chairman, and also avoids public indication of our knowledge of our friends' shortcomings. If a committee of three is appointed, two shirk willingly or by suggestion and one carries out his own ideas. Argument or consultation is regarded in the worst taste. Get it done and let 'em howl even if its done wrong is our large Jowettsian gesture. Large committees, even for large projects calling for wide knowledge, are invariably frowned upon. Small, tight, quick-acting cliques are always in favor, and to question their decisions is to get yourself voted a spoil-sport.

Now there are committees and committees. I was once a member of a democratic committee. It was in a city where I was working in a Y. W. C. A. for a time. The secretary after much experimentation and many painful mistakes, got together an executive committee. We represented different races and colors, different points of view, different training, different temperaments. We had different functions in the Y. We deliberated. We listened to each other and learned. We grew to respect each others opinion. Sometimes we got irritated and impatient, but gradually we learned to be patient with the chronic objector, the enthusiastic optimist, the nearly silent discouraged one. We began to work with a harmony backed by a growing, widening wisdom. Our decisions became so increasingly unanimous, that we gained increasing respect for minority opinions and grew to seek instead of tolerate the freest expression of opinions. We criticized results without fear or excuse, and

then we consulted and tried again. It was real democratic work. Usually after argument and search for real facts we had unanimity or something like it. Often we did not or fell back on majority rule. That was bad. It was bitter to see things go wrong just because a majority thought it right as though seven was Omniscience and five Original Sin. It was, however, sportmanship or revolution and I'm not sure which is worse. Still we wavered on and were more often right, than wrong. We became a happy, harmonious, and on the whole effective group. But of course we lacked money. Then we got it. It came in the shape of a philanthropic society leader, rich, white and over-dressed, who was interested "in your people". Our committee was disrupted, rearranged and reappointed. In a month she had ruined it all. We were split by color and residence, reduced to a set of beggars and tale-bearers, suing for influence and favor. We became lick-spittles and yes-men, and for all wisdom we scurried down town to social authorities, who told us how to think and what not to do. Oligarchy, monarchy and plain muddle ruled our poor Y. But the budget balanced and nothing else mattered. I resigned to the unconcealed joy of Lady Bountiful. Since then the Y. W. C. A. has been a stench in my nostrils.

Remember, dear Jones, that the United States is ruled by committees, and that the number of these committees that are democratically appointed and run is infinitesimal. We have committees on work and play, religion and science, crime and philanthropy, health and disease, literature and art - indeed what haven't we committees about? All our institutions deliquesce into committees: Congress, the Church, Hospitals, Schools and Colleges. The permanent committee graduates into the Board of Directors. People join Boards of Directors usually on the express condition that they will not be asked to do anything. They are asked to join so that the public will think the enterprize is being conducted by these same directors. With the stage thus set, a few persons, or more often one "Executive Secretary" conducts a tight little monarchy, limited only by his ability to raise funds, or more infrequently by revolution in the shape of aroused public opinion in this particular little world.

Yes, we are ruled by committees, by committees in Congress and the powerful conference

And I mean by "democratically" appointed, not necessarily chosen by ballot but chosen to reflect and carry out the human interests involved, and able to know and weight those interests

committees which shape most of our Federal legislation and escape all publicity until the thing is done; by similar committees in legislatures and city councils, by political committees like the powerful party national committees; by committees on social reform, and committees in art and education; by boards of directors and trustees in religion and in business.

The method of this committee government has received little attention but really deserves it. It varies from absolute monarchy to pure democracy and, taking its tempo from business, tends toward oligarchy. The board of directors of a business corporation is by wide custom limited in its functions. Indeed its first function is apt to be window dressing. Names of lords and gentlemen and rich men who simply guarantee by the use of their names that satisfactory profit is being made mostly within the law. The directors may have some function in the selection of higher executives but that is usually pointed out by the ability of the candidates to make profit. There may be further questions of policy which the directors decide but influence over what should be the main matters of business: the price of goods, the wages of employees, the conditions of work, the allocation of salaries; all this is usually decided by one man or a few.

Religion copies after business. To have a church run in a business like manner is the heighth of most members ambition. Within the limits of the balanced budget the pastor may become an absolute monarch, particularly if his sermons and bedside manner are satisfactory to the majority of the flock. He attempts no restatement of religious dogma usually and his application of Christian ethics is pretty well limited. The committees and boards of various sorts are usually his appointees and do largely as he wishes. On the other hand, if the pastor is weak or unsatisfactory in doctrine or antagonistic to the aims of the church members, he may be virtually displaced in power by some influential member, or displaced indeed by another pastor. The democratic control of the mass of the congregation is seldom invoked save in unusual crises;

In social reform we have evolved a well-known pattern. A board of directors is

and then not to facilitate breadth or comprehensiveness of view and avoid fatal neglect of some human good, but simply to confirm an already made decision by a packed and instructed majority.

appointed. They are either busy with other matters or uninterested in this matter. They loan their names or attend perfunctorily. Their first business is to get rid of responsibility and load this on an executive secretary. Thenceforth the aims, government and methods of the organization will depend upon the secretary. If he is forceful and successful he will determine what the organization stands for, how it works, and what it accomplishes. An astute executive secretary who manipulates publicity without and cajoles by the directors becomes a monarch limited only the amount of money which he can beg or get. So long as the reform work is popular with the usual earmarks of success, the secretary goes on from one stage of authority to another with ever increasing salary.

On the other hand, if his work becomes unpopular or impeded or lacks funds he is liable to be displaced preemptorily without much careful inquiry as to just why he failed. It suffices to know that in certain essential particulars he failed. Such a secretary may of course use democratic methods, that is, he may regard his board of directors as a set of men of varied experience who are able to advise him carefully. He may consult with them and get their careful judgment; and even further than that get them to study and investigate on their own account and from their own point of view in order to furnish a real and valuable fund of information. And then in addition to this he may arrange that certain matters come to a vote. He may go outside his board of directors and take counsel with h$$ membership, or even better with those for whom the reform movement is suppose to be working. Perfect democracy of the most efficient kind may in this way evolve; but all this is rare and unusual. In most cases the secretary works alone, or with a small knot of intimates. They run the show and from them there is no appeal.

In education we are ruled by monarchy and oligarchy with the committee as a camouflage. Parents and teachers, while appealed to publicly, are not allowed privately to interfere or even be heard; but all this is so important and touches me so nearly that I am coming back to it in another letter. In art and science we have at the one end of the gamut the anarchy of individual taste and at the other end the absolute rule of a

president or a bureaucrat. Unfortunately the tendency is toward absolutism. The young artist who paints as he wills, sees what he wishes, or carves what he dreams is more than apt to run up against the ukase of a grim committee or curator who says, "No". The young scientist who wants to experiment finds himself hemmed in by starvation on the one hand and profit making on the other.

The meat of the matter is that the monarchy which rises in the home and extends itself to business is relieved by oligarchy in business, reform, religion, and art; that the actual work in these lines of human endeavor is in the hands of committees and boards; but that even then democracy does not usually obtain. Thinking in democratic terms even in the case of committees is unusual and unpopular. What we want and demand is efficiency of execution but we do not stop to think that efficiency and celerity may be bought at the expense of slurring over and killing a great, even if slow, method of making all experience our province and thus using human knowledge for human ends.

Chapter 7 - Jones Examines France

I am terribly handicapped in France. Of course I have some French, such as it is; but as a complete or even fairly well fitting suit for my soul it is quite impossible. Then too, one realizes how little one knows of a country by studying it afar and seeing it for a swift moment thinking of it as foreign. I set down this view of France, therefore, with all reservations. It is superficial and incomplete and yet I somehow think it touches truth. The glory of France is the widest, most intelligent, popular basis for democratic control which this world knows. One sees this in the public taste which regulates the statuary in the parks; the courtesy of human intercourse; the beauty of landscape and architecture; and the ability and willingness to read. France reads articles and does not merely look at the pictures, France reads books, and allows literature to be a well paid career, and France educates her children with a thoroughness and meticulous care limited only by too strict conventionality of method and narrowness of aim. The intellectual freedom of the French is unparalleled in the modern world, and draws the criticism and envy of those groups and nations which do not dare to let men think. There is consequently in French intellectual life an anarchy and enthusiasm, a division and inventiveness which would spell continual renaissance and undying renewal of life were it not for one thing which is the tragedy of France - and that is war. For a thousand years France has been baptized in blood. Hardly an effort at culture upbuilding, government by tyrant, nobility or democracy has been attempted but it has been frustrated, spoiled, or misdirected by mass murder; by wars, civil and foreign, wars of aggression and defense. These two things: intelligence and intellectual freedom on the one hand, and war on the other, explains France to my mind more than anything else; explains a spiritual expansion toward a universal soul, handicapped by a defense mechanism which makes the individual Frenchman not only thrifty, greedy, and suspicious, but the perfect victim of an organization of wealth and industry unsurpassed for power, cunning, and ruthless will to rule in the modern world. French

industry knows no national boundaries and no national patriotism. It is alligned with German industry, Russian, and Italian, and its exploitation of Africa is unsurpassed in English Kenya or the Belgium Congo. All of the latest paraphanalia for organized industry and securing its power, originated or was perfected in France: the Trust and the Cartel, arranged and purchased Publicity, graft, and widespread bribery, ownership of the public press, and ownership of government officials, not to speak of corporations for every human activity encircling the world.

The French laboring classes have led labor thought in the world and still do. It was no accident that Karl Marx sought sanctuary in France and incubated there his "Communist Manifesto". It is natural that all socialist thought and movement should have been started and developed itself in France. French labor has never completely envisaged the color bar to which English labor so willingly is nailed. The labor vote in France has been the back bone of French democracy, and yet in the endeavor of the mass of Frenchmen to exercise democratic control upon French policies and to attack the very centers and main depositories of human power today, that is, the direction of industry, the production of wealth and its distribution, have come repeatedly to naught, because the workers of France are divided into country peasants and city industrial workers, more completely than elsewhere. The first French democracy made the peasants capitalists and not laborers; gave them land and fixed its tenure eternally in their hands. The hard working thrifty French peasant became a small capitalist and backed the capitalists of the nation even when their objects and interests were as wide asunder as the world. The French Revolution did not realize as the Russian Revolution had to eventually, that the opposite of feudal land monopoly was not peasant ownership but nationalization of the land. On the other hand, the French industrial worker despite his trade unions, his socialist and even communistic idealogy has not been able to cope with organized capital. He has forced the political leaders further to the left than in any modern country save Russia, but whenever by political force labor has time and time again threatened political revolution it has been held back by the threat of war, which was not

But
expl

But their final powerful punch to real revolution is forever pulled by (a) fear of war; (b) exploitation of colonial labor and

simply possible but actual. The French laborer has had to fight organized capital in England, Germany, and Austria, leading against France the very laborers to whom France had given ideals of European solidarity; and against this onslaught French labor in modern times had to accept the leadership of organized ability furnished by French capital and has had to pay its price which was lip service to socialism and industry organized for war and exploitation for the sake of private profit. Moreover, the paradox of French democracy is to produce not only the strife and difference of opinion which arise from intelligence and is seen in the parliamentary blocs which rightly displace artificial attempts to allign thought in two or even three parties, but also by its very efforts at enlightenment and education to evoke out of the educated masses a leadership which misleads them. Thus French labor has educated its children to furnish the most efficient leaders for French capital and correspondingly to weaken the labor masses and strengthen capitalist forces.

~~This arises because of that~~ fear of poverty which education makes more realistic and war more certain. The faith that envisages a land without poverty cannot be inspired in the Catholic Church, that staunch defender of modern capital; nor in the French educational system which with all its freedom is directed by capital. Thus singularly enough, freedom and profits, democracy and higher wage present capitalism and industrial revolt have become so curiously intermingled in France as to leave no logical pattern except the one recognizable fact; that as an organization for private profit France is unsurpassed in Europe today and the only hope that clings to this red picture is the still unconquered freedom of the French intellect and the unchallenged supremacy of French taste.

More than most lands, France urges to a study of the technique of democratic methods. The obvious difficulties facing democratic government in France, fall into four main groups: 1. Freedom of thinking and doing; that is, such freedom of thought as will allow men to explore possibilities and expand their own characters, and make actual experiments in living. This freedom can be expressed most simply, but of course only roughly, by voting. It may be expressed more precisely by speaking, writing, and publication, and of course by actual conduct. Such freedom involves necessarily differences of opinion, personal antagonisms, and unwise even dangerous thoughts and actions; and yet only through such freedom can the world know what the individual knows and experiences and accumulate a pool of thought and experience for the guidance and wisdom of all. This the history of France finely proves.

Easily French with European and American white labor has been led to join capital in exploiting colored labor. It has allowed no color bar in French law, it has insisted on theoretical equality of opportunity in all the French empire; but it has allowed Poverty in Asia and Africa to be the founding stone of thrifty French profit, without protest or comprehension. This has been easier because of that French

2. Intelligence and knowledge; that is, the ability to think clearly and logically, and a knowledge of the facts of the world and of human existence. This corrects and conditions freedom. Intelligence depends upon careful training and opportunity, and upon mastery of a mounting accumulation of information in science and technique. Under primitive conditions the accumulation of knowledge may long be slow and its mastery temporarily simple. But in the tremendously increased tempo of the 19th and 20th centuries, the mass of facts to be known in science and technique has gone far beyond the ability of most men to master, and has led to such specialization along particular lines, that special knowledge is often, and indeed usually, combined with widespread ignorance of the main body of available human information.

3. The furnishing and sharing of natural resources, manufactured goods, and human services; that is, the making of a living. This again is comparatively simple in certain stages of human development, but may become a most difficult matter in primitive societies and in highly civilized eras like ~~our own~~ France, until we actually face the paradox of a world of plenty with millions of unemployed and a startling increase of poverty. Manifestly, unless the average citizen can make a living, freedom and knowledge become impossible for any considerable number of men.

4. In these three matters: freedom, knowledge, and earning a living, there comes continually to the fore the paradox of majorities and minorities which no mere democratic theory can resolve. What happens, for instance, when one person thinks and believes in one way and another in another way; and when inaction is impossible; some opinions, some lines of action must give way, and the authority that determines which thought and policy prevails is the authority of government whether that government be democratic, oligarchical, or monarchical. Efficiency in quick determination of such disputes is necessarily in the hands of the oligarchy or the monarchy; but ultimate wisdom and right must lie in the hands of democracy; for only there have you the full expression of human experience as a guide. If, however, even in a democracy, real freedom of

thought is curtailed and there is widespread ignorance, the paradox of authority and freedom becomes great and dangerous; and in any case, only a populace trained in patience and in willingness to listen to opponents and able to sacrifice, at least for a time, its own conviction of right and widsom; only a populace of such a character can maintain the forms of democratic government.

These four difficulties which face democracy have been met and emphasized in different ways at different times, depending upon the general conditions of the community, the state, and the world. The late 18th century recoiled from a regime of excessive suppression of the individual and dogmatic regimentation of thought; and emphasized, in its fight for democracy, freedom of thinking and doing. It recognized the need of intelligence and knowledge but assumed that these would flow automatically from freedom because it saw no difficulty in the mass of people earning a living. It finally evolved a complicated solution of the paradox of authority by investing authority in the majority of voters, whether that majority was right or wrong, hoping that if it proved wrong, the consequent evil and suffering would in an intelligent and alert electorate change the minority into a majority.

The 19th century inherited and developed this theory of democratic control but as the century grew, the increase of science and technique was enormous and spread from specific European countries around a large part of the world. The century soon despaired of the ability of the common man, even though he could read and write, mastering science and technique and especially the technique that had to do with the new and complicated manufacture of goods. This was emphasized by the conception of labor as a commodity - child of the Slave Trade - and most men as laborers. There came, therefore, the gradual erection of a government within a government. The new inner government had to do with work, property, the production of goods, and the distribution of goods and services. For this it needed knowledge and authority and these in the name of freedom were concentrated in the hands of a few persons who exercised vast power over nearly all men. The function of nominal and legal democratic government became narrow and complicated

France has such a people; but no nation, not even France, momentarily threatened by the Hell of War, can always dare democracy.

and subservient in many respects to the inner oligarchy of wealth. Men went through the form of elections, law making, and administration; but the elections were not decisive as to policies, nor clear cut as to decisions. The laws were made mainly by legal experts which rendered them difficult of application, and the administration of them fell more and more into the hands of persons who acted consciously or unconsciously as tools of the industrial oligarchy.

The result was that the 20th century became used to regarding freedom of thinking and doing as dangerous to actual government, and to peace and order, as indeed they were if one remembers that actual and official government was in the hands of the inner oligarchical government and only partially in the control of the legal democracy. Intelligence and knowledge were largely increased by putting them into the employ and the service of the inner oligarchy, and also made widely ineffective by the training of technical experts rather than men of wide philosophical grasp of ideas. The matter of making a living passed almost entirely into the control of the industrial oligarchy, while the very paradox of authority and minority opinion was used to discredit democratic methods and prove their inefficiency except in narrowed fields.

The result was war and revolution. Emerging from the revolution various governments took different methods in their effort to restore normal government, and fix the function and limit of democratic control. In England, France, and the United States, freedom of thinking and doing were curtailed and controlled but not abolished. Men could to some extent discuss communism and fascism, poverty and wealth, voting and obedience; and the increasing intelligence and knowledge of the mass of citizens compelled the legal government to encroach upon and deliberately limit to some extent the function and field of the industrial oligarchy; so that wages and income, production and distribution, to some extent came under democratic control, although usually this was looked upon as a temporary expedient due to the breakdown of industry.

Chapter 8 - Jane Writes of Schools

What appalls me is that we are losing the habit of democracy. Instead of considering the first and natural method of doing thing as involving consultation in ever widening concentric circles of knowledge and experience, we proceed in exactly the opposite direction from general interest to a tight little secret clique, which gets things done. Contrasting the least form of democratic control with this college, I am aghast. Perhaps it was true in the college I attended. I do not know. I think I took it for granted that in a school run by a faculty of learned men, Democracy governed its deliberations and decisions. Certainly some share was given students in making rules and regulations, although the faculty "adviser" tended to be more of a censor or even tyrant - tended to, but didn't - quite. We saw to that.

But here when I came as teacher, I was utterly overwhelmed with the complete nonentity of the faculty, so far as any voice in the policy or government of the school was concerned. We are governed at the top by a board of trustees, who care little and know less about the actual conditions and problems of the school. They get their whole information about the school from the president, and the president virtually appoints them to office. They meet at the school once a year or less. They have several good meals, strut about the campus, get off jokes and tell the students the secret of their own success. The students applaud. The only real function of the trustees is raising money; the only criterion of a successful year is a balanced budget. A trustee seldom consults with or even sees a member of the faculty. Indeed it is tacitly assumed that any attempt on the part of a teacher to inform or complain to a trustee, is disloyalty to the president and a contributary if not a sufficient reason for eventual dismission. Consequently the trustees in case of any major upheaval or outbreak always complain that they had no warning. "Why wasn't something said?"

The Board of Trustees is the glorified edition of a Board of Directors and infests colleges especially. The board is selected for various reasons: because they are rich and may give the college money; because they are business men and know how to make

enterprizes profitable; because they are talked about and therefore valuable for publicity; finally, a trustee may be chosen because he knows about education or some branch of science; but this is unusual. Most trustees are elderly men, successful alumni or whatnot and not disposed to devote time or energy to this job of honor super erogation. This suits the plans of most institutions admirably. They are seriously alarmed if insurgent alumni force some young energetic members on the board who want to do something. The board of Trustees is not supposed to do things. It acts as a vast and respectable balance wheel. Yet the public believes that it is responsible for the policies, teaching, and standing of the school. ¶ This is seldom even partially true. ¶ Of course, say the unitiated, the faculty bear the real responsibility. Wrong, again and even more wrong than first. The faculty is usually without voice or entity. It is seldom or never consulted on the major policies of the school, and when consulted its decisions are ignored as often as not. Its sole function is to teach and grade students, and even here the grades are ignored if the president so decides in cases of pet students, or students of influential parents, or students whose time is required for football. There is no liaison or intercourse between members of the faculty or departments of teaching save through the president, and his time is taken up by cases of discipline and raising money and adjusting race relations so as not to have his buildings burned by a mob some fine morning. Over every member of the faculty hangs like a pall the fear of losing his job. His tenure depends almost absolutely on the decision or even whim of the president. Not only his present job, but future jobs, for the president's recommendation or lack of one goes far. ¶ Here then for us is American democracy at the source - in the education of youth. It varies of course from school to school. It is non-existent in the public school system, white and black, north and south. All that the public school teacher has salvaged is the doubtful check on dismissal from the system in some states. In the greater northern colleges, some vestiges of democratic control remain, but not many. A wide reputation may protect a great scholar's bread and butter but not even that always. That is the reason of the professors' trade union, the Association of College Professors.

in the colored south

In the Wild West, he fears politicians.

Chapter 10 - Jane on Local Government

It is to laugh. This wise text-book says owlishly: Start with teaching the student local government and then proceed to state and federal government. Or in other words, start with muddle and end with mess. Who in high heaven knows how a Georgia county is governed? First of all it begins with a frank, openly confessed negation of democracy. Negroes are not people. Thus at a stroke over a million of the three million population sink from all political sight and sound. But the same reasons that make them unfit for democratic functions - poverty, ignorance, crime and disease - apply to 100,000 white illiterates, and at least 400,000 other whites too ignorant to reason; a million whites too poor to live in decency according to modern standards. If Negroes then are too ignorant to express a valid opinion on what is wrong with their world; if the rich support the state and the poor are a "burden"; if crime and disease are proofs of depravity and weakness and not evidence of social maladjustment, then democracy in Georgia is threatened by fascism. Indeed the parallelism here to the Nazis is excellent: there are the Negroes instead of the Jews, disfranchised and mobbed and barred from public office; there is "Race Purity" to preen over; always public opinion can be diverted from essential by the psychopathic appeal to impudent Negroes, Confederate veterans, General Sherman, etc. Meantime a small group of persons rule by secret conclave, tempered by outbreak of personal quarrels mainly over patronage. Last year a Fascist leader seized power and ruled the state several months in defiance of the legislature and the courts. He even harbored ambitions to be president. His most vivid intellectual appeal to his constituents was a pair of red suspenders.

County government in Georgia is carried on by cliques of local politicians with the well-to-do land-holders as referees. There is little open discussion of plans or policies. There are no plans and policies usually, save for keeping down taxes on property, distributing petty offices and arranging graft for illegal activities. Recently Georgia has proposed to take local county legislation out of the hands of the legislature

and put it in the hands of grand juries - a body chosen by secret understanding. Why is this travesty on democratic government allowed in the South? In order to exclude the Negro from any voice in government. One third the population - in the Black Belt, sometimes two thirds - is not considered human. A deep-seated psychosis, fed by age long propaganda, makes this conviction on the part of the overwhelming mass of the whites more powerful than law or religion. Even economics yields to it; cheating "niggers" is still in the South recognized as a perfectly legitimate industry without ethical rules or limits. The poor whites cannot see that political and industrial oligarchy in the rural South is built firmly on the disfranchisement of the majority or large minority of the workers.

Nothing illustrates this better than the Black Belt of Georgia - the forty-eight counties, half or more of whose population is of Negro descent. Here live (1930) 917,990 persons, 240,929 white, and 677,061 Negro; enough to call for three members of Congress, and actually sending fifty-six members to the legislature. These counties are ruled absolutely by the 240,000 whites and mainly by the 50,000 richer whites. They control the state law-making, and they manipulate the money for the schools: they have 120,552 Negro children of school age and 66,605 white children. Yet they spend for the instruction of the whites, $1,081,426, and for the Negroes, $302,752. Of their total school funds, $2,545,512 come from State and Federal funds, or a million more than enough to pay for all their teachers without a cent of local taxation. This million and other gifts and local taxes are spent riotously on white school-houses and high costs of "operation". Thus hidden snugly in 159 little independent oligarchies in Georgia, we have the rulers of state and nation. The same paradox obtains in South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

In my western home there was what I call democracy. First as to money: father who was head cook at the local hotel, earned most of it; mother earned some by dressmaking, and the boys and I earned a little: I waited table in the summer hotel rush; the brothers worked in garages, did errands, mowed lawns. We all knew exactly how large this income was, and particularly how large it wasn't. It was distributed in family council, with mother as the final arbitrator and judge. I know now that even this minimum of industrial

democracy is rare, and that the income of most families is hidden in considerable mystery, even from members who contribute to it, and spent by absolute monarchy or oligarchy. Most all of our political and economic ideas came straight down from New England. We were fairly sure that poverty was the rightful punishment for laziness and waste and that wealth was entrusted to the good by God. In New England the older vision has faded in the face of the Irish, the Italians, the French Canadians, and others. Men do not believe in the rule of the masses. They believe in the influence of what they call Americans especially if they happen to be rich. They defend inner forces against invasion of the "muckers". The Harvard crew must have a Hallowell, even if it gets beaten, as it usually does.

We had town meeting, although we were a bit exceptional. This relic of New England was a primary republic. Once a year the men met and discussed town policies and elected officials. Of course the main policies were set in irrevocable custom, and the choice of officials was narrowed to a small group of the well-to-do, with some sectarian and national rivalries. Fundamental things like property and wages we never touched. Taxes loomed large; we believed in schools but thought they cost too much; we narrowly scanned public improvements and were usually unanimous in shouldering them on the State; we were deeply suspicious of poor-relief and cynical over misfortune. We believed in Crime and the police court was God. Unemployment was settled simply by calling it laziness and treating it accordingly, if we could; if we couldn't, we did nothing. Important matters I now realize were so manipulated that discussion and decision were more apparent than real, and elections were usually fixed. There was much quiet bribery by job giving and favors, hardly distinguishable from normal weakness of human judgment; and yet singularly enough inuring to the private gain of lucky ones. Chiefly the town was a bit careless and half-contemptuous of this jewel of democracy born and nourished in its midst. It all grew to seem picayunish, "small town stuff", compared with Chicago and New York, for instance, etc. And we did compare. To us the city was heaven. All the local weeklies, had a column of petty local gossip, straight from Broadway. We talked familiarly and knowingly of Michigan

Avenue. Town matters, town interests dwindled in our attention. Increasing numbers of important matters came to be left to administrative decision. Moreover our ability to think decreased, because our alert young ambitious men and women hied them to the city. In the city fame was really fame; all the talent, all the confident young strength of the nation was lured there.

Was the city democratic? Nowhere has democracy been so debauched, discredited and openly ridiculed as in American cities. Consider New York, our city of cities: the only place in all America, where a man may publish a book, or edit a national periodical or manipulate a national hook-up in ope a, politics or women's fashions. For generations New York has been a synonym for public theft, graft and rackets, bribery and lying, and the open cynical and criminal sale of political power. No New Yorker believes in democracy; with the constant, unwavering bombardment of anti-democratic ideas, the unceasing ridicule of "Reform", the unashamed worship of luxury and concentrated rule of wealth - with all this New York is synonym of oligarchical, secret power to control the 130,000,000 of citizens for the benefit of the rich, the criminal and the smart. What is New York? It is an arena where men fight and bleed for wealth, power, fame and pleasure; there are few real rules to govern the contest. The line between legal business and the organized crime "racket" cannot be drawn. It is catch-as-catch-can, hit below the belt, and devil take the hindmost. Yet our culture, our pattern of life, our democracy is born and bred here. Our American culture is a city bred culture. In our cities alone are literature and art, predominantly; such forms of art as painting, sculpture and music are confined to cities; the theatre is confied to New York; the movie is concentrated in a suburb of New York - Hollywood. There is no adequate reason for t is since electricty and wings have annihilated space; save for what we have wantonly destroyed, there is color to paint all over the land and particularly outside the cities; form and mass is no city denizen exclusively; music and theatre perhaps are more dependent upon crowds; writing hates them. But we have the habit - it will long persist despite telephone and television.

The city philosophy of New York has captured the East - New England, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware and Maryland. The masses of the people here - the working classes,

the clerks, the managers and engineers, the small business men, the rank and file of teachers and ordinary professional men - all these writhe and rebel from time to time, but they are without leaders or leading ideas. They do not know whether they want democracy or fascism, or for what they want either. They want at bottom decent incomes for themselves, but not necessarily for others. This income hunger conditions all else in life - religion, literature and art. Yet here our thought is not clear. What would a world be where everybody had incomes adequate for decent living? How many Americans would like that? Think of Irish and Dagoes and Hunkies and even Niggers with good homes on paved avenues, near parks and schools and playgrounds? Who would be left to wash our clothes and dishes; empty our garbage and dig mud? No! Average city bred America believes in a society with low-paid mudsills. It wants equality among equals, and wants to decide who shall be equal. It wants democracy so long as democracy levels neither down nor up, but puts power where it ought to be, to rule over those who have no business with power.

Small town life and town culture - the broad breath of lands, sunshine, flowers and crops, has almost left New England and the East. Most of what is left of it is city-suburban, wealth-supported; the rest is slum. In the West it survived longer, reaching pleading hands to the South. In the West, settled country folk from Europe, eager for land, willing to farm for a living. Among them democracy persisted. It is significant that our only third party movements - our only attempts to correct corruption and collusion in national politics - have begun among western farmers and received from the rural west the chief support.

This west, helped by poor white immigration from the South before the Civil War and peasant immigration from Europe, opposed slavery and voted for free soil. After the Civil War, the West rallied for economic reform in money, income and wages. They offered alliance to the South in the Populist movement, and Tom Watson and other poor white Southern leaders sought the Negro vote to beat capital. The result was a blow at democracy in the United States second only to the revolution of 1876: Tom Watson and his Southern poor white workers were cajoled to demand the disfranchisement of their Negro

workers and thus halve their own political power and throw the South definitely into the control of oligarchic capital; while in the west the growing lure of land and railway speculation, gradually split the farm vote, and killed the last hope of a third party movement in the nation, so long as the rotten-borough South reinforced the wealth-ruled East. American democracy born in 1776, was wounded to death in 1876, and given the coup-de-grace in 1894.

Why not rebel, complain to heaven and honest men? Why not agitate, arouse, form a new party and sweep county, state and nation into a crusade for new democracy, new civic righteousness, real reform? It costs to much; we wee ones are too poor.

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I was at first sorry, Dear Jones, that you did not go immediately from Germany to Italy, and complete the Fascist cycle as it were. But now I think that it is better to break it by a more human touch, by a broader glance and then return better prepared to judge it. Or, no, I have it: link Italy and Africa in one study - there is much in that point of view, far more than those who think that the conquest of Ethiopia is the end and not the beginning of an era.

P. S. Yes, Jones, I think of you (and she added mentally "too damned much!").

Chapter 13 - Jane on National Government

Propaganda and gerrymandering prevent democracy in this nation. The propaganda is carried on by news-gathering agencies, newspaper chains, columnists, radio broadcasts and movies, radical movements, and patriotic societies. Most of these depend on control of large amounts of wealth. They work openly by facts and subtly, by ommission of facts, by distortion, emphasis, ridicule and deliberate falsehood. The richer and more powerful bribe readers and hearers by gifts of pictures, fiction, entertainment, contests and diversions, which no poor and independent thinker can hope to rival. Direct bribery by money payment is out of fashion; large salaries, social prestige, stock manipulation and tips andpublicity are common. A real arena of ideas hardly exists today in this land because of direct costs and indirect penalties for the unpopular ideas; added to these are difficulties of publication and deliberately prejudiced audiences. Freedom of speech and of publication are rare. The fair presentation of a new idea, or the criticism of a current madness or of established prejudices is well-nigh impossible. A weak weekly press survives only by the largess of a Certain Rich Man and serious books sell but sparely; if among 120,000,000 people, a publisher sells a book to one in every 10,000 he is satisfied. If he sells one to every 1,000 he faints with joy and surprise. Only a rich corporation, or a successful demagogue or a president of the United States can usually secure a real radio audience. Nearly all the agencies of national thought control, have for a generation, ridiculed, derided and decried the essentials of democracy.

Of course, if the masses demanded enlightenment, sought ideas, critical propaganda - the way would clear. But the mass is stupid because it is poor and has no leisure nor money for education beyond a poor minimum; it is more frightened of poverty than ignorance, of propaganda than of prejudice; it clings with waning faith to but one rough tool of salvation - the vote; and this is fading beneath its very grasp. The denial and distortion of the popular vote is next to poverty and because of it the most fatal of all handicaps to American democracy; some American citizens have ten times the voting power of others;

five percent can prevent the constitution from amendment; a small minority can easily prevent major legislation; a decided minority can elect a president. The former slave states by the simple expedient of disfranchising and suppressing half of their labor vote can wield a block of 140 electoral and congressional votes and thus not only hold the decisive balance of power in all national elections and legislation, but monopolize the chairmanships of all major committees of Congress which determine all laws. Chairmen of Congressional committees are chosen by seniority, that is, by heredity. This puts a premium on local oligarchy which can keep men longest in office. Thus the South which never had democratic government, has all the chief and most powerful chairmen. Little legislation can be hoped for without a favorable committee report. All that wealth or anti-social influences have to do is to get at committees.

Some answer this by saying that the South is exceptional - the Negro problem and all that; then they dismiss the matter as though it had nothing to do with the North nor West. Ah, but it has; it has all to do, and for that reason comes first in any consideration of government in the United States. First of all there is extraordinary difference in the political powers of the different sections. This arises, first of all, from the number of persons disfranchised. The disfranchisement is for various reasons: some open and clear like the ability to read and write; others involved and deliberately ingenious like the various laws in the Southern states which are really designed to disfranchise colored voters. Then there is another sort of more or less voluntary disfranchisement of people who do not vote because of lack of interest, because of fear of reprisal such as losing their jobs or missing promotion; and lastly of sheer despair: what is the use of voting anyway? For all these reasons 36% of the persons of the United States twenty-one years of age and over do not vote (1930). But this disfranchisement is curiously distributed: 25% in the Far West; 26% in the Middle West; 30% in the East; 32% on the Pacific Coast; 34% in the Border States; and the astonishing figure of 68% or over ten and one-half million in the South. Even among those who vote their value as electors varies tremendously. It takes only 37,000

voters in the South to choose an elector of the president of the United States; while in the Middle West it take 113,000; and the East requires 106,000; the Border States only 83,000. Individual states vary enormously in their political power. In the last presidential election we have the following astonishing record of the number of electoral votes necessary to choose a presidential elector in the various states of the United States: first there are the rotten boroughs due to gold and silver mines which require only 8,000 people in Colorado to choose an elector; and the rotten boroughs due to slavery requiring 14,000 people in South Carolina, 18,000 people in Mississippi, 24,000 people in Georgia, and 33,000 in Louisiana for each elector. We may then move West for startling contrast: Michigan needs 94,000; Kansas 95,000; Minnesota 102,000 to choose an elector; while Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, New York and Illinois require from 107,000 to 136,000. Contrast Illinois with South Carolina. The South Carolina voter has nearly ten times the political power of the Illinois voter.

Three things explain this discrepancy: the exploitation of natural resources which admitted rotten boroughs like Colorado and Idaho into the United States; and Negro slavery which built in America a prejudice which still refuses to admit black men into a democracy, the unfair equality of the states in the Senate which over emphasizes failing and growingly unimportant state lines; and finally, of course, the fear and distrust of all democracy which American industry has given birth to.

Mr. Deen from the eighth district of Georgia has over 241,957 persons in his district of whom a hundred thousand are twenty-one years of age or more. Of these only 21,000 voted in Mr. Deen's election. Nearly 80,000 were disfranchised - involunarily because they were black; or voluntarily because they were white and uninterested.

Even with an intelligent, educated, alert, unfettered and fearless electorate, the task of restoring or rather establishing democratic control in the United States would be enormous against these obstacles. Two well nigh insuperable obstacles remain: the mass of the citizens could not vote reform even if they wished, because those who determine their income would not allow it, save at the risk of deprivation if not starvation; and secondly, most citizens do not want reform, because of the long, persistent and subtle propaganda against democracy carried on throughout the nation since the Civil War.

Americans have come widely to disbelieve not only the possibility but even in the desirability of democracy in the United States. The experience with the Irish in New York; the Irish and Italians in New England; the Germans and Scandinavians in the West; the Negroes in the South - have convinced the majority of Americans that democracy, if it includes the masses of men is just what they do not want: that it would not work; and that if it did work they would like the result still less. Quietly then but determinedly they sabotage this democracy; they ridicule it and criticize it unmercifully. They teach their children to doubt it. What they would mean by democracy is the rule of property and class; they emphasize heredity and birth and they decry the danger of mob-rule. Exclusive social prestige is given excessive space in popular newspapers. The "best" colleges tend to become the special preserves of the "Best Families", and even the state universities seclude themselves by exclusive fraternities. The very circumstance which should protect democracy in our land, is killing it: we are sprung from the lowly; the proletariat not of one but of many peoples; from Negro slaves, from white beggars and prostitutes, from poor half-starved Irish, refugee Germans, poverty-stricken Italians, landless Scandinavians and bitterly oppressed Slavs. One might imagine that the offspring of such lowly might

stand together as a rock wall against caste and race hate. Not so. The second generation of these folk want to be identified with the ruling classes. They despise each other heartily. They want democracy for themselves and their betters, but not for any persons beneath them or capable of being pushed beneath. What may Negroes expect of the Irish? Or Hunkies of Italians? Or Chinese of Negroes? Hence we hailed Mussolini and even Hitler when he threatened our richest.

All this comes from anti-democratic propaganda. We despise humanity in the concrete present. And we defend this ponderously: shall the Mob (i.e., Negroes, Dagoes, Irish, Jews) overwhelm civilization and gentle culture? Did you ever see an Irish Wake? Have you noted the manners of Jews? Have you seen the "niggers" at a Southern station? Well the, does democracy mean that I must eat, drink with and marry such people? Must Art and Letters descend to such canaille?

No, it means that by slow and infinite pains these must ascend to Culture and to real culture and not necessarily to just your conception of Culture. No and Twice no, is the bitter retort to such a hope: they cannot; they have not the brains, nor the sensibility, nor that delicate, elusive genius of the gifted among men. They are born inferiors. To which the eternal rejoinder is: there is not one among the present Elect of America whose ancestors less than a century ago were as unlikely subjects for culture as the most ignorant among us now. Great genius is rare among all groups but the real accomplishment of democracy has been to prove how often the lowliest may achieve civilization. The tragedy of present day America is to see those who have risen by democratic opportunity seek to slam the doors in the faces of the still disinherited and forgotten. And too because we have been seduced by money-making, we all like sheep have gone astray and produced a bastard culture of flamboyant imitation, instead of the finer thing that beckoned us when we still believe in this democratic ideal.

It is no longer possible to distinguish between Nation and States in our government,

in any logical way. The attempt to do so spells muddle. Airplane and railway, telegraph and radio have so pulled the ends of the nation together that national interests have swamped the local, and our whole conception of the natural limits between state and federal jurisdiction is increasingly difficult to realize. Yet democracy had nested in our towns and as it disappears there we have no national substitute.

Most astonishing and disconcerting is the Decline of the West. After the defection of New England, after New England began to become rich and proud of its blood and suspicious of the Irish, after it became the center of tariff protected industry and manufacture, the hope of democracy moved west. It was here that there arose the cry for free soil which killed slavery and offered open arms to the poverty stricken of Europe. It was here that agrarian revolt began and industrial democracy. It was here that there arose the possibility of an entirely new conception of democracy in the United States during Reconstruction. If the peasant controlled West had then united with the labor controlled South wealth tyranny and the extremes of exploitation might never have swept America. But the peasant was seduced; like the Kulaks of Russia he found profit more alluring than democracy. The rise of land values based on monopoly, railroads, and other exploitation made him dependent more upon speculation than upon agriculture. Instead of supporting the labor South he was induced by subtle propaganda to join hands with reaction in the South which dethroned labor, black and white, and put in the end Eastern monopoly on the Southern throne. The Populist Movement of the nineties tried to re-thread this alliance of the West and South but southern leaders like Tom Watson were stampeded into race prejudice rather than to labor class consciousness and the whole movement flattened out and died. All the third party movements have arisen in the West. They tried lately to unite industrial democracy in cities with peasant democracy on the land but they failed; and while one cause of their failure was lack of belief in democracy, the other cause was the disfranchisement of the West, the fact that the reactionary South could disfranchise two-thirds of its possible voters and still retain full voting power and choose an elector with 37,000 votes while the intelligence of the Middle West called for 113,000 for each elector, in an electorate where three-fourths of the people voted. Here then died democracy in the United States and it isn't yet resurrected.

Of course, if without government, (which would be Blessed Anarchy, and I'm all for it) we could administer civilization, police the anti-social, and abolish Poverty and Ignorance, there would lie our obvious path. But in just the realm where the modern world has given Anarchy its fairest trial (and that is Business) we have had our most glaring failure and threat of failure. Whatever seemed about to be brilliant and spectacular industrial success and world empire was followed continually by shattering depression until at last, permanent recovery, permanent advance without crisis seems impossible. Nor can Capitalism in private hands blame democracy, socialism or communism for this result. The power of capitalism to rule is still where it long has been.

universities where capitalistic economics and European culture, not only prevail, but prevail almost to the exclusion of anything else or any other points of view. The history and existence of most human beings is utterly ignored in these colleges. Naturally these men are then grabbed up with rolling eyes and eager mien by the best Southern Negro schools. Now if these Negro schools have any real meaning, it is that in them another point of view, different or at least supplemental to the white point of view, should be evolved. It might or it might not be radically different. It might bring something entirely new or be mostly an adaptation of surrounding civilization; but certainly it would logically bring a newness of view and a re-examination of the old, of the European, and of the white, which would be stimulating and which would be real education. But right here we have not only little or no advance, but we even have attitudes which make advance impossible.

On the matter of race, for instance, these guys are ultra-modern. There are no races. Consequently there is no sense in studying racial subjects or inculcating racial ideals, or writing racial textbooks, or projecting vocational guidance from the point of view of race. And yet standing in stark contradiction to all this, are the surrounding facts of race: the "Jim Crow" seats on the street cars every day, the "Jim Crow" coaches on the railroads, separate sections of the city where the races dwell, separate or no jobs and lower wages for Negroes. Georgia has just announced new and reformed teachers wage: Negroes of the same training and work as whites will get 60% of white wages. The discrimination in law, and beyond that the widespread division of the world by custom into white or black is a flat fact. It is true indeed, and I rejoice to know it, that physical differentiation of race is scientifically impossible; that we are not Negroes in the sense of conforming to a describable and measurable and heritable racial standard. But in spite of all that, we form a perfectly definite group, not entirely segregated and isolated from our surroundings but differentiated to such a degree that we have very largely a life and thought and history of our own. And it is this fact that we as scientists, and teachers, and persons engaged in earning a living, have got to take into account and make our major problem. In the face of that we have these young intellectual exquisites who smile if they do not laugh outright at our railings.

see nothing,
Their practical program is so far as our race or group is concerned: do nothing, think nothing, become absorbed in the nation. To which the flat answer is: this is impossible. We have got to do something about earning a living. We have got to think and think clearly about our present situation. Absorption into the nation, save as a long, slow, intellectual process, is unthinkable and while it goes on, its trend and result depends very largely upon what kind of group is being absorbed; whether such racial integration has to do with poverty-stricken and half-starved criminals; or with self-guided, independently acting men who know what they want and propose at any civilized cost to get it. No, separated and isolated as we are so largely, we form in America an integral group and this fact in itself has its worth, and values - call it by any name. "Negro" is best because historic, clear and a rallying point for other groups; and then On and Up! Only this we must not forget: all human advance is primarily economic, and our advance to be successful must run with and not counter to, the forward economic trends of our day. Which being interpreted means we American Negroes have got to evolve a racial or group economic program, and that it must accord and blend with the best modern advance toward socialism as all men know that is the world's goal. Yet here in the seats of learning, are young Negro scholars teaching economic raction.

This too in a world where everywhere capital is failing - unable to keep order, unable to save democracy, unable to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, and all because their technique of industry is so modern and efficient that it breaks down doing what it is planned to do. In a successful capitalistic world, the argument for the equitable distribution of wealth, would be strong; but in a world of failure, the argument is overwhelming.

(Here rather suddenly, Jane stopped. She was wishing rather desperately that Jones would sometime somewhere in his letters casually mention the fact that he missed her. Of course he did, he could not help it - but he was so prissy and moral. She was afraid (afraid?) that if he were here this dreary end of day, and if he should boisterously and forcibly kiss her, she would enjoy it. But imagine! He wasn't. He was three thousand

miles away and going further. And his mind was working methodically and clearly on Problems. A month would go by before she heard another word and even then - Yet she loved it. She was to him an Intelligence, and not a mere receptacle for protoplasm. It was good to live and think - only, not alone, not alone.)

I am not sparing us. We black folk have striven to be Americans. And like all other Americans, we have longed to become rich Americans. Wealth comes easiest today through the exploitation of labor, and if we have exploited our own and other labor to but a slight extent the praise belongs not to us, but to those whites whose monopoly of wealth and ruthless methods have out-run our tardy and feeble efforts. This is the place to pause and look about, as well as backward and forward. The labor movement in America as in Europe, deceived us just as they deceived themselves. They left us out. They paid no attention to us, whether we were drudging in colonies or slaving in cotton fields or pleading in vain at the doors of union labor factories. The object of white labor was not industrial democracy, it was to join capital in sharing the loot from exploited colored labor. So we, only half emancipated, hurled ourselves forward, too willing if it had but been possible, to climb up to a bourgeois heaven on the prone bodies of our fellows. But white folk occupied and crowded these stairs. And white labor loved the white exploiter of black folk, far more than it loved its fellow black proletarian.

What to do? We went to school. But our industrial schools taught no industrial history, no labor movement, no social reform, - only technique just as technique of trades was changing to mass industry. Our colleges taught the reactionary economics and anti-democratic philosophy of Northern schools. We landed in bitter and justifiable complaint and sought a way out by complaining. Our mistake lay not in the injustice of our cause, but in our naive assumption that a system of industrial monopoly that was making money out of our exploitation was going to help us to escape *its* talons. It was real funny and everybody except us laughed heartily over it.

Now in the year of God, 1937, and of our freedom from slavery not yet the first, we ask seriously, what can we do to force our entrance into a democracy that wants neither us nor democracy, but is faced by serious dilemmas: Waste of the national resources,

muddle of governmental efficiency, breakdown of the industrial machine and loss of faith in mankind. By grace of 20th century imperialism we cannot withdraw to ourselves and fight for salvation by ourselves. The possibilities of the 17th century are not ours. We have got to study our situation here and start to right it here.

For this I've worked out a creed. You'll laugh at it and criticize it. But think it over:

1. We American Negroes forming a distinct social if not a purely racial group are threatened today with lack of opportunity to work according to gift and training, and lack of income sufficient to support healthy families according to standards demanded by modern culture.

2. In industry, we are a labor reserve, fitfully employed and paid a wage below subsistence; in agriculture, we are largely disfranchised peons; in public education, we tend to be disinherited illiterates; in higher education, we are the parasites of reluctant and hesitant philanthropy.

3. In the current reorganization of industry, there is no adequate effort to secure us a place in industry, or to open opportunity for Negro ability, or to give us security in age or unemployment.

4. Not by the development of upper classes anxious to exploit the workers, nor by the escape of individual genius into the white world, can we effect the salvation of our group in America. And the salvation of this group carries with it the emancipation not only of the darker races of men who make the vast majority of mankind, but of all men of all races. We, therefore, propose this:

BASIC AMERICAN NEGRO CREED

(Banc)

A. As American Negroes, we believe in unity of group effort, so far as this is necessary for self-defense and self-expression, leading ultimately to the goal of a united humanity and the abolition of all racial distinctions.

B. We repudiate all artificial and hate-engendering deification of "race" and race separation as such; but just as sternly, we repudiate an enervating philosophy of our escape into an artifically privileged white race which has long sought to enslave, exploit and tyrannize over all mankind.

C. We believe that the Talented Tenth among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in determining by study and measurement the present field and demand for racial action and the method by which the masses may be guided along this path.

D. We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment, Education and Health; these three: but the greatest of these is Employment.

E. We believe that the labor force and intelligence of twelve million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure. Therefore, we believe that, if carefully and intelligently planned, a cooperative Negro industrial system in America can be established in the midst of and in conjunction with the surrounding national industrial organization and in intelligent accord with that reconstruction of the economic basis of the nation which must sooner or later be accomplished.

F. We believe that Negro workers should where possible join the labor movement and affiliate with such trade unions as welcome them and treat them fairly, and in other cases we should form and federate our own Negro unions. We believe that workers' councils organized by Negroes for interracial understanding should strive to fight race prejudice in the working class.

G. We believe in the ultimate triumph of some form of Socialism the world over; that is, state ownership and control of the means of production and equality of income.

H. We do not believe in lynching as a cure for crime; nor in war as a necessary defense of culture; nor in violence as the only path to economic justice. Whatever may have been true in other times and places, we believe that today in America we can abolish poverty by reason and the intelligent use of the ballot, and above all by that dynamic discipline of soul and sacrifice of comfort which, revolution or no revolution, must ever be the only real path to economic justice and world peace.

I. We conceive this matter of work and equality of adequate income is not the end of our effort, but the beginning of the rise of the colored races in this land and the world over, in power, learning and accomplishment.

J. We believe in the use of our vote for equalizing wealth through taxation, for vesting the ultimate power of the state in the hands of the workers; and as an integral part of the working class, we demand our proportionate share in administration and public expenditure. But we know that control of capital by the masses is fundamental to all political and social power.

K. This is and is designed to be a program of racial effort; and this narrowed goal is forced upon us today by the unyielding determination of certain elements in the white race to enslave, exploit and insult Negroes; but to this vision of work, organization and service, we welcome all men of all races and colors so long as their subscription to this basic creed is sincere and is proven by their deeds.

I ventured to show this to our great scholar. At first he withered me with a glance but I refused to shrivel. Finally, with a sigh he explained very very patiently and with a condescension almost jovian: No, cooperation would not work among American Negroes because of Basic Industries. I looked dumb in order not to look murderous. I proceeded imperturbably and despite a glance at his watch, to sketch a possible Negro Consumers' Trust beginning with food raised on the farm and proceeding to homes, bakeries, restauraunts, laundries. He conceded that theoretically this might be possible making due allowances

for space and time, but he pointed out that it would not necessarily be cheaper. Indeed, these consumers might find themselves paying more for their meat and vegetables, their eggs and butter, their bread, and personal services. I admitted this gayly but showed him that if we actually increased the employment and wage of Negroes by spending more of our income on them this system might really pay us; and contrasted that situation with our present method of spending and missing the employment which would give us money to spend.

He admitted that it would be conceivable that a group should pay indirectly consumption taxes in order to distribute employment among themselves. But he asked with grim sarcasm, "Would they?" They would, I averred, if they were intelligent enough to know what they were doing. He sniffed. Then he explained further that granting among the five and one-half million Negroes now employed that such difficult and intelligent cooperation might possibly by a wild stretch of imagination employ a half million, how about the other five million, he asked: the miners, the laborers in manufacturing and mechanical industries and in transportation; the porters in trade, and above all the servants? I stuck to my ground and declared that in many lines of service we might organize our productive power. We might furnish clean, efficient, educated, skilled, reliable house service for a wage that would not only be higher in money but higher in decent treatment so that house service would cease to be the chief source of supply for prostitution; that we might increase and systematize our already considerable knowledge of cooking and serving; that we might furnish to a larger and better degree music, dancing, painting, and pottery; that by consumer organizations we might even go into the vast clothing industry, using our own cotton, South American wool, and Asiatic silk. He waved all this dream aside and concentrated on coal, oil, iron and steel, lumber, automobiles, building, chemical industries, tobacco factories, glass factories, flour mills, slaughter and packing houses, and all the endless list of human enterprises in which at least three million Negroes labored. What of them he asked triumphantly.

I answered, discipline them by our power as consumers. Secondly, withdraw successive groups of black workers from the overflow labor reservoir which makes their labor power cheap and negligible. One of the first groups to be withdrawn would be our two million

farmers. We should change them not into helpless, isolated, peasant proprietors but into cooperative owners of collective farms joining their whole effort to the black consumers in towns and cities. Of course, we could not quickly withdraw the whole two million but with sense and effort we could withdraw a half million tomorrow and a half million in a few years. We could withdraw from dissatisfied menial service a portion of a million and half now sunk and smothered therein, by organization of their work, by domestic industries linked to the new electrification program which can easily in time disintegrate the factories and restore production to the home. And then having made Negro labor scarcer in the Basic Industries and stronger in its power of bargaining, we could make our approach to the white labor unions.

Then I carried the attack into his country. You are always blaming Negro workers for not joining the labor movement. You are telling them to join the union, when you know the union will not let them join, or if they join give them the most unfair and difficult positions. And these unions do this because they under estimate the ability of the Negro and his capacity for organization. But let Negro workers come to them fresh from their consumers organizations, organized in their own Negro unions whereever absolutely equal reception is not available in the white unions, and then these Negro workers would represent not a liability but an asset for the whole labor movement in the United States. In this way the Negro would become an integral part of that movement.

He scoffed. He said, what you are asking for is not an economic movement but a religion. Exactly, I said. Our fraternities and sorrorities, our bridge clubs, and our churches, our secret societies have got to turn around and concentrate on the building of character. It is just that element that Marxians leave out or take for granted. We assume that pointed the economic way of salvation all things will be added unto it. They will not unless you have real men, men of sacrifice, who prefer good to evil. Without them your socialistic state is going to end in the domination of selfish bureaucrats and there is no inevitable evolution that willward off this disaster. On the other hand, if we have an increasing number of men of real benevolence and good-will; of workers willing to work for something more than wage and for objects bigger than their bellies; if you have this we are going to make a new World. But he had thrown up his hands and flown. "Idiotic!", he jeered.

Chapter 16 - Jones in Japan

Foreigners who visit Tokio are vastly intrigued by its contrasts. It is at once a vast, glamorous modern city of six human millions, and an endless village of paper houses and little shops and neighborhood life. Top-hats and kimonos; a few jinrickshas and flocks of bicycles; modern machines and ancient handwork - these incongruities strike Japanese even more than foreigners with a sense of fatal clash between old and new, East and West. For the honest foreigner knows that his own land has the same contrasts, only the old has preserved less of beauty and use, and accumulated more of ugliness and menace. Contrast and contradiction spell civilization, are inevitable; the crucial question is how far the community is conscious of the paradoxes, and what loss and gain may or should accompany further progress. Japan seems alive to this, sensitive and worried; western Europe takes Wealth and Poverty for granted, even when evinced by idleness, unemployment, sullen and blazing discontent, rags and diamonds. Perhaps I exaggerate when I say this - it is such a temptation to exaggerate for purposes of perspective - but what I mean is that Japan seems more sensitive over less violent contrasts of income than London, Paris or New York. And I mean here not merely money incomes, but satisfactions. Japanese life appears attractive to the average Japanese. Perhaps much of suffering is concealed, perhaps much of discontent has been driven underground by harsh restrictive laws. Yet there is evident in Japan more of simplicity and beauty in life, more of simple joys widely shared, more of art among the multitude, than one sees in the West. There is not that sharp and insistent contrast between the Enjoying and the Enduring that pervades the West. One element in this content must be early marriage and family life. The sex-starved woman and sex-wild man are not so evident in Japan, because of early marriage and because of legal provision for sex life outside marriage. The family then, composed of persons not so contrasted in age as in Europe, is further integrated in pleasures, holidays, religion and work. Not dogma but Shinto, a simple ethic of family honor and national patriotism, is the realistic religion of Japan; while Work is an integrated national organization unexampled among industrial lands. Japan is a land organized for manufacturing goods for export, and raising crops

for consumption except in the case of silk - which is a large and important exception. The price of rice then is the matter that enters into class discontent and had more to do with the abortive revolt of 1936, than anything else. Here the peasant backed army and not the city proletariat attacked capital. The proletariat has potentialities for discontent, in long hours of work, work of women and children and low wage; but conditions of work are according to long custom, and the wage brings the Good Life or enough of it still to satisfy. Beyond this the forces that make for endurance and content are foreign and not domestic: European aggression, Australian exclusion and American insult.

Japan went to manufacturing for profit. She not only manufactured with the cheap labor of Japan, but crossed the Yellow Sea and successfully demanded recognition as an exploiter of China. This was dangerous. What the Japanese could do, surely the Chinese themselves with training and experience could also do. The Japanese expansion met double opposition: the bitter opposition of Europe, whose prestige they were threatening, and whose whole system of world industry, they were slowly but surely undermining; the bitter opposition of China, who beheld a kinsman and rival, apeing the methods of the white oppressor, demanding territory and concessions and eventual leadership as over inferiors - over China itself, whose civilization gave birth to Japan. This split between China and Japan was emphasized and furthered consciously and unconsciously and with every open and concealed weapon, by the white world, until China actually came to regard Japan as her real and main enemy and Europe and America as her friends - perhaps the most astonishing paradox of modern times. While Japan, seeing all too clearly the menace of Europe to the yellow world, bent every effort to achieve the hegemony of that world, even to the length of dismembering China already partitioned and threatened with extinction by Europe. Here at fantastic cross-roads, stood the East, when a new West arose in Russia, with a new labor philosophy.

None will ever estimate just what that astute diplomatic lie, after the Sino-Japanese war, cost the world: O, no, no, no! said Russia, Germany and France, April 23, 1895, Japan should not think of taking the Liaotung peninsula, although it pointed like a dagger

at Japan's heart and the Shadow of Hands groped toward that hilt. Great Britain was "neutral", and neither the United States nor Italy had "good offices" to offer on Japan's behalf. Japan still asked for Kwantung but Russia said No, peremptorily, and in "Honor and Dignity", Japan withdrew. Thereupon Europe started a scramble for China like that for Africa which followed the Berlin Conference of 1884. In 1897, Germany "leased" Shantung, dominating North China; next year, Russia "leased" Port Aruthur on the tip of that same Liaotung Peninsula, whose possession by Japan shocked Europe in 1895. Immediately, England took Wei-hai-wei, near Germany on the Shantung Peninsula and extended her Hongkong loot, while France got a port, Kwanchow-wan, in south China. Italy wanted Sammen, but was refused, not yet being a big robber.

That bit of astute international plunder cost the world, the Russo-Japanese war, the Manchurian seizure, and indirectly, the World War and the rape of Ethiopia - a fairly pretty price. Australia with fewer folk than live in Tokyo alone, was shut up to Japanese, just as though Americans were forbidden to enter Mexico. England embraced alliance with Japan in 1902, fearing Russia, renewed it uneasily in 1911, because of Australia and the United States, and dropped it eagerly in 1921, under the convenient wing of the League of Nations. The United States having negotiated a "Gentlemen's Agreement" in 1908, to stop Japanese labor from migrating to America, decided in 1924, to exclude all Japanese. This was accomplished by an alliance between the South and West in Congress, by which the West voted not to stop the lynching of Negroes, and the South voted to exclude Japanese; thus insulting two colored races with one vote. Also the League of Nations, with Wilson and England, declined to consider a resolution avowing racial equality.

So a disillusioned Japan faced the world after the World War. Either she must dominate China or Europe would. Domination meant not conquest, but commercial exploitation. Suppose Japan organized herself for underselling Europe and America in the markets of the world? She found she could do it. Moreover, her lack of certain basic raw materials, could be balanced by a closely knit capitalistic power of bargaining as a national unit -

an integration across possible class lesion. Suppose Japanese laborers demand better conditions of work? They immediately expose themselves to the whole menace of race hate; to treatment which the white world metes out to colored labor, which is infinitely worse than the treatment of Japanese capital. White labor recognizes no solidarity of labor across the color line.

Cowering behind unbreachable ramparts, China lives on, and because of this, Europe hopes and Japan fears. Unless Japan successfully interferes, there is no reason why imperturbable China, resting stolidly, should not indefinitely form one of the richest fields of capitalistic exploitation the modern world knows. But the example of Japan disturbs the situation. It arouses jealousy and resentment in China and emulation, and with communistic urge, may become practically and effectively anti-capitalistic. Meantime capitalism in Japan expands toward world empire. The white world watches it in unfeigned alarm, but that alarm has two unreconcilable faces: white economic reaction based on imperial exploitation of colored peoples, wants Japanese capitalism to collapse lest it undermine white domination. White economic reform, wants Japanese capitalism to collapse in order to advance the universal collapse of industrial imperialism. Both reformers and investors cheer heartily for the economic debacle of Japan but for fatally opposite reasons. It faces Japan with a unanimity on the part of the white world which has all of the too familiar earmarks of the Color Bar.

Thus Japan in turn faces her enemies and easily confounds if not misjudges them. Why, she logically asks, is Europe, gorged with the loot of centuries, become suddenly so solicitous over the rights of backward peoples? Why is England today defending the integrity of that same China which she more than any people on earth, reduced to impotence and helpless disorganization? What new and lofty regard for human dignity is animating self-righteous America, which declares the yellow race even less worthy of citizenship in the republic than black slaves? And whose knight in shining armor refused at Versailles, even to consider a League of Nations declaration in favor of racial equality? On the other hand, while Europe wards off Communism as a pest and threat to

present culture, why is it so complacently envisaging a war of Russia and Japan, unless it be with the pious hope that both these threats to European hegemony of the world, may be egged on utterly to destroy each other?

This is leading and must lead Japan carefully to appraise her present position. First of all the Japanese economic set-up does not loan itself to the western European conception of development, and the Marxian interpretation must be changed to accord with a different set of facts. Primary accumulation of capital in Japan was largely a government function, and therefore government control of capital is natural and awaited. Private property is a family rather than an individual matter, and even there a communal welfare must be considered far more than in Europe and America. Mr. Matsukuo, the erstwhile delegate to the League of Nations, who walked out after the Manchurian Incident, said to me: we Japanese have always been communistic in a sense; we always hold our property for the common welfare, rather than for private profit exclusively. This is not wholly untrue in Europe and America, as extraordinary public philanthropy testifies. But it is more true of Japan and in more regular and less spectacular and more widespread ways because in Japan labor was never a saleable commodity. Thus with property less strictly subject to private control, and with the government more generally recognized as exercising control and even ownership in industry, the path of reform in Japan lies in different directions than in Europe. The Class Struggle is and must be less clearly defined, not simply because of the survival of feudal ties which led straight through Shinto to the Emperor, and in his person became identified with Government itself; but even more important, the contrast in class incomes is not nearly as great as the money wage would indicate, since in the distribution of social satisfactions there is wide equality: celebrations, home festivals, national and local customs, all enjoyable at prices or sacrifices all can easily afford. Consequently a working class which Kagawa's cooperatives can feed adequately at eight cents a day for three meals and which has a family income of less than thirty cents a day, is nevertheless not a conspicuously discontented class of workers. This comparatively contented working class gives Japan a tremendous advantage in international trade. It foreshadows a time when the cheap labor of Japan, China, India and the South Seas,

will drive industrial Europe off the commercial map by shear underbidding. All that protective tariffs can do in opposition is to tax white consumers to the breaking-point in lands of increasing unemployment. Such industrial disaster, Japan could lead by furnishing capital, engineers and entrepreneurs. But only of course in case Japan is not overthrown by Russia or convulsed by internal industrial revolution.

Internal revolution in Japan is foreshadowed not by industrial discontent but by agricultural. To be sure, strict repression and propaganda to keep workers loyal and satisfied, may not long work, and workers may gradually come to demand consumption goods for themselves rather than for manufacturers profits; but at present the signs of dissatisfaction among industrial labor are not overwhelming. On the other hand, the peasants are not only poor and dissatisfied, but are represented and articulate in one of the most powerful departments, the Army. The Army in its search for efficiency has become more democratic than the parliamentary system. Big Business captured politics and by scandalous bribery sought to dominate the state. But the army stood separate from the state, with direct veto on parliamentary action and direct access to the center of power - the clique of advisers who speak in the name of the Emperor. And in the army, by democratic competition, peasant officers, who knew the plight of the agricultural workers and could speak for them, had a chance to challenge big business in the very inner citadel of power. Thus the class struggle in Japan has taken today a peculiar twist: younger army officers, championing the farmers, have sought by assassination and violence to overthrow the power of capitalism entrenched in the parliamentary system. At the same time military Fascism is bent on extending the Japanese empire in China and the South Seas for new capitalistic enterprize. This imperial capital is, however, furnished by the state and very strictly under state control. To pick in this intricate whirl the classic pattern of Marxian determinism is impossible.

There is no doubt but that the wages of Japanese labor are too small and the income of the Japanese peasant below the danger point. This is partially balanced by the spiritual returns: Shinto the religion of honor; mystical reverence for the myth of empire which beats high in every true Japanese heart; and the little beauties of Japanese life in song and celebration, color and form, flower and tree. But on the other side the Japanese do not have enough to eat; not enough for health; not enough for proper physical growth. Their long hours of work emphasize this deficiency. Unless, therefore, this is corrected and corrected so n and radically Japan will fail in her great mission.

But the world protest against this does not ring true. If Japan would manipulate her exploited workers as other exploited classes of the world and particularly the colonial peoples are manipulated, there would be no protest. This would call for maintaining the prices of goods in international markets, and a division of the market by understanding with the great producing countries. When, however, Japan insists on accomplishing her object of breaking into the charmed circle by under selling, she disrupts the entire exploitation program of the white world. And Japan's object in doing this has been flatly and openly stated by Major-General Tada in 1935: (Utley, "Japan's Feet of Clay" page 35)

"The international situation . . . may be regarded as the beginning of a racial war for the emancipation of the coloured people who form the greater part of the human inhabitants of the world from the enslaving oppression by the whites. . . . It is also the beginning of a spiritual war for rectifying the material civilisation of the West by the moral civilisation of the East. These two great missions from Heaven are the natural obligations which our Japanese Empire must bear."

This is no chauvinistic attack on civilization; it is re-righting its present unbalance. Consider for a moment the exploited people: the Chinese, East Indians, the Malays, the Negroes, the Indians of the West. When one talks today of colonies little or nothing is said of their inhabitants. There is alm st no argument about consulting them about who shall be their industrial and political masters. They are swapped like horses. And yet their labor power rather than the extent of raw material is the real question back of colonial enterprise. What the colonial powers want is not simply raw

material; it is the labor that produces raw material and gradually more than that. What the exeluded powers want is not merely raw\material; it is slave labor for raw material and for other purposes. It is labor as a saleable commodity. These peoples are exploited far more than the Japanese with deadly danger to their very physical existence and utter murder of their moral values. Yet on this labor, modern industry has reared a large part of its magnificient edifice.

Come now the Japanese and propose to re-build this edifice with higher but still far too low returns to their workers, and with the threat of bringing Japanese labor in competition not simply with colonial labor but with white labor the world over. A just solution of all this would be the gradual rise in the wage of colored labor the world over until its possible solidarity in object with white labor would gradually appear. It is this that white capitalism and white labor together is fighting; and it is this that makes white labor a strong and effective wing of the petty bourgeoisie the world over.

In seeking to break this vicious circle Japan faces a terrific task. If her laborers should try to make the break by striking for higher wages and overturn the present Japanese government, where would they land themselves? When the United States insulted her own colored labor by refusing to curb lynching in the South, and at the same time insulting the orientals by the Japanese exclusion law, two Japanese walked to the entrance of the America Legation in Tokyo and fell upon their daggers scattering their blood on the door sills in mute and awful protest against this insult. This shows that the Japanese masses know what they face: exploitation and too low wage at home, but greater exploitation and far lower wage if they overthrow Japan andface the industrial mercy of white Europe.

Three thousand miles south of Tokio and Canton, equdistant from crowded China and India, lies an empty continent held barred against the colored world by white capital and a handful of petty bourgeoise in the name of civilization. It is an anomaly and a challenge. It cannot endure. This Japan knows.

Chapter 17 - Jones looks back on China

The most obtrusive fact to me in China was the bitter feeling against Japan. I had known there was rivalry. I expected to find considerable feeling but I was not prepared for the depth of resentment that I found when, for instance, I was being pointed out memtoes of the "last war" in Hang-Chow. I was a bit puzzled when the guide explained, "Oh, we mean the War of 1932." Then I cast about to remember that of course it was that uprising in Shanghai, which we in the West thought of as a petty incident but which in China looms as a great battle between Japan and China. An official of the South Manchurian Railway told me that he had lived in Japan sometime and at last his neighbor said with some curiosity, "Are you really Japanese? We thought Japanese were devils." It is the sort of fierce fight that starts in a family, or a feud between cousins; or to make it more specific, war between mulattoes and blacks in the West Indies or between the English and Irish in the British Isles. The Chinese and Japanese are blood relatives. Of course, the mixtures are different and those used to the East can tell them easily apart. I think I began to sense the difference and yet they are very near each other. The Japanese without doubt borrowed much of their civilization and methods of culture from China and in recent years China has learned not only facts but a whole world attitude from Japan. But this nearness does not allay the strife. It makes it, as I have intimated, even more bitter.

I sat down with a number of Chinese: officials, social workers, teachers, and newspaper men. We lunched together and then talked. First I told them about myself and my problems and then whirling perhaps a bit suddenly I said, "There is one thing I cannot understand. You Chinese surely know that you have suffered more from the English and Europeans than from any one else, and granting causes of estrangement from Japan, why is it that it is so much more in evidence than the natural resentment against Europe." I did not have to point to what I meant. Sitting there, we were in a Chinese city

ruled by Europe. The whole valley with its myriad millions was a pawn to European investment. The whole emancipation of China was primarily an emancipation from European capitalistic control. They knew it. They told me some of the plans and work toward freedom. I even went down and visited that new ghost capital between Shanghai and the sea which was planned to cut Shanghai's supremacy in trade and put it in a Chinese city ruled by the Chinese. But it was a thing half-begun and half-done. A beautiful and empty library stood in the city, a marble city hall. Streets were there and some houses, everything but people. And they explained that it took capital to do it. They did not have the money. And therein lay the secret. They proposed to out-capital capital. They were going to build a new Chinese industry which should emancipate them from European industry; and they felt themselves able to do this and they bitterly resented the intrusion of Japan coming in as though she were a western power destined to dominate orientals; as though she, the culture child of China, was going to show China the way of life - that China which had lived a thousand years before Japan was known and would live long after Japan's end. The intrusion of Japan was resented because of its very success and because of its all too apt imitation of western technique. They were not called upon to take hold of the hands of their yellow brother and march side by side toward freedom and domination. They were asked rather to put their millions at the mercy of Japanese exploitation and let Japan finish what England and France and Germany had begun, but should never complete.

The Kuomingtang is leading a one party state and can be compared to Russia on the one hand and to Hitler and Italy on the other. It is more like Russia because without doubt its leaders are single minded, self-sacrificing men working for the good of the masses of China. But it is like Germany and Italy in that it pins its faith upon capitalistic development, upon the old Western industry revivified. Its ideal of democracy which the Kuomingtang hoped sometime to introduce is the 19th century European liberalism inoculated with the communism of Sun Yatsen. But between ideals here communistic, here

capitalist, the Kuomingtang has not been able to choose and its objects waver helplessly before the enormity of the task. To penetrate the Chinese family and the Chinese clan; to infiltrate into the Chinese village and begin the basic work of reform calls for every ounce of a nation's genius and ability. In the way stands the terrible legacy of corruption, inertia, fatalism which the Empire left to the wavering republic. Graft has been ingrained in Chinese officialdom so long that it seems almost hopeless to eradicate it and of course until income and its sources are entirely readjusted it cannot be eradicated. There is almost no way for a man to earn a decent living in political life save by graft. If now capital increases production to a modern scale by water, electricity, steam, and machinery, the resultant goods might be distributed so equitably that graft would be driven out. England made her civil service in India incorruptible by giving her servants magnificent salaries and retiring allowances and pensions; but to do something similar in China, not for a government satrapy but for the mass of citizens, would call for a technique of distribution which capitalism has never invented, and by its very constitution, never could.

It is here in the matter of distributing goods and in allotting services and training men and seeking out character that the kuomingtang despite its marriage to capitalism finds itself pushed more and more toward communism and toward the ideal of becoming itself a dictatorship of the proletariat for the eventual birth of industrial democracy. The outcome is not sure. It is obscured by the inner struggle to put down bandits and bandit chieftains and curb grafting generals and officials.

Above and around all that, swoop the plans of Japan. Japan sees a clear path with control of the raw materials of China. She could be independent of the western world with her cheap efficient labor supplemented by the labor of China and perhaps eventually even of India. Her absorption of North China would put under her comination a territory forming a more nearly complete economic unit than exists in the East and which would only be rivaled by the United States, Russia, and the British Empire. Secure in the

possession of the coal and iron and cotton of North China, Japan might march forward and compel by competition the emancipation of the colored labor of the world. This program is bitterly opposed. It is opposed by Europe lead by Great Britain most naturally and explicably.

The resistance of China to this program is great and growing. It is doubtful if it can ever be carried through. What next? Next would come a change in object on the part of Japan, and a change of aim on the part of China. There are some signs of this. The change would mean that Japan and China together as equals would try to industrialize the East and produce goods which the East itself needs as well as goods needed by the rest of the world. And these goods which the masses of China and Japan need, would by the pressure of the communistic trends in China, be distributed upon a new basis, not according to the ideals of the West which Japan is following so strictly, but according to a new ideal much nearer that of Russia and strangely enough corresponding also in part with that integration of Japanese industry which makes the nation one industrial whole instead of a class divided industrial system. It must of course be Marxian in its abolition of private individual profit, which family and state communism in Asia already tends toward but which has been frustrated by European influence; it must be Marxian in its equalized division of income; but it may be distinctly Asiastic in its resistance to a bureaucratic reaction toward a new bourgeoisie.

It would take a new way of thinking on Asiatic lines to work this out but there would be a chance that out of India, out of Buddhism and Shinto, out of the age old virtues of Japan and China itself, to provide for this new kind of communism, a thing which so far all attempts at a socialistic state have failed to produce; that is, a new Asiatic communism with its Asiatic stress on character, on goodness, on spirit, might ward off Thermidor, or in other words the tendency of the socialistic state to freeze into bureaucy it might through the philosophy of Gandhi and Tagore, of Japan and China, really create a vast democracy into which the ruling dictatorship of the prole-

tariat would fuse; and thus instead of socialism becoming a stark negation of the freedom of thought and tyranny of action and propaganda of art, it would expand a great democracy of the spirit. There is hope here, vast hope; but the horror of it all is to see the fear of Russia and the blandishments of Germany and perhaps even of Italy, seducing Japan away from China and Asia and seeking to create a Fascist bloc which the finer world eventually must kill or itself perish.

Of course, today Jane, this may sound a bit rhapsodic and I confess my basis of fact wavers and my words trip each other. I cannot make out of this vast world, and out of this little glimpse of it, one coherent picture, one complete logic of understanding; and yet something is here. We have missed in the West goodness, and truth, and honor. We have tried in our machine civilization to evolve necessary human character from Hegelian dialectic. It cannot be done. Nothing, nothing can take the place of the man of good will. I think I see your criticism of our own world, and I also have long been realizing your veiled suggestions that I have lost my job. I think if I had not lost it I should now give it up. I am wondering if possibly you and I couldn't plan some way to work together. I do not know just how. I am sailing home but I shall expect a letter from you in Hawaii.

Chapter 18 - Jane on Indians, brown, black and red.

Jane had not been able to reach Jones with letters between his two communications on Japan and China but finally one get to him. Jane said, "I am fascinated by your telling of old China and New Japan. I might have stood a word or two more of Nikko and Nara; I should have loved a further description of the white marble platform of the Altar of Heaven; and then something of silk and porcelain and jade; but of course you must be about your father's business and so must I.

Now I am off for a journey in the air. I have never been in India, nor in South America, and have had but a holiday view of the West Indies. But you were in Haiti, were you not? It is wretched luck that you were not able to visit India on this trip. Of course so vast and intricate a world, added to what you did see, might have been bad for your mental digestion; unless of course you could put a year or two into it. And why not? It is a shame that we are so circumscribed and held down in this matter of travel. Think what it would mean if a dozen of us could spend a year in India with its three hundred seventy millions of black, brown, and yellow folk, and in Malaysia and the South Seas with many other millions.

But what I am trying to do is to set down my thoughts as to where these dark folk stand in any survey of democracy today and tomorrow. Here in India, as in so many other parts of the world, we have the primitive sub-stratum and the invading conquerors; but real India is not the invaders either from the North or the West. It is the dark brown Dravidian with his belief in the unreality of mere things; in the simple life, in the transmigration of souls, in non-violence, and occupational caste. On this poured conquerors from the North, so called Aryans, whatever that may mean. But they did not displace the older and in many respects finer culture. They froze it into hard and fast forms of religious dogma, hedging conquest; and settled its eternal roots in three-quarters of a million of village communities where older and darker India lives forever.

Then came the religious revolt of Buddha attacking caste and spreading culture, peace, and art over all Asia. Afterward came eight centuries of Mongolian and Mohammedan conquest lasting to the 18th century.

Finally came the Europeans. This was the last and greatest catastrope. Katherine Mayos by the score may invoke and insult the raped and scarred body of Mother India and yet the bitter truth remains, that Europe, and especially the British Empire, having begun the ruling of India in the time of Shakespeare and utterly dominated it since the day of George Washington leaves it today a people where less than one-fifth of the population can read and write; where the poverty of the masses, whose peasantry tries to live on fifteen dollars a year, is so abysmal as to make them perhaps the most wretched of mankind. The reason for this is as simple as it is clear. England takes annually in profit out of India four hundred million dollars at least, and in many industries for every $6 paid in wages to Indians, European investors get $500 in profit.

The revolt against this began late, for the 700,000 villages bent beneath the long impact of oppression and yet did not yield. But in the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, came the first blind, cruel reaction and the fear of it has never since left England. Organization finally came in the Indian National Congress in 1895. It was at first complacent and liberal and gained some concessions. Early in the century under Tilak and Lapat Rai it became nationalist and after the War, Rai was murdered for his patriotism. My father knew him in New York. He was plump, brown, and earnest and particularly wanted to know of American Negroes and wrote about them for India.

Indian nationalism grew under Rabindranath Tagore. It turned to literature, art, and dancing, and to the vision of an Indian culture to influence and lead the world. In 1905, it began to force reforms by revolution and terrorism. But the official English response was characteristic. It drove a religious wedge between the masses of Indians emphasizing the rival religions of Hindu, Mohammedan, and Sikh and even the Untouchables.

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The Russo-Japanese War enthused India, and the World War strengthened their determination. They went into it whole-heartedly to support England with a determination to extract independence as a result.

In 1919, Hindus and Mohammedans were fraternizing but England struck at the freedom of the press in war-learned tyranny. Gandhi arose to leadership after the secession of the liberals from the National Congress and became the greatest figure in India and one of the great figures of the world. The beginning of his leadership coincided with the Massacre of Amritsar when a British general nobly murdered 379 unarmed Indians with one burst of machine gunfire and left 1,200 wounded unattended on the ground. He was relieved of his commission but the House of Lords praised him and the English public gave him $100,000 as reward.

Gandhi began to perfect his tactics of peaceful non-cooperation with British government, including a boycott of English goods and government schools. His followers could not restrain themselves from violence and the English government was pleased with a pretext to send him to prison for six years; still the fight went on. In 1919, the provisional and central councils gained a majority of Indian members restrained by an official minority and unlimited power of veto by viceroys and governors, while finance and the army remained in the hands of the ruling despot. The Simon Commission of white men to study India came out in 1926. India refused to cooperate with it and declared for independence in 1928. But the English labor party came to power in 1929, and a round table conference of Indians and British was called London. The Congress raised its flag and declared for Indian independence. The civil disobedience strike was one of the most astonishing the world has ever seen; even the secluded Indian women walked the streets to support it. The world depression helped to embitter the situation. The economic strike against British goods was astonishing efficient. The condition of the peasants forced them toward revolution under the leadership of Nehru.

Despite the redoubled efforts of the British government, the Indian Congress increased in power and influence, and in the round table conference of 1930, there was an attempt to compromise, although the Indian Congress represent 85% of the Indians was not represented. Curiously enough the 582 Indian princes and rulers representing eighty millions of people and yet as Gandhi said "being only British officials in Indian dress" joined in the demand for autonomy and were welcomed by the British as the allies of capital.

At the second conference in 1931, Gandhi himself was present, but the result was not encouraging. In the midst of whippings and violence in India, there was evolved a new and intricate government, the provisions of which increased religious differences in India; granted limited democratic control to Indians overshadowed by the despotic power of veto held by the English governors and exercised in finance and in the army. In response to this the Indian National Congress has beaten all parties in most of the new elections and refused to take part in government unless the veto is not used.

We see today a strike of democratic India against British commercial exploitation. There has been no fight for democracy in modern days equal in extent and drama to this unfinished fight in India. Its repercussions and influence go down through all the Malay states and South Sea Islands; its success is the success of democracy in the world. It is far more significant than Hitler in Germany or Fascism in Italy. It combines tremendous forces and almost insoluable problems: the color and race bar; the infinite subdivisions of political power; the unlimited and subtle exploitation of labor; the expenditure of Indian taxes for armies to keep India in subjection, and for the support of a highly paid white Indian civil service; the attempt to reconcile differences of religion, and religious custom; the heart-breaking attack upon ancient caste and the despising of millions of human beings. Yet this fight of India for freedom and democracy is a fight for the laboring masses of the whole world, and the eyes of men should be tied to it.

Turning now to the Indians of the West. We turn to people who have no bond with the people of India save the biologically insignificant but socially significant bond of color. Millions of slaves were poured into the West Indies in the 16, 17, 18, and 19th centuries. Most of them flowed on to the other Americas. Those who stayed died by the

thousands and the rest mingled their blood largely with the Red Indians and with the whites. They played in nearly every island, astonishing dramas of amalgamation, mutiny, revolt, and civil war. Then gradually in the West Indies and of the slave trade there was born the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century. Do not stare, my Dear Jones, nor smile. I am following you fast. I have been reading furiously in these lone months and I have come to your conception of the Industrial Revolution. It will require, I am sure, more learning than I have and the keen analysis and criticism of your mind, but the thesis is this: the Industrial Revolution did not start as we usually seem to be taught with cunning invention and thrifty savings, and individual initiative applied to new raw materials. No. It started first with a new conception of human labor, human labor as a commodity to be bought and sold. Never before in the world, and nowhere save in the Americas had such a conception been arrived at. It had been approached to be sure. Men had been bought and sold but temporarily; incidentally, almost eventually they had been settled upon the land and in homes and anchored there. Religion had more or less effectively insisted upon their essential and individual humanity and the eventual salvation of their souls. But in the case of the African slave trade beginning in the older ways and bringing casual masses of Negroes to Portugal, Spain, and the West Indies; there was gradually evolved in the course of five centuries a new idea. Labor became goods regularly and systematically acquired goods with recorded rates of sale and methods of collection and distribution. Labor became a commodity. Even in law and in Virginia it became real estate. For a long time even its conversion to Christianity was not recognized under English law, and in the slave codes no such institutions as marriage, the family, the church were legal among the slaves. This mass of labor sent sugar, cotton, rice, tobacco, indigo and other raw materials to Europe. It was this mass of new raw material that made the Industrial Revolution. It put a monopoly of wealth in a few hands; it inspired and instigated invention; invention harnessed power; capital, machines, and natural power revolutionized industry. New cities, centers of commerce and factories

leaped into being: Liverpool, London, Hamburg, New York. Thus out of the slave trade the Industrial Revolution was born and the new status of labor as a commodity to be exploited by the newly accumulated capital. The people of the West Indies, as this industrial pattern covered the world, were left as the lowest remnant and victims of modern labor and land exploitation. They lie there today kicked aside, almost forgotten little islands of poignant beauty used as playgrounds for white folk, and laughed at and played with by artists; forgotten beginnings of the most tremendous revolution this world has seen.

Gradually all the West Indies have today been hammered into conformity until the pattern today is so clear and conventional that people hardly notice its significance. The dispersion of Negroes did not stop in 1861; it spread the descendents of Negroes over the new world, at least twenty-five million of them, to form a new proletariat but an uneasy and bitter one, inoculated with modern education and in close competition with white workers in both North and South America. First there is in each island a mass of black peasantry; able for the most part to read and write, but poverty stricken; and either landless or, where they hold land, taxed to the limits of its possiblilities of production. Above them is the foreign investor: English, French, American, or what not; who dominates the whole industrial organization by his investments and ownership of ships and machinery; his local representatives form a white collar class or petty bourgeoisie of clerks, small business and professional men; and the higher class of artisans are mulattoes with a few whites and blacks who form a local aristocracy and yearn to be rich Englishmen or Frenchmen. There is democratic representation in the legislatures and councils but always with a minority representing the officials and commerce and back of that the full force of European power. Sedition in the line of economic revolt, strikes for higher wages, or radical proposals are put down swiftly and quietly. And all of these populations and their isolated islands are kept from intercourse or counsel, provincialized in tradition and saddled with enormous governmental costs and enough pomp and circumstance to impress the people. Perhaps

democratic control is more manifest in the French West Indies and in large islands like Jamaica and Guiana of the South American coast. On the other hand, ruthless capitalistic exploitation is shown in Cuba, Hayti, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo where American economic control has often eventuated into political domination. Over all this is the inability of the overwhelming Negro element to assert itself spiritually or socially. The Negroes recognize no unity in their black blood and consequently talk of themselves as English, French, or Danish; recoil from any alliance with American Negroes and refuse to envisage their one great future in the shape of a black republic sweeping from Florida to Guiana. Democracy here is a matter of impulse, of enlightenment, or ideas. It will come suddenly even after long dead years, but it will come.

Of other Indians, of these dark mongolian people who once held North America, and sweep today from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, and who form the predominant element in Mexico, Central America and South America and an appreciable element in North America.— Of all these folk I know little. There has been among them no self-assertion as Indians. They have succumbed. They have allowed themselves to be divided into helpless weak individuals and exploited endlessly and at leisure by the whites. Their beautiful art in building, music and cloth has dwindled and died. Their blood has drifted into other veins and remained there inert and inexpressive. They have apparently never conceived of an American India, of peoples who despite their English, Spanish, and Portuguese blood have also an equally desirable Indian blood, capable of its gifts to the world. There have been great Indians but no modern Indian nation. They illustrate bitterly, what happens to a group which refuses to see its social bonds in common suppression and suffering and dies crying "There is no race problem!" Indians as individuals and men of Indian blood are forwarding democracy, industrial and agrarian democracy in Mexico and South America; but not as an Indian race and I wonder why?

It is sinful thus to dismiss the southern Americas with but a bit of a chapter but what can I do? You won't go around the rest of the world, but at any rate the pattern

is clear even to those who have had neither eyes nor ears for this great continent. Here in the future Negro, Indian, and Latin will work out a world more really new than North America ever conceived. The capitalist regime, the monopoly of wealth which England, and America have fastened on South America will be in time changed not so much through the insurgent bourgoisie who have played football with democracy in Brazil and Chile, Venezuela, in Peru and Mexico, but the new force will come from Negro and Indian peons who somehow and sometime will develop a leadership, a democracy in industry, a dictatorship of sacrifice which will put this dark proletariat in the saddle. Perhaps even race pride will have to be invoked to exorcise a spineless ignoring of racial elements which leaves them here like the blacks of French West Africa leaderless. All this is vain imagining but it is none the less true.

Of course, Dear Jones, you will see in this the curse of quotation, the wisdom of mere reading. You will recognize that all of it has been abstracted from other peoples thoughts and writings, but it does sort of help to fill in the picture, doesn't it? Your letters are slow these days and so is life on this dump.

Chapter 19 - Jones on Haiti

This postscript Jones wrote and attached to Jane's letter, since he could not mail it from the boat immediately.

One thing, you forgot: one tremendous fact. The drama of the West Indies typifies itself in the story of Haiti. It is a story that has been half told but it is the most heartening thing I know of. Here was the nadir of labor, a great amorpheus mass of black commodity flesh, dumped into a little island of heavenly beauty and exploited with every ecstasy of cruelty and blood from the mass murder of Indians in the 15th century to the sugar cane exploitation of the 18th. And then, suddenly in the night, there came revolution. It came as Marx would have had it, not from the educated and able mulattoes, but from the great black mass of slaves led by an incredible man. Those slaves drove out the imperial Spaniards and the commercial English and ruined Napoleon Bonaparte's dream of commercial empire in the Valley of the Mississippi. They set up a free and independent state.

The world alternately grew red with anger and roared with laughter while this little state born of slavery and revolution started its tempestuous career. Its real problem was not political although it had to struggle for political independence as against France and the United States. But the essential struggle was for economic independence; for feeding and sheltering these slaves and enabling them to trade with the world for a share in world commerce. They established first under the great Christophe, whose monument is still the most marvelous building in America, a communism of the African tribal government with emperor, chieftains, clan and family life. This raised Haiti from the inertia of reaction to organized and efficient economic life. Above all, this regime accomplished the most astonishing thing in the modern world: it divided the land among the peasantry in fee simple sharply in contrast with the land monopoly of Europe, the land theft of Africa and America, and analogous to the land division of China.

But after all this island of communist effort and peasant proprietorship was in the midst of a sea of private profit organized during the Industrial Revolution and coming in the early 19th century to its perfect flower. Political subjugation could not be forced

on Haiti but economic subjugation was almost inevitable. The French insisted on enormous tribute which Boyer reduced in actual figures but which remained more than this poor community could pay and live. The pressure of American investment began, culminating in impudent demands for strategic territory and finally in attempted subjugation.

The result in Haiti was that the people limped forward wavering between the attempted leadership of presidents analogous to African chieftains and presidents who represented the French élite of capital. The élite could establish no exploitation in modern form because there was little industrialization, peasants owned the land and held it fiercely, and agriculture was at the mercy of colonial imperialism throughout the world. Capital was offered Haiti only on the severest terms, with political control in the background. Finally the United States conceived of Haiti as a way station to the Panama Canal and Wilson at the behest of American investors and manifest freebooters seized the country. The resistance was not mainly and could not be physical. The new engines of war were too terrible. But Haiti put in action a sit-down strike, a silent refusal to cooperate; it used all of the difficulties of a language which the Americans did not know, and of a law code which they could not practice; the inability of the conquerors legally to monopolize land; and above all a determined propaganda among the Negroes of the United States which captured even President Harding.

There were only two ways out: murder which the Republican party with its Negro supporters did not dare inaugurate or compromise. Compromise consisted of compelling Haiti to accept a debt which was nothing less than highway robbery and included every lie and cheating contract that it could on the most disadvantageous terms. Haiti again became "free" but her existence depended upon a dictatorship which should, on the one hand, keep the peace; and on the other hand, pay one-seventh of its annual revenue to the National City Bank of New York. Under such circumstances no new orientation of object could easily take place. The new voices of industrial democracy were sternly repressed and perhaps had to be if the threat of American subjugation was not to return. Nevertheless, the voices were there and

the effort. The voices that declared that the end of Haiti was to raise its land holding peasantry to further economic independence and intelligence; and perhaps the most prophetic echo was when Bellegarde in the League of Nations raised his voice against the South African murder of the Bondelschwartz repeating in the African world the complaint of the whole world of exploited black folk.

Chapter 20 - Africa

Jones crossed the 180th meridan on his way from Yokohama to Hawaii and had lost a day or gained one, which he wasn't sure. At any rate he had two successive Tuesdays for writing Jane which was as inexplicable as it was true. The result was that no letter was written. The burst of tropic bloom that was Hawaii overwhelmed him on Christmas Day. He sat on deck and stared at it. He had no wish to touch it or see it closely. He just wanted to realize it, and so he let the ship dock and sat listening to the voice of the singers and yet sat still. Then came the steward with a thick letter. It must be from Jane. No one else in the world wrote letters. So Jones sat back and faced the royal palms and listened to the sound of the surge of the sea on the sand and read.

Jane said: I have had two glipses of Italy and one of Africa. This being interpreted means that you were in Italy in 1900, and told me about it and I was there in 1924, and saw it with new eyes. And my good friend Johanna died in South Africa in 1923, trying to be a little brown missionary to black folk but doing her finest missionary work among whites. Also I have read up on Mussolini.

It is the belated lands that play Hell. The lands that seem to assume that all civilisation should be at dead heat. In fact when some nations forge ahead, the others ought to deliberate, to linger, and learn, and teach; but they rush in and kill and muddle. And that is what Italy is doing today. Italy breaks my heart - this center of the soul of beauty, born of the muck of bigotry and world conquest and disunion to a new joy and song and color - "Kennst du das Land?" So Italy aping Great Britain and France and Germany and copying a dying technique of empire that needs not copying but an entirely new art, plunges a red knife into Africa's heart and dances and struts in savage joy amid her squalor.

So what is this Africa? Guernier to my blank surprise repeats in 1933, the ancient lie of 1833: "Seule de tous les continents, l'Afrique n'a pas d'histoire." This pre-

ludes quite modestly his thesis that Africa is the future field of exploitation and expansion for Europe; that Europe is being hemmed in and forced out of the teeming and revivified East; that Europe can hope for no further foothold in the American West, but that the black south can be regarded as open, virgin, empty soil.

The drama which has played itself out in Africa has been as human and dramatic and intensely interesting as that of any other continent. That it did not finally integrate into one great and unified culture like that of Europe or of China was the clear and logic result of its physical characteristics and the slave trade. The human spirit which expanded in Africa was the same humanity that all the world knows. It shows itself in family and clan, in town and city, in individual genius and above all in art, an art that stands today among the great aesthetic traditions of the world comparable to the Chinese, Chaldean, and the Mayan.

But all this was surrounded and conditioned by a plateau that warded off easy egress to the sea; by a desert that cut off the way to Europe; and by a climate alluring in some respects - in others the most deadly in the world and the most difficult with which human life ever fought. Within the confines of this continent came the earliest seething and writhing and movement of human beings toward food and shelter, protection and adventure. It swept the Valley of the Nile and flowed out the Mediterranean isles and the Valley of the Tigris Euphrates. It centered in the Great Lakes; it sailed down the Niger and up the Congo; but the jealous desert kept it back from Europe save through narrow outlets through which it planted its black hand on Egypt and Crete. And to the southward the impentrable forest and the hot jungle kept it from integration and contact.

Yet in these centers it throve with its cities of villages in the west; with its states and kingdoms in the center; and with the continual drizzle of its elements along the Nile and along the shores of the Mediterranean. Then finally came integration, state empire building, a new invasion of a new religion along between the shores of the desert

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and the south shores of the Mediterranean until turning southward suddenly, a part of the stream found, through the gateway of the ancient kingdom of Ganah a way to break the spell of the desert. Great states arose and in the 15th century the outlook for black African civilization south of the desert was commeasurable with the outlook for reborn civilization north of the Mediterranean.

Then came heart disease; then came the slave trade; then came the most unique human experience which the modern world has known: the forcible transplanting of a race so that black Africa lost not less than fifty million and probably a hundred million human beings through capture, slavery, killed defendents, and corpses thrown into the Atlantic. More than the annual increase of the continent was drained away. A trade in human beings more systematic than anything which the world has known was begun, expanded, and made customary for a space of half of a millenium. No rush for gold ever equalled this rush for blood. The whole economic foundation of life was changed in a way more significant than the raids of barbarians across Europe and Siberia with conquest of the Mongols and the Islam.

The economic revolution thus incited rests upon two facts: first, the institution of human labor as a saleable commodity; and second, the application of that labor in massed industry upon a new, fertile, and virtually empty land. In America no permanent integration of social life had spread sufficiently upon its double continent to take real possession, leaving an almost empty land. Here the black slaves and most of the brown Indians were put to work to make new goods for the expanding wants of Europe: tobacco, cotton, and sugar. Their coming incited the ingenuity of men. It was not a series of inventions that made the Industrial Revolution. It was the new commerce and goods made by black men that incited men to invention and built a new world. An extraordinary class struggle arose; not among the peoples of one land but between modern civilization and the primitive virtues transported to the free land of the West. The whole attitude of the world was changed to fit this new economic reorganization.

This raid destroyed wealth and capital far more completely than in India where a Nizam can still rival a Rockefeller, and hold the world's toadying respect. But in Africa, gold, ivory and metals, art objects and relics were all stolen, destroyed or removed, leaving the 20th century a race so poor that all the wealth-worshipping world could despise its poverty.

Black Africa which had been the revered example of ancient Greece and the welcome companion of imperial Rome became a thing beneath the contempt of modern Europe and America. All history, all science was changed to fit this new condition. Africa had no history. Wherever there was history in Africa or civilization it was of white origin and the fact that it was civilization proved that it was white. If black Pharaohs sat on the throne of Egypt they were not really black men but dark white men. If miracles of art appeared on the West Coast it was imported from artless Portugal. If Zymbabwe with mine and irrigation appear in the East it was Asiatic. If at any time, anywhere, there was evidence in Africa of the human soul and the same striving of spirit and the same build of body found elsewhere in the world it was all due to something non-African and not to the inherent genius of the Negro race.

A new world emerged built upon the immense accumulation and monopoly of capital goods due to black labor, free rich land, and the consequent new mastery of natural forces. The demand for additional black labor decreased because of the gradual filling of land, of the law of diminishing returns, of the competition of white labor. The slave trade stopped in a sudden blast of blood and fire known as the Civil War in America and the world turned to new commercial technique and tried desperately to forget the stealing of men. But there could be no forgetting. The growing disparity between wealth and poverty, - between power and toil, which the slave trade and world trade based upon it, now brought, exaggerated a bitter class struggle in the various European countries. To mitigate and solve this, to keep power in the hands of the capitalists they turned toward the weaker parts of the world; where technique and political power had lagged and found to their vast surprise and yet in perfectly logical sequence that Africa was weakest. Weakest because her states had been crushed by war and rapine; her inner social organization disintegrated; her religion blasphemed. So in the 19th and 20th centuries instead of stealing workers from Africa the world turned to forcing the remainder of the

workers whom they had not stolen to toil at home and thus to use Africa as a new reservoir of raw material and labor to supplement the industrial organization of Europe. It divided up Africa. It demanded the right to exploit and develop an unexploited land. It talked openly about raw material, pointing out as it does today that already Africa is furnishing one-fith of the world's copper and 12% of its magenese, 8% of its tin, 41% of its phosphate, most of its palm oil and ground nuts, nearly all of its cocoa, and vast quantities of other necessary materials. And knowing too that its supply of iron, zinc, rubber, gold, cotton and wool may be almost infinitely increased. But when Italy and Germany called for these raw materials what they really meant was forced labor back of the raw material, and it is this demand of the countries of modern Europe and America to have at their disposal the cheapest human toilers which makes of the problem of Africa just what it makes the problem of Asia and the South Seas; and too, what it makes of the labor problem of Europe and white America.

The products of Africa today are as follows: wheat, rice, corn, barley and other cereals, cotton seed oil, linseed oil, palm oil, coffee, cocoa (of which it has three-fourths of the world's production), forest products, fibres, cotton, jute, sisal, raffia, rubber, sugar, tobacco, meat, hides, wool, fish, petroleum, phosphates, iron, copper (four and one-half million tons), gold, diamonds.

Of black and brown peoples, Negro and Negroid, 140 millions live in Africa. Let us glance at the figures of their industrialization:

The Belgian Congo had in 1930, 9,584,936 natives. Of these 409,665 were employed in European undertakings, an increase from 45,702 in 1916. This includes agriculture, personal service, mining, and the service of the state. Recruiting agents are used and propaganda and the government try to guard against threats and fraud and on the other hand to keep workers from being enticed from one employer to another.

In the Union of South Africa there are 6,479,700 non-Europeans of whom 5,681,100 were Bantus, 196,400 Asiatics, and 602,200 colored. Native labor is used in agriculture,

gold mines, sugar plantations, coal mines, diamond mines and secondary industries. In 1930, 475,909 were in regular employment on European farms. In 1934, there were in the gold mines 244,262 natives drawn from the Cape Province, Portuguese East Africa, Basutoland, Transvaal, Natal, and other areas; in the diamond mines in 1932, owing to limitation of production, 19,146 natives. 50,000 were on the cane sugar plantations in Natal in 1930, and 22,000 natives in the Transvaal and Natal gold mines in 1933. In manufactures, 1929-1930, 127,561 non-Europeans most colored were employed in the factories. The Rand Gold Mines are the dominant factor in recruiting labor and drawing labor from as far away as Nyasaland.

In Southwest Africa there were in 1932, 242,290 natives. The mining industry there has been closed down practically since the depression. In normal times the mines employed 10,000 natives. The natives now are engaged only in agriculture. Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swasiland export laborers to the Rand Mines and other South African industries.

Southern Rhodesia had a native population of 1,055,000. In 1930, 185,312 worked on European farms. In 1931, 38,463 were in the mines, 25,310 in domestic service, and 17,000 in transportation service. In Northern Rhodesia there was a native population of 1,382,705 in 1932. It is an agricultural country chiefly but has a great supply of copper. In 1930, there were 31,941 natives in the mines. In Nyasaland there were in 1932, 1,606,431 natives. 32,000 natives were growing cotton, and 53,000 growing tobacco. There were 10,000 clerks and skilled laborers, and 41,00 unskilled laborers. 30,000 natives were working outside the protectorate.

Tanganyika had in 1932, 5,022,640 natives. They were chiefly engaged in raising sisal and coffee on European farms and cotton and ground nuts on native farms. Gold, tin, mica, diamonds, and salt are mine employing 28,000 natives in 321 undertakings. In Kenya in 1932, there were 3,076,343 natives and 68,000 non-natives. Six and a half million acres of land have been alienated and over five million acres in European occupations. The productions are coffee, maize, and sisal. 160,000 natives were employed on farms

in 1929. In Uganda there was a native population of three and one-half million. The agriculture was native and produced cotton. European planters grow coffee, tobacco, tea, and rubber. In 1932, 400,000 natives were employed as unskilled laborers in native agriculture. In Spanish Guinea are 120,000 natives. The production is mahogany, rubber, coffee, and fruit. Much of the labor formerly came from Liberia. In French West Africa there were 14,000,000 natives, mostly engaged in agriculture and raising ground nuts, oil palms, cocoa, coffee, bananas, and sisal. Most of the agriculture is native although in 1930, 1,200 concessions for European plantations had been granted. In the Cameroons were 2,200,000 natives. In 1930, there were 25,000 natives employed by Europeans on plantations and in the forest. In French Equatorial Africa twenty to twenty-five thousand are kept employed on the Congo Ocean Railway. 25,000 or more than one-fourth of the able bodied males of Gabun were used in 1929, in the forest. In Portuguese Angola there was a native population of three million mostly independent cultivators together with 50,000 traders and 45,000 skilled workmen. 6,000 are employed in the diamond mines and 15,000 in industrial undertakings. Mozambique has four million natives chiefly raising copra, cane, sugar, cotton, oil, maize, wheat, sisal, and tobacco. The natives employed were 308,000, and 76,000 were working in South Africa and Rhodesia.

The problem of regimenting, and using, and exploiting this black labor in Africa forms a problem mounting in intricacy, and calling for many sorts of solution. In French Africa, dominating the Northeast and the Northwest, are three leading ideas: first, freedom for the rich and fortunate blacks to become Frenchmen without let or hindrance, but the poverty of the blacks is too great for this to mean much; second, the use of this reservoir of men to supplement the French Army of which it forms today one-third and may easily form one-half or two-thirds; and third and more important than all, a place where French capital can make paying investments. These three objects are mutually contradictory and it is only because the last of the three is dominant that the French are able to come to satisfactory terms with the other colonial powers.

British Africa is on the West Coast, the southern peninsula and the lake region stretching up to the Valley of the Nile. It represents historical and logical differences. It begn with direct and ruthless exploitation and conquest. Then it changed to exploitation under the low wage system such as is dominant in the South African mines and in the Rhodesias. Then sensing the invevitable it tried indirect rule especially in Nigeria and then in the Gold Coast, Uganda, Tanganyika and Nyasaland. Indirect rule started with the fact that British civil and military power could not afford the increase in man power and wealth to over-awe many of these colonies and that, therefore, tribal government was maintained by devolving power upon the chief. But the chiefs were kept in subjection by bribery and force. If the irresponsible governor appointed by England was a benevolent despot this rule might be a step toward or even eventual autonomy, independence. If he was in the employ or under the influence of exploitation, this became a clever method of continuing exploitation.

Moreover, there soon came because of the unsophisticated efforts of missionaries the problem of education and the advancement of black men. It was first settled by the simple fact that black men could not advance. It then contemplated for a time the leadership through black capitalists and black teachers and preachers; but this was likely to cost white European capital too much and the end was doubtful. There came, therefore, the double-tongued idea that Africans must not be educated to become Europeans but educated along their own bent and genius, which meant denying them the use and knowledge of the English language and the more valuable lines of modern technique and of contact with Europe. And here in British Africa the matter rests today with a thwarted intelligensia which England recognizes only under protest; with a mass of workers who are being used for modern industrial purposes.

This situation is aggravated in the Union of South Africa, where two million whites propose to build a civilization which will dominate seven million blacks after impoverishing them by taking most of the land from them; by using the blacks for extreme exploita-

tion and yet maintaining what South Africa calls "independence and freedom" for this part of the continent. It is an impossible situation. It has already resulted in a theory of racial separation with the power on the white side of the separation and appeal on the other side, to be made only through white men chosen to represent the blacks. It is a theory that can never work.

In Portuguese Africa we have an unsertain land dominated by mulatto capitalists with masses of laborers who work for the white capitalists of other lands. This is the territory which Germany itches to seize. In the Belgian Congo we have the greatest anaomaly: a little European country, decent, industrious and thrifty but for the fact that she owns an Eldorado forty times her size, where she has stolen the land is allowing her capitalists to exploit the resources to the very limit of the physical endurance of the black natives. This was the country established, as Henry M. Stanley, said "By a philanthropic society which numbers noble minded men of several nations and it was to bring Christian civilization to the heart of Africa." It brought instead an avalanche of filth and immorality from which not even the reforms of our day has let the land recover, and cannot so long as profit and not human uplift remains the chief ideal.

Here then is Africa in its national aspects; but internationally it conforms to one pattern: black troops under the command of white officers, hold black Africa politically disintegrated and virtually helpless while white capital is putting black labor into industry as quickly and effectively as possible at a wage which is below civilized living conditions; and this industrialization of Africa is expanding far faster than education, political training, or religious teaching.

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Jones laid down the letter with a sigh, before he had read the subscription and the inevitable postscript. He looked across the sea in a desperate endeavor to see again the beauty of the palms but what he really saw was Jane. He stared helplessly. He scrambled hastily to his feet and kissed her; then he stepped back in utter confusion but Jane said, "If you apologize I'll scream."

Chapter 2Ø - Jane Jones

"Get your things together," said Jane practically, "we are going ashore."

"But we have only a few hours," objected Jones, "and have you got your ticket and your cabin?"

"We are not going by this boat."

"But you see," said Jones lamely, "I must go by this boat. My transportation is paid through to San Francisco and If I should stay over a few days or a week it would cost me a hundred dollars more and frankly I haven't got another hundred."

"But if you stay over a month you can get another Japanese boat and it will cost little or nothing extra."

"Except," said Jones, "the price of staying over."

"Which I have got," said Jane.

"Yes - but I - you know I have no work -

"And I have thrown up my job," said Jane. "It was quite impossible and I have got that thousand dollars which I have saved and we are going to sit down here in Hawaii because it is a very beautiful place and soothes my nerves and because it is full of remnants of exploited and colored people. We are going to sit down here and think all this thing through."

So, of course, Jones did as Jane proposed (not easily, and with misgivings, it must be said) and the afternoon found them looking for quarters. There was a little cabin facing the sea on Waikiki Beach.

"Quite large enough for two persons," said Jane and looked contemplative.

"Ye - es - quite," said Jones then hesitated and his dark cheeks grew hot, "if they were - married," he added, lamely.

"In that case," said Jane practically, "and for that reason I am afraid we will just have to get married; other wise we cannot afford this little holiday."

Just how surprised Jones was, he never said, Jane often wondered. But they were married quite simply and sat down on the little porch without chairs and with twined arms and looked out toward the sea and proceeded to build a new life.

"The end of our search," said Jane, "is this: the world cannot escape the logic of democracy. It is hindered by ignorance, illness, dishonesty, and poverty; these four, but the greatest of these is poverty. Men are ignorant mainly because they are poor. They are sick because they are poor and ignorant. They are criminal because they are poor, and ignorant, and sick. And they are poor, not because they are lazy, but because we regard poverty as inevitable for the mass of men, and allow the degradation of the masses into poverty without protest from state or public opinion. We steal the land from natives in Kenya and South Africa in order to force poverty upon them. We stole the land of the South in the United States to keep Negroes slaves. We stole the land in the western United States to make millionaires and tenants. Poverty is unnecessary and the clear result of greed and muddle and spawns physical weakness, ignorance, and dishonesty. There was a time when poverty was due mainly to scarcity but today it is due to monopoly founded on capitalistic exploitation. This strangle hold must be broken. It can be broken not so much by violence and revolution, which is only the outward distortion of an inner fact, but by the ancient cardinal virtues: prudence, courage, temperance, and justice; and the more modern faith, hope and love. Already the working of these virtues has increased health, intelligence, and honesty despite poverty and further increase is only thwarted by the blind and insane will to mass murder which is the dieing spasm of that decadent exploitation of human labor as a commodity born of the Negro slave trade; and this attitude is today strengthened and justified by persistant disbelief in the ability and desert of the vast majority of men.

Jones, listened carefully and answered slowly. If all production and most human services were divided as equally as practicable, I wonder how high a standard of comfort could be provided? Could we support healthy life, and art, and science? What proportion of luxuries could we have? How many could have autos and separate homes with bathrooms? How many could travel, and how far, and for how long? How many could spend time in laboratories and observatories searching the stars? I presume, said Jane, with just distribution of goods and reasonable allotment of services we should all be poor at least as the rich now count pov-

The proletariat of the world consists not simply of white European and American workers but over whelmingly of the dark workers of Asia, Africa, the islands of the sea, and South and Central America. These are the ones who are supporting the superstructure of wealth, luxury, and extravagance which the Coronation so impudently typified. It is the rise of these people that is the rise of the world.

Perhaps the role of the American Negro as well as of the Japanese is leadership of this dark army. But whether toward world hegamy of dark folk using the old weapon of exploitation and force and ending in the same morass. Or a hegamy of world workers dark and white leading to a race-less as well as classless world.

erty. Certainly none would deck themselves like the Dowager Queen of England with two million dollars worth of jewels on any occasion. There would be no private yachts nor palaces. We should not manufacture cloth of gold nor silver brocade; and banquets would be reduced from fourteen to four courses. We could have simple individual houses and gardens; beautiful but not extravagant clothes; simple food and the resultant good digestion; few so-called physical luxuries but free speech and uncensored art. I see now reason why most people who wished could not have automobiles capable of twenty-five miles an hour but some might prefer private parachutes.

"I have met," said Jones, "three classes of reformer: the revolutionist who things that everything is so bad that only immediate murder and destruction can begin new life. Then there is the critic to whom nothing is good but who depends with rare faith upon time to right things and does nothing now. And finally, there is the man of action who sees good and bad and wants to do something about it. The most that war and violence can do is to clear the way, if it can accomplish even that, and then must be done all the things necessary for the establishment of justice and many of these things certainly might have started before the revolution and if they had been, who knows, the revolution might not have been necessary. We pause thus, on the one hand, before the better as the enemy of the best; and on the other hand, before the worse as a step to the good.

"Which is quite considerably off into the air," said Jane, "now as to us."

"I have come to the conclusion, that there is one lacuna in modern thought on social problems and that is Character."

"You mean religion?" said Jones.

"That is precisely what I do not mean. I suspect that because our thought of character has been so mixed up with religion that we have got ashamed to mention the word. By common consent we leave it out of education, advice, and human judgment. As a matter of fact there is no necessary connection between character and religion. Usually people with the weakest and poorest characters are most religious and profess to believe in dogmas that sane people cannot possibly accept. I do not mean then by character either Christianity, Mohammedanism, or New Life."

"That leaves only heathenism."

"And that is what I meant to leave," said Jane. "I mean doing right because it is for the best for all."

"Now you see we have tried to substitute for that something mechanical. We have tried to say that if people had an adequate income and were contented then they would be good and the earth would begin to take on some of the characteristics of heaven. But you see Jones that doesn't follow. It is, of course, the inevitable and inescapeable perequisite, and because of this we have hitherto concentrated all our thought and planning upon it, but we can no longer do so. Everywhere in the world is forcing forward democracy even if slowly and haltingly. forcing increased economic justice, a better division of goods and services among workers. Now before we go a step further we have got to think of the time when poverty approaches abolition; when men no longer fear starvation and unemployment; when health is so guarded that we may normally expect to live our seventy years and more without excess of pain and suffering. In such a world living begins; in such a world we must have freedom of thought and expression, and just as much freedom of action as maintenance of the necessary economic basis of life permits ~~needs~~;

that is, given three or six hours of work under rule and duress we ought to be sure of at least eighteen hours of recreation, joy, and creation with a minimum of compulsion by anybody. Even then we are not out of the woods."

"The mechanical dictatorship of the proletariat may bring a socialist state with rising wages and the possibility of democratic control but it also will bring to the front ruthless men of ability, greedy of power and first thing comes Thermidor - comes the substitution; comes the transformation of dictatorship that represents the mass and to a dictatorship that represents itself. And although this second state is not as bad as the first, it calls for more revolution. Now I do not suppose that all this can be avoided. Perhaps we shall go from economic incarnation to reincarnation until the bureaucratic socialistic state dissolves into the democratic state of men who are willing to have other men their equals. But I do not think that even that will occur unless we stress more and work more for the feeling of equality and good will, and desire for other people to become men even as we are. Not even Trotsky's universal communistic revolution is going to provide automatically for this kind of man. How shall we get him, Jones?"

"We shall only get him, Jane, by being him; that is, reformers must be willing to be equals. Here Asia must help us with its austerities and Nirvana, with its dream of transmigration of souls; that is, not the hermit in filth and dire poverty but the man well clothed, well fed, busy with the work he wants to do and yet eager that other men should have the same opportunity and absolutely refusing himself to grasp or steal powers that will hinder other men from doing this. The willingness of such an individual to lose himself in common effort for common weal, and the belief in a kind of immortality which does not mean the eternal ego but does mean the endless succession of cause and effect in human deed. So that you get a better world by getting better things."

"In other words," said Jane, "we have got to get good men. I know it is a mushy word and terribly vague and yet its very simplicity gives it meaning. We have got a world full of smart men, and bitter men, and powerful men, and bad men. All these must

be transmuted into good men, and while I should hate to put down in black and white a definition of good, I think the word itself is clear enough and that being that, what now shall you and I do?"

"I suggest," said Jones, "sometime well before your thousand dollars is all exhausted and gone to follow my one hundred which disappeared ~~sometime since~~, that we go settle in some city perhaps west, perhaps east, but better in the South, and that we go to work to earn a living in a decent sort of way, avoiding charity on the one hand and exploitation on the other. And let us see just how good a life we can lead in keeping with others like-minded, young and old, white and black."

"Just what kind of a job we can wrangle up that will fill all these conditions I am not at all sure. We can, of course, teach, but where? We both have better training than most of the people teaching in colleges and yet most of the colleges where teaching would be worthwhile wouldn't have us. We would be hard put to get recommendations, and what we taught would soon be called communism; and what we did would be looked upon as radical if not worse. We would be set in a narrow mold and in a few years turn to cement. The same is true of the public schools only it is much worse. They are dominated by fools, businessmen, and politicians. They are quite impossible."

"Except," mused Jones, "there are odd schools in odd places in little towns or parts of cities which either because they escape observation or are by accident under enlightened control give teachers a chance."

"True," said Jane, "but that will take a lot of searching for. Beyond that we might work, as men say, that is go into industry: a factory or shop or a mine."

"We would have insuperable difficulties, answered Jones. First of all our time and strength after we have done our stint wouldn't permit our doing anything else worthwhile. All our effort, all our whole strength would be put into making profits for capitalists. We would have little time left for anything else. Secondly, it is doubtful what that anything could be even if we had time for it. Our fellow workers would be hard to convince and lead. And third and last, we couldn't get into the ordinary

factory or shop because most trades unions don't want "niggers".

"Very good," said Jane. Suppose we start into business for ourselves: a little store, a little industry, or even a cooperative venture?"

"This," said Jones, "would call for capital; must be done in the face of severe competition; would place us at the mercy of credit agencies; and make us learn a new technique for which we might easily find we had no aptitude."

"So far then as I can see," said Jane, "we have an elegant chance to starve to death, but we could starve together and do it gracefully with some by-products and results that would not be altogether bad."

"There is the civil service," said Jones.

But Jane answered hastily, "There is the civil service for the United States government, the state, the cities, and country, and there I hope to God we will let it stay. There is no use getting buried before we are dead."

"I am still thinking," said Jones, "of some kind of cooperative effort like that foreshadowed in your credo."

"Excellent," said Jane. "But of course you will have to remember a few things: first we can't afford babies; secondly, we shall always be in fear of starvation.

"I can not see," said Jones, "that our prospects are just what you call brillant but we have the first, happiness, that is, I have," and then he glanced at her, "I mean we have. And that is a good deal to start with. We have health which is the second necessity. And the very fact that we are in Hawaii and married and have no jobs shows the amount of faith that we have.

Said Jane, this then is our program: to settle our own problem of poverty by securing subsistence, health, books and papers, [illegible]. Secondly, to teach and heal and be good. For this we will need a home and a garden and a job for each of us. And outside the job we will talk, and teach, and form clubs, and have friendship, and letters, and

write. We may now and then be able to borrow a car and a trailer. Our teaching will be that Poverty is sin; Profit is theft; Sex is joy, Love is God and Work is His Prophet. Let us sing and dance, sleep and guard our health, so we may live long eager days, close in communion with the world that was and is and is to be. Lastly may we die in each other's arms, regretting only the children we could not afford and the Beauty we could not see; but rejoicing always in the Freedom which is ours forever.

"Does it sound too dithyrambic, Jones?"

"It sounds fine," said Jones, "like you."

"Very well then let's take the plunge."

And they went down to the beach and plunged and coming up on top of the wave, came out of the sea and afterwards floated on it, second class in the next Japanese boat for San Francisco. Thence they made their way to Alabama, Jones learning with unexpected ease the art of the pullman porter and Jane riding in coaches, reading, and waiting for his visits. Eventually in Alabama they found work, but what it was and how they did it is quite another story. At any rate they lived happily and in the shadow of the fear of starvation all their lives.

A WORLD SEARCH FOR DEMOCRACY

Fragments and notes

We can point to improvement in race relations in the U. S. — slow, faltering but decided & undeniable. We have better Negro schools & colleges and a better trained leadership & more wisely educated men; our colored brothers are working & saving with more wisely & carefully used; ~~& conduct~~ our writers & artists, while still few & widely imitated by fear & being unnatural, still press forward & at times attain notable recognition; contact between white folk & colored while still resented is broadening & becoming more normal.

Of course, all of this is butting an age-old stone wall, with arguments, excuses, curses and extenuations just as old. Granted a world made suddenly smaller, with all its ends in collision, and race friction is inevitable. But the cost of human friction, of group antagonisms, of national hates and racial prejudices, is so high, so appalling, that no work in social betterment demands more serious and constant effort. Here start all problems of Peace and War, Poverty, Sex, Education and government. We may not escape the fact that in the silent, continuous clash of black and white folk in America, we have, in microcosm, World War on a universal scale. We may minimize this, deny it in newspaper headlines, rostrum openings and radio broadcasts; and yet the bitter clash of Europe, Asia and Africa, the ever-threatening war of worlds, can best be made unthinkable by first rendering possible the human and cultural development of the dark tenth of our own nation. The failure to do this, links the ~~pending attempt of Mussolini to conquer Ethiopia and its oil,~~ with peonage in the Mississippi ~~Valley~~.

The answer to such statements is a chorus, disconcerting by its very unanimity: "Of course--to be sure--certainly!" See what has been accomplished already. Slavery is ended. The Negro is a citizen--in part. Who is complaining? All is well or at least,--better.

Yet all is not well. No more critical moment ever faced black America, than faces it today; not in 1830, nor in 1861, nor in 1867. What are the facts? The appeal of the Negro for elementary justice in this nation today still falls on deaf ears. Three-fourths of us are disfranchised, yet no writer on democratic reform or Third Party movements says a word about Negroes. The Bull Moose movement refused to notice them; the La Follette Third Party barely mentioned them; the Socialists still keep them in the background. Our children are systematically denied education; yet the National Education Association has no word of protest and when it asks for national aid to education it insists that present discrimination shall be perpetuated by the present local authorities with no check on inter-racial injustice. Once or

Insert No. 1

The world ~~conquest~~ quest of the human spirit was ever Freedom - that independence, initiative and anarchy of the undying soul which is the Summum Bonum. But successive falling and mounting barriers have arisen. From the high areas of domination in the primitive clan down to the anarchy of ages of empire, up to the police and regimentation of today with its domination of work and wage. And this latest attack upon freedom has come because the machine which should free labor has enslaved it. This can doubtless be remedied by intelligent planning but intelligence fails. Indeed democracy's most ghastly failure is in education and that primarily because we have never believed that the mass of men can really become intelligent. Even the grand children of the gutter, risen to place and power, do not believe that the miracle of their accomplishment is universally possible and unite with privilege and monopoly to lead the world to stupidity and mass hysteria. For the same kind of contradictory reasons the African cannot be educated; the African should be educated for the inferior place which he must always hold; the attempt to select and train ability among Africans is ~~impossible~~ unwise and a threat to white supremacy; the African should be trained just so far ~~and no farther~~ as he increases the profits of industry. All this is and must be a passing phase both for Europe and Africa. We have got to have back of democracy a large majority of intelligent, efficient, broadly educated voters. Without this no real democracy is possible and yet democracy is eventually inevitable. For a day will dawn when above police and planned work and apportioned income will blossom a realm of real freedom wider than space and unlimited in time. We dreamed of this in Russia and saw steps toward it. We were disappointed because the steps were not longer and faster. Permanent disappointment is impossible in Russia, in Europe, in America, in Africa.

Ch. 12 - Radek

To this [illegible] [illegible]
But hand writing, I know Radek (but: I know a man who

On the other hand and cutting across all this argument like a red knife, is one [illegible] knew Radek. Not intimately and well, but we spent a long afternoon in 1928 in his room in the Kremlin. It was a scholar's room, a man of bread, international interests There were magizines and books in all languages, strewn about, evidently in frequent and con stant use. Radek himself was carelessly clothed, alive, alert, interested in all mankind and all its actions. They talked of the world broadly and sympathetically. Always afterward, he stood in my mind as the finest example of the Russian communist; who wanted economic and spiritual emancipation for all men. Who sought this thru the light, thru knowledge, thought severe reason; by this path and discipline, Radek had come to ~~think~~ what seemed to me whole- hearted and passionate support of the Soviet govern ment. And that was his meaning to me: Russia even revolution, and despite oligarchy and harsh administration of a strict dictato ship could select and raise to power and influence, thinkers and leaders of the type of K Karl Radek. For there in this dictatorship of the Proletariat lay the danger: that Mediocrit ty risen to power might strangle thought, in fear or envy; that there would be no room honest difference of opinion, out of which Truth would arise. Democracy selects leadership by vague, inefficient, hit or miss methods, but it does get the opportunity to hear the varies sides of Truth, and if really intelligent and unselfish, chooses in the end the best or if it chooses wrong, can change its mind. Oligarchy can choose more quickly and effectiv ly, and thus carry through fundamental change, when democratic methods would utterly fail; but this can be done only if leaders like Lenin miraculously appear. Thereafter comes the problem of successors. That is Russia's problem today; that is the perpetual problem of all revolution. I had thought Russia was solving this problem with unusual and indeed not to be expected success, when thse wholesale murders and persecutions of Russian thinkers come in m mass. There is no question of the dangers Russia faces in a capitalistic world, lead by

(I am bitterly awakened in reluctant doubt

~~15~~

Hitler, Musselini and British, French and American reaction against the newer demands of the laboring classes. Doubtless Stalin must chose flatly between Tretzky' immediate world revolu- tion and the less spectacular but surely wiser plan of Russian socialization first. But how should Stalin treat the opposition? So as to drive honest and thoughtful men into desperate and underground revolt, or so as to permit within reasonable limits, difference, discussion and reference to a trusted electorate? This would have indicated such beginnings of abirth of real democracy in Russia, which the friends of Communism await with bated breath. The harsh murder and suppression of ideas, may have still been necessary for the survival of the Russian state, but the burden of proof rests upon Stalin. He is under no compulsion to prove his case before every carping critic of Communism. But before the friends of Karl Radek and others, Russia owes explanation and proof.

Of course you will say and I agree-- How much freedom and right to differ have we in free America? We donot kill our rebels quickly and mercifully-- we starve them slowly and most effectively to death, by denying them jobs-- because they joined the Union; because they read Marx, because they want a particular woman whom you do not want. Or worse, far worse, you starve and frighten them into orthodoxy. Do you remember the starry-eyed radicals of your youth? Not seers, maybe, but the stuff that Truth is forged from. Where are they? Beaten into bitter disillusioned old men, plodding the tread-mill for a living. Because they were wrong? Sometimes, perhaps often to be sure; but too often because they dared to think to explore, to question; because they bucked smug and powerful public opinion represented by stolid fools who wielded power. Perhaps it would have been better -- who knows?-- to have shot some of the wild wills forthwith, rather than crucified them and their ideas for fifty years. Cannot Man concieve a philosophy and technik of Dissent? Thank god for

rebels, dreamers & martyrs. ~~God~~ (I only this Soviet had just one!

Dear Christ!

F. this Jones sent a hurried note, as he sleffed on the Trans-Siberian

Of course the basic problem of Socialism that frets the soul of the thoughtful and chills the heart of the cultured is this problem of the mob. In their experience, the mass of men is synonymous with barbarism or at best cheap mediocrity in all things worth living for. They hate starvation even for cats and loathe snobbery. But, they ask, can you have the Free Spirit, and Art, which is its only child where the masses of men are Dictators? No, clear answer as yet only one cloudy and confused. But is it fair-- is it time to expect an answer yet, after but the first momentary break in the clouds of industrial slavery, and while yet surrounded by the threat and mad rage of the Hitlers and Mussolinis, and the cooler, but none the less bitter enmity of all contemporary civilized powers?

Moreover, the major matter to think of is not the present reality, but the future possibility of the mob. We are used to a world with most men poor and stupid. We are educated to to think in these terms as tho this were cosmic law. But is it? The proof is at hand: most of the cultured today are sprung from the masses, and not from the well-born. Is it not possible to dream of a world just as cultured as the best of this world, with most men educated, cultured and free, instead of the few? Is not this a vaster, finer vision than the present assumption that most men must be barbarians, if the Talented Tenth survive?

Is remarked by Queen —

and these Comsomol trator trials are part of this confusion

By happy chance

Leaders in Civilization and Art

Done by executions, children. The world exhibits no hereditary aristocracy of Talent + Taste + never has proven it

Cowhird

Chapter 1. I Come to Russia

I am in Russia. I am here where the world's greatest experiment in organized life is making. Nothing since the discovery of America and the French Revolution is of equal importance, whether it fails or not. And yet this experiment is being made in the midst of unexampled hostility; amid deep-seated bitterness and recrimination, such as men use usually for crime, degeneracy, blasphemy. I have read Stoddard; I listened to the frenzy of hate and loathing when the Nazis at Nuernberg spit on Russia; I have just read the prayer of that old and dying man whom millions call the sucessor of Jesus Christ, as he brackets War and Communism in one curse. Yet can one doubt the sincerity of Russia? Can one question for a moment, the gain to civilization if it were proven possible to make human wellfare rather than private profit, the chief end of Industry? Even If Russia fails to accomplishxxx this, or accomplishes it only in part, what a magnificent adventure, what a search magnificent, and at a cost so far less than that of any similar revolution in the world's history, if perchance there ever was such an effort on such a scale.

What is the sober truth? This is no Utopia, no fairy land of joy and plenty. Moscow looks much like other cities. Even its distinctive features like the golden domes are disappearing. There are people in crowds-- well-clothed and ill. There are various insignia of poverty and crowding. There are poor homes, crowded street cars, tired workers. But with all that one conventionally expects in a modern city, there are some things astonishing. First of all one misses the stores. Conceive a great modern city without street upon street of shops-- stores and stores again; duplicate stores; stores for necessities, for luxuries, for firvolities, for food and clothes. There are stores in Moscow, but few widely spaced and run by the state. Think first of the space abd rent saved; think of the saving in advertising alone. On the other hand, the comparative paucity of stores must entail trouble and loss of time. One sees cues at little shops waiting to be served. Yet here is an attempt at system in the most anarchic part of capitalistic enterprise-- the distribution of goods to the consumer. Here has been in the past an area of waste, graft, cheating, duplication of effort, muddle of plan, and dislocation of supplies that was the dispair of economics; here Lenin himself had temporrarily give way in his

N.E.P., which was gleefully hailed by capitalism as the surrender of socialism to capitalism. The ultimate triumph has come. The private shops have disappeared from opposite the Kremlin. The state directs retail trade. Threre are compact, well-stocked stores, here and there thru out the city; to all appearance efficiently manned and run, with goods a-plenty. But not all goods. There are a few luxuries: perfume, face-powder and other bits that my friend says were either unpurchasable in 1928, or imported at high prices. These are "Made in Russia". Most goods are necessities, made not because they bring the greatest profit to someone who has the power to say what shall be manufactured, but made because the mass of the people need them and because the state alone has the power to say what goods shall be made.This is tyrrany; this is interferance with the liberty of action which some few folk have had for ages. But this liberty was bought at the price of poverty, and the present tyrra ny is the will of people's wellfare.

The churches have disappeared. Not all, but most of the multitude of them that characterized old Russia. Even across the land as we ~~xxxx~~ rode east, the village was no longer heralded by the guardian church. Why? Why did Fascism in Italy and Germany fight the Church? Why did anti-slavery in America fight the church? Why did woman suffrage in America and universal suffrage in England fight the Church? Because ~~stands~~ and must stand for things as they are, for re-action, for dogma; the Church may conserve, after the battle for righteousness has been fought, but it never has and never can fight for unpopular ideals. Thus every cause, be it right or wrong must begin by an attack on established religion, or it will never begin. With us, as you know, the church has never as such opposed lynching!

There are new buildings-- mostly great office buildings for the officials of administration. The take the place-- with less duplication, of the endless office buildings of New York and London. In them the socialistic state guides and regulates production of goods, manufacture of goods, distribution of goods, application and training of human services. Here then is a civil service, which adds to what we are used to regarding as the functions of government, all these matters which we used to think must by order of nature be done by unregulated and unguided private initiative. They could not be; we soon found that out and supplied private government, with private police, and private war ~~and regulation~~ and still maintained that what we were doing and must do to maintain Big Business, could no not for some queer reason be done by these same people acting together as a state, because the private business worked for money and the state tried to work for the public weal.

The answer was that most of the workers for private business did not work for money but for support and joy of job; and it is precisely this motive that Russia is seeking in its state work plus a plan for state -wide weal. Is it impossible?

No doubt but the kernal of the problem is the securing of a civil service. That Russia has not failed completely in this, is in itself a triumph. The astonishing thing is that up out of the mass of the Russian people is apparently coming the talent and devotion for this exacting task. I say apparently, for I do not know-- noone is yet certain. But if the underlying assumptions of democracy hold, Russia must succeed. Those who doubt Russia , doubt democracy. Look around the world and see.

But my freind says, that the present effort to answer Russia's problems of men and materials lie outside of Moscow, in the vast East, which we now approach.

But how I'm running on, and forgetting my main research into democracy. The meaning of the Russian revolution is the realism with which it approached its task. It followed Karl Marx, but inductively, not by the dialectical dogma. It studied the facts of the situation and then by careful inductive reason asked how far the keen analysis of Marx applied. It was not afraid to modify the dogma in face of the fact. Thus Lenin evolved a newer Marxism suited to Russian conditions, just as future economic change must do. The end aimed at was a state democratically ruled by the working classes. But the Russian working class was too ignorant and inexperienced to rule. It must be led and taught. The self-appointed ~~leaders~~ formed a small compact group and built around themselves a small communist party. This working class party did not contain all the workers, and here the revolumet the difficulty of the class struggle idea. The workers did not form a class with conscious uity and opposition to the rich. Such a class consciousness had to be taught and its expression disciplined-- a long hard matter of mass education, still going on. But at any rate, the facts once known, proved the thesis. But the industrial workers of Russia were a comparatively small class-- terribly exploited by foreign capitalists, who before the war were makiking often 50% profit. On the other hand, most of the workers of Russia were peasants, the largest proportion of rural population in the world. The leadership of these seemed an easy task, despite their ignorance and isolation. They demanded land. They got it immediately, as much as they wanted or could use. But their ideology was capitalistic, from age-long training. They did not follow the working class revolution. In effect they revolted. They refused to plant for the nation except at a profit.

The Russian revolution was easier because the workers had not been differentiated int

into classes whose interests conflicted, as technicians, highly skilled workers, semi-skilled and laborers. They had no capital in homes and savings accounts. Thus literally they had nothing to lose but their chains. When now it became imperative that the new Russia train technicians and import foreign technicians to help in this training, there arose the danger of counter- revolutionary ideas among the industrial elite-- the desire to amass wealth, the temptation to despair over the herculean task that faced Russia. Here was a second danger. Finally, the threat of capitalist countries gave emphasis to Trotzy and others who followed the Marx dialectic and avowed that there could be no one socialist state unless all other states became socialistic. Universal revolution then was their primary program, before attempting to make Russia independent.

Here were three enemies of Russian communism at its very start. They had to be met and overthrown or the revolution was in vain. The revolting peasants were starved into acquiescense in collective farming, and thus brought into cooperation with the workers. The technicians who were not loyal were shot as traitors or expelled. The Trotzyites were executed At the same time, the industrialization of Russia was begun on a gigantic scale. The centre of economic life was shifted from Leningrad and Moscow to beyond the Urals. VAST works of electrification, mining, railroad building, and heavy industry were undertaken and carried thru to the astonishment of the world. At the same time the almost impossible task of building a modern army was finished so effectively that all real fear of interference from without disappeared, and Russian aid was sought by the very powers that had attacked her and slandered her and sneered at socialism. For the first time in the world it was admitted that communism might succeed. Stalin was vindicated: for if communism is successful in Russia it will take no revolution for it to spread like wildfire over the world. Already Italy and Germany have been prepared by Fascism, for Fascism is communism minus the chief ingredient: abolition of private profit.

Furthermore Russian communism is based on ultimate democracy-- democracy divorced from capitalistic control, and carried on by an electorate both literate and intelligent, with an education covering their adult lives, and giving them the truth. Such education the present leaders of Russia have sought to give the people by nation wide and intensive propaganda. But propaganda can be used by Error as well as by Truth; and the most difficult task before Russia, is this task of mass education so carried on as to ensure not simply truth as pr sent leaders conceive it, but truth such as springs from fertile and free minds, uncensored as well by socialism as by capital. This is a long, hard and extremely dangerous task -- fatal if begun before the dangerous mis-teaching and perverted ideals of acquisitve society have been thoroughly uprooted for a finer, more unselfish culture. Yet Ru is making the gesture in her new constitution. She becomes the best hope of future fr universal democracy, because she alone of all modern lands has resolutely faced the that government includes economics, that industry must be planned and not left to se anarchy, and private profit must yield to public weal. She has faced these facts res utely while all other nations have dodged them. Whether the manner of Russia's attackin this vast new governmental duty is the right one ~~xxx~~ or one ofthe right ones remains to be seen. But this tremendous fact is true: Russian communism has not yet failed.

all. Further than this we may go into matters where there is more dispute and yet certain clear lines of thought. The modern method of buying and selling labor and making the amount and kind of production dependent upon private profit rather than public weal; or in other words production for profit rather than for use is a basic cause if not the one preeminent cause of our economic muddle. We have got to distribute wealth not on the basis of ownership but on the basis of work. Income must eventually depend upon service and not on power. Thus we have indicated, and all the world knows it, a vast revolution of method and the way to accomplish it is the way that all human progress must be accomplished and that is by reason and sacrifice. There is no other way and whether the path lays over violence and blood or silent straining of sinew and pain of nerve it comes nevertheless back to the same thing. Reason and sacrifice are the secret of the progress of men.

muddle of governmental efficiency, breakdown of the industrial machine and loss of faith in mankind. By grace of 20th century imperialism we cannot withdraw to ourselves and fight for salvation by ourselves. The possibilities of the 17th century are not ours. We have got to study our situation here and start to right it here.

For this I've worked out a creed. You'll laugh at it and criticize it. But think it over:

1. We American Negroes forming a distinct social if not a purely racial group are threatened today with lack of opportunity to work according to gift and training, and lack of income sufficient to support healthy families according to standards demanded by modern culture.

2. In industry, we are a labor reserve, fitfully employed and paid a wage below subsistence; in agriculture, we are largely disfranchised peons; in public education, we tend to be disinherited illiterates; in higher education, we are the parasites of reluctant and hesitant philanthropy.

3. In the current reorganization of industry, there is no adequate effort to secure us a place in industry, or to open opportunity for Negro ability, or to give us security in age or unemployment.

4. Not by the development of upper classes anxious to exploit the workers, nor by the escape of individual genius into the white world, can we effect the salvation of our group in America. And the salvation of this group carries with it the emancipation not only of the darker races of men who make the vast majority of mankind, but of all men of all races. We, therefore, propose this:

BASIC AMERICAN NEGRO CREED

(Banc)

A. As American Negroes, we believe in unity of group effort, so far as this is necessary for self-defense and self-expression, leading ultimately to the goal of a united humanity and the abolition of all racial distinctions.

B. We repudiate all artificial and hate-engendering deification of "race" and race separation as such; but just as sternly, we repudiate an enervating philosophy of our escape into an artifically privileged white race which has long sought to enslave, exploit and tyrannize over all mankind.

C. We believe that the Talented Tenth among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in determining by study and measurement the present field and demand for racial action and the method by which the masses may be guided along this path.

D. We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment, Education and Health; these three: but the greatest of these is Employment.

E. We believe that the labor force and intelligence of twelve million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure. Therefore, we believe that, if carefully and intelligently planned, a cooperative Negro industrial system in America can be established in the midst of and in conjunction with the surrounding national industrial organization and in intelligent accord with that reconstruction of the economic basis of the nation which must sooner or later be accomplished.

F. We believe that Negro workers should where possible join the labor movement and affiliate with such trade unions as welcome them and treat them fairly, and in other cases we should form and federate our own Negro unions. We believe that workers' councils organized by Negroes for interracial understanding should strive to fight race prejudice in the working class.

G. We believe in the ultimate triumph of some form of Socialism the world over; that is, state ownership and control of the means of production and equality of income.

H. We do not believe in lynching as a cure for crime; nor in war as a necessary defense of culture; nor in violence as the only path to economic justice. Whatever may have been true in other times and places, we believe that today in America we can abolish poverty by reason and the intelligent use of the ballot, and above all by that dynamic discipline of soul and sacrifice of comfort which, revolution or no revolution, must ever be the only real path to economic justice and world peace.

I. We conceive this matter of work and equality of adequate income is not the end of our effort, but the beginning of the rise of the colored races in this land and the world over, in power, learning and accomplishment.

J. We believe in the use of our vote for equalizing wealth through taxation, for vesting the ultimate power of the state in the hands of the workers; and as an integral part of the working class, we demand our proportionate share in administration and public expenditure. But we know that control of capital by the masses is fundamental to all political and social power.

K. This is and is designed to be a program of racial effort; and this narrowed goal is forced upon us today by the unyielding determination of certain elements in the white race to enslave, exploit and insult Negroes; but to this vision of work, organization and service, we welcome all men of all races and colors so long as their subscription to this basic creed is sincere and is proven by their deeds.

Add to Search for Democracy

Ignoring names and phrases, the crucial question of government is: How far is the State being conducted for the best interests of Mankind,

(A) In the State at present
(B) In the State of the immediate future.
(C) In white Europe and America
(D) In the world at large

There subsidiary and iterpretive questions, like: What contradiction can there be between present and future interests of any State? Are the interests of the White world and the World at large antagonistic either at present or in the long run? Are the interests of mankind dependent, at any time or always, on the the interests or welfare of a particular group, be that group aminority by birth, gift or training, or a majority by numbers? (1)

A State being conducted for the best interests of Mankind, in any of the above senses, the next query is: by whom is it being conducted to this end?

(2) (A) If it is conducted by a single dictator, whether King, Leader, Boss President, how is his power maintained, how does he get his knowledge of means and method, and what super-power holds himto his task, and insures the continuity of his p work power, in case of his failure, disability or death, orrecognizes or foresees , changes of method necessary for the maintenance of the main objective?

(B) If it is conducted by an oligarchy, in the shapeof an aristocracyby birth, an organized and diciplined political group, by organized and concentrated capitalistic investors, or by any powerful group, similar questions follow: first of all is it clear, that the interests of mankind ,and not the interests of thei group is the object and the continuing objectof the endeavors? Who decides between the special interests of the group and the interests of humanity? Whence comes the physicalpower by which obedience is compelled? How is knowledge of method and ability to act supplied; how is power delegated and handed on, and how are changes of facts and conditions provided against? What super power compels adherence to the main object of government despite change in thepersonitality of the ruling group?

(C) If the State is conducted as a democracy, just what is the form and method of the democracy?Who are the voters and how are their representatives selected? Just how is power balanced between the voters and those chosen to represent them? Are the voters of sufficiently intelligent to know their own interests and the interests of mankind, and are they free to excersize this knowledge by their vote? How are the voters educated , and given reliable information of what their government is doing and of what has happened and is happening in the world? How are the interests of the interests of the ignorant, imbecile, criminal and young, safeguarded? How far does Oligargy flourish under cover of democratic forms? Aboe all how are the voters trained for their high and difficult function, and what checksinsure the proper functioning of of their power?

Across all theseproblems of government, cuts the Great Disintergration, the problemof earning a living. This distorts the whole picture, or as Marx would init becomes the picture. If everyone had enough of food , clothes and shelter to ensure physical health,by reasonable endeavor, their further efforts wuold be directed toward increased physical enjoyment, theenjoyment of Beauty and thuoght and creative action. There wuold be time for education, and and rivalry so far as it was injurious to others, or envy, selfishness and greed, would have a minimum of incentive, and could be kept in check by aminimum of government. (3) This is the anarchy, toward which all philosophic mind looks forward, but which is a possibility today only to the rich and privileged, and to them only ni so far as they are persons education, taste and intelligence.

In the past some primitive tribes have approximated this condition, by making food and shelter a matter of unified tribal effort, leaving abundant leisure for art, thought and action. Scarce food, primitive technique, war-like enimies and resultant defense mechanisms, taboosand superstitions, not only made food and shelter call for greater time and effort, but brought slavry and subjection inplace of freedom. The modern European solution of this problem has been capital investment.The relation of the owners of capitol to government has been the increasing problem of the I9th century and the crisis of the 20th.

(I) Is there or can there be conceived, a humanity, whose collective inters, regardless of class, race or nation, are or should be paramount in the world?
("2) What is the source of his physical power to compel obedience?
(3) This would give that maximum of personal freedom to move and think and act, which is the highest ambition and dream of real , emancipated human souls.

The desperate and continued effort of individual andgroup interests to use the State, for their own ends, wishes and purposes; with the assumption that this is natural, historical, and logical, and calls for no defense save that itworks and is patently beneficial to a few.

The work of Sociology is not to work out logical systems, but to endeavor by careful collections of facts and by measurments tosee how far these facts prove or disprove the assumptions of Marx, Veblen, and the defenders of privately owned Capital. Today facts are lacking, but the experience of the U.S.A., England, Germany, Italy and Russia would give a mine ofpertinent fact, if the truth became accessible.

The main problems of human government are

1. Authority, backed by physical force
2. Education of children
3. Education and information of adults
4. Freedom of indivual thought and action
5. Production and distribution of wealth

The liberal theory of democracy is that the voting population has indirect(and their elected representatives, direct,) charge of I and 2, while 3,4and 5 are le left to free individual initiative, with some curb and control in extreme cases. The theory is based on the fact that only by the free expression of opinion and choice by the mass of intelligent voters, can all sections of the nation find expression for the their views, attention foor their complaints which none know as they do, and that essential indivual freedom, which is the real source of inititative and method of discovering ability.

Democracy is challenged today directly and fiercely, by Fascism and Co Communism. Neither challenger denies certain fundamental tenets of democracy: that the weal of the mass of the people is the chief end of the State; that children must be educated and adults given detailed and careful information. But they they both contend that the production of wealth and its distribution must be under the strict control of the state, and that indivual freedom must be seriously limited and curtailed for the main interests of the state. Above both Fascism and Communism contend that because of the ignorance and inexperience of the mass of men, and because of the the interest which certain groups and indivuals have in deceiving and misleading them, it is fatal to leave their fate in their fate in their own hands, by delegating authority to the ma mass of voters. Both admit, or at least do not deny that when an intelligent electorate is available, gradually it will assume all authority in the state.

Meantime where shall authority be lodged and by what process? And what shall be the ends for which this autoritarian state shall aim? In all cases the method was revolution-- the application of force which the constituted authorities could not withstand: the Bolshevist uprising of 1917; the march on Rome; the German "election" o of 1930. In the objects of the new states, the Fascists and the Communists are in less agreement: they all seek the welfare of the People. But who are the People. On this point Communism is clearest: the people are those who produce Wealth. This is a direct, clear interpretation of an era and acivilization whose main object is the production of goods. and in which the mian social and political has drifted into the hands of those who control this production, and monopolize its income. Of course, Russia has been compelled i n logical self- defense to liberalize its definition of wealth and wealthproducer, to avoid the paradoxof a State advocating a life for the masses which is not mere meat, and yetpe nalizing the higherpaths of human action in Art, science,and the professions including civil service. The Fascists are deliberately vaguein their definition of the State and its people: they certainly do not confine "People" to workersbut practically include th e whole of the investors, captains of industry, etc., and leave the distribution of social and political power in their hands. But they insist on such adistribution of wealth as shall give workers a larger share. Russian Communism in its orignal poverty in consump tion goods had to distribute wealth in the form, indirect, of privileges, vacations, am usements and services. These Fascism imitates. All this is temporary expedient on both sides. The main question which both must face, and which all civilization must face,is the ultimate ownership and control of wealth. The communist answers: the State, controlled by its workers. The fascists say, the State, controlled by authority, but they do n not specify who ultimately will controll present authority. Democracies, like England, the United States and France explain that the ultimate source of authority must be the people , armed with universal suffrage. But both Fascists and Communists point out bec cause of lack of intelligence on the part of the voters, as the Fascists say,; on accoun of the compulsion, as the Communists say. Wherefore the Fascists propose to relieve or partially abolish poverty by the autoritarian state; the Communists propose to abolish it byby State ownership of capital and the abolition of private profit. Democracy proposes to amelioriate poverty by universal suffrage and to make education more effective

All parties face difficulties; the Fascists; the seat of athority and freedom of human development; the Communists, the seat of authority and the education of thre people. Democracy, the intelligence of the voters and the maintenance of authority.

Fascism is a direct and terrible challenge to democracy and does openly what democracy does by indirection and under cover-- i.e.governs, under democratic forms by means of concealed authority, which authority tends to rest today in the hands of the owners and controllers of capital. We assume popular government, but where does it really function?

Logically, democracy must be the ultimate aim of all government; this is openly declared by Communism and tacitly admitted by Fascism. Present democracies have sought this end by a wide grant of the right of suffrage, wide freedom for busi- enterprize, public education of children and free speach and press; authority resting on the action of popularly elected officials, backed by current public opinion. With much success, this attempt at democracy has a wide record of failure, and in crises like the World War and the subsequent economic crisis, broke down widely; intirely in some lands, partially in all that had attempted it. Why? For one obvious reason, and another les obvious ,but more fundamental. First, voters were asked to make decisions on which they had neither sufficient intelligence nor experience to decide; this was clear to the dullest student of government. The second and more fundamental reason was obscured by convention, religion and long usage-- namely, poverty; the fact that most voters were so near starvation that they cuold not cast an unfettered vote even were they intelligent enough to know how to vote. This fact fact nullified a basic assumption of democracy-- i.e. voters wuoldlearn wisdom and state craft by experience. But the samepower that compelled the voter to cast his vote in a certain way, also controlled the chief sourses of information concerning the resul ts of policies and votes. Economic slavery brought mob-law and wide disrespect for authority of all sorts.

The world of thought foresaw these difficulties fronting democracy and long sought to curb the freedom of capital in private hands. But the industrial revolution and a marvellous new technique put such power in the hands of private capital and led to such visions of universal wealth, that no successful attempt to curb capital investment was possible until the World War, when one of th e largest of the nations attempted an experiment on a gigantic scale.

Russian communism started with the assumption that no real democratic gov ernment was possible unless the government owned and controlled land and capital and thus abolished poverty. With all menassured of sufficient food, clothes and shelter, they could by education and experience learn to govern themselves intelligently. That without such social control of capital, wage slavery, poverty and ignorance wuold deall attempts at democratic government. The Russian experiment started with a dictator ship or trust to hold the power of the State until the people could be entrusted with the rule. To facilitate this the dictatorship proceeded to teach the people by a widespread propaganda, the truth concerning the world and Russia.

Proganda during the war had turned an oldweapon into a new and scientific ~~during~~ of government . The new technique of the radio, the older telegraph, and a world-wide and closely monopolized machine for news-gathering, came to be used every whrere "To win the war" regardless of the exact truth, so long as the main thesis was maintained. This was continued after the war to bolster many national policies in many countries, and it was most effectively used by the new Russian communism. Soon its use spread to the enemies of communism until there arose in Europe, what has been called Fascism, but which should, with Communism be called Propaganda Democracy, in distinction to direct attempts to establish democracy. The necessity of this indirect method and the force and revolution needed to establish it, are based by the communists on the Marxian dogma, and by the Fascists on fear of Communist success.

Propaganda democracy is a self-assumed dictatorship, which seeks to rest on popular support, and uses its power to insure that support. It must control capital and wages, it must take over all education, even that supplied by papers, periodicals books and news-agencies, and it must convince the mass of people in the state, that their welfare is its sole object. Once the mass of people are convinced of this, the sole task of the dictatorship is to supply continous and efficient leadership to keep the people satisfied and happy. A Machiavelli is needed to work out a treatise on the rules of this statesmanship.

The difference between the Propanga democracy of Russia on the one hand, and ofGermany on the other, is that in the case of Russia the object of the experiment is to introduce an entirely new economic and social structure. While Germany seeks to maintain the present structure, but to conduct it by authority and not by universal suffrage, at least not for a long time. Private capital and private profit are being sustained, and what we have in Italy and Germany is an attempt to rehabilitate private capital by state control of the most rigid type.The parodox is that thus Socialism shou

of a system of human effort, which more than any other in our day has demanded indivual freedom. Moreover if private capitalism survives, it would seem to have more chance un- Fascism than under current democracies.

Let us now consider the present situation in Germany.

We may distinguish

Ultimate democracy
Group democracy
Industrial democracy
Propaganda democracy, autoritarian state, engineers dictatorship
Communistic democracy, proletarian dictatorship

In America, democracy has broken down in Federal affairs, and largely in state affairs IT works well in some localities, in others not at all. It works most effectively in small groups and committees.In Germany it is confined to committes, boards and secret groups, whose members are selected by indeterminate methods and changed by chance , force or assassination. In England, democracy works within narrow limits. These limits are fixed by the power and influence of a small aristocracy of birth, wealth and learning.The ranks of this aristocracy, are open to nearly all comers, and freedom of speech and opinion are allowed on a wide scale. The power of this ruling group, lies in its control of labor and income, its social sanctions, and its chance to make its opinions known. As a result the ruling group is itself liberal, and while it does not directly represent the mass of workers, it does know much of their needs and demands, and continually to them, often welcoming a direct representative of this class to power and depend on reason and social power to win his support for their main plans.Through this partial democracy, England has maintained the power of her aristocracy and at the same time yielded to the demands of the masses a great deal. She in this way has avoided the dangers of ignorant mob rule. In France democracy is absolutely curbed by the interests widely distributed property rights.Peasant, shop-keeper, and small investor stand continually with large commercial interests to balk the workers.

The problem of authority in the state, is grave, and has been neglected by democracy, whose devotion to indivual freedom is anarchy. It is attacked by Fascism and Communism, and results in tyrranny and revolution.

In the will of the people must rule the State. But what is the will of the people and who are the people? Is the will of the people what they now want, or they will will eventually want or what they should want? Are the people the majority of persons in a state, or amajority of the rich, the good, the learned, the able? Should the people have what they want or should they be made to want what the state thinks they should want, for the best interests of the state, or of those who rule tha state?

One thing we may not forget: there is horror in Eurpoe. There is the shape of fear, before each eye-- death, bereavement, pain, cruelty. Black gowned women abound, graves are shrines, hate and hurt lie in shallow burial. I mind me of a man I saw in a movie in Nuremburg -- he wept at the plight of the Kaiser von Kalifornien.

One the Wretched will compel the inter-nation, once they recognize their likeness in all peoples. The Uncivilized will make the Inter-race, once the presence of the uncivilized among all peopls and in all lands is clear to men.

The silly assumption of the mondern technical world, that men must want and use what the machine can produce, instead of an organized demand on the part of buyers for what they want and need. Sucessful Business today is to be sure the science of present human wants, no matter howsilly or deleterious their satisfaction may be.

Authority may be used positively, to promote one's own good, or to promote the good of all. Or it may be used only negatively, to prevent harm to others.

The man who today argues against the socialized state-- against Socialism, talks like a peculiarly unintelligent jackass: the only road to individual freeman and philosophic anarchy, lies through the curbing of the power of the private owner of capital, based on the extraordinary development of modern technical mastery of the material world. This is recognized in every civilized land today.

Socialists who fear the authority of the socialist state are fools. Only by collective authority over individual freedom in industry, can freedom of thought, travel and art be achieved. Social authority must dominate and dam life until there is sufficient food, clothes and shelter for all. Then and only then can freedom rise and spread.

Anarchy is practical only among among a population of education and high character, with a large supply of genius and ability. It is seen today only in a few artist groups, and in certain closed aristocracies. Free democracy through universal suffrage can only be realized, if the power of technicians and owners of capital and controllers of wealth is so curbed that it cannot obstruct the popular will through poverty-- i.e. the veto of wealth over the expressio of public weal be abolished. The autoritarian state can only succeed only by curbing the profit-makers on the one hand and on the other hand securing the support of the proletariat. This support can be had by satisfying to a sufficient degree the demands of the proletariat, first for food, clothes and shelter, and then for recreation and information and the ends of living.

What is the truoble with the World? Fascism says lacck of intelligent Authority; Democracy says, in terference with Freedom, especially in industry; Com munism says: Poverty.

It is the business not to make logical systems out of these theories, but to test them by facts and measurements.

The New Freedom, says Communism, is freedom from the chains of Poverty and its awful brood of Crime, Disease and Superstition. Some argue that abolition is not as pressing as promotion of Art and Science. But Poverty narro ws Art and wastes ability. Its cost is too great for civilization to pay and survive. Culture today because of Poverty occupies but a narrowedge of life and is always in danger of a descent of barbarians.

It may be argued that Poverty cannot be entirely abolished.That its present relative decrease is due to modern productive technique under capitalitalistic system. That this system depends on freedom of private initiative and the private profit motiv Until Oct. 1917, the answer to this could only be theoretical and based on the anology of human advance in other directions under social compulsion. But the Russian revolutio we are a laboratory test on a scale sufficiently to be convi ncing, and suficiently removed from the controll of private capitol tobe real.The success of Russia must be studied continuously and impartially and deeply. The success of Communism in abolishing Poverty in Russia, will mean the adoption of Communism everywhere. Of this there is not the slightest doubt. Communism in Russia has not yet succeeded in Russia. But it has jus as certainly not failed. They greatest tribute to its measure of success is the compliment of imitation of method which the whole civilized world is today paying Russia. It may be argued that this simply means that effort under capitalism and private profit can alleviate Poverty, and that Russia has shown certain steps toward this end which ar worth imitating. Whereever the truth lies here -- and this again is a matter of study rather than dogma -- the factof imi tation is clear.

The anthropomorphism of simple minds must enter the equation .Many minds perhaps most must personalize their ideals: they must worship God or Hitler, Lenin or Christ.

Propanganda can be used to convince the masses of their prosperity compared with others of their natural superityand of their dangers. The final decision lies with the proletariat, curbedby the transient ability of the state to use force. Art and education meantime may prepare the masses for more effective democracy.

It is a difficult thing to know a nation. Nothing is so misleading and false as a judgment of 66,000,000 human beings,based on a summer's wandering. I am painfully aware of this, and express my conclusions with all reservations andhesitations I have been in Germany for 5½ months. I have had no special facilities given for knowor obversation. But I have travelled widely-- in north-west Germany, in the old Haensa cities; in the Rhine valley from Strassburg to Duesseldorf; ni Wurtemburg, Bavaria Thuringia and Saxony; in Hannover, Mecklinburg axdxsi, Pommern, Schlesian and East Prussia. In Berlin I have lived two months, and I have visited Prag and Wien.Of inner home life I have seen little, but a good deal of life on the streets, in restaurants and pl places of amusements; I have glimsed schools and factories, and I have read many newpapers and talked to a limited number of persons. As a backgruond for my observation I studied two years in Germany in I892-4, and at that time saw much of German home life and travelled widely. I therefore speak and understand the language fairly well. I spent a few weeks in Germany in I928, and I have read considerably in German books and literature for many years. My basis of knowledge is thus neither wide nor deep, but it of enough value to be put into words.

First as to general impressions.(Insert A)

TheGermans are a healthy unspoiled people-- perhaps, physically, the xxxxxgx suondest of the larger national groups of Europe. They are an out-door people; they are not of the keenest intelligence, but sensible, plodding,honest and sincere. Above all they are regimented in mind and body. They are used to authority. For 300 years they ha have been taught to obey, to take orders, without question.They have never lost the prim mitive man's joy in his workx. The craftsman is usally willing to be a craftsman, and rejoices wholehesrtedly in a good job. The waiter is a waiter is a waiter for life and takes pride in his service. The average German is satisfied to be what his father was in an improved degree. It certainly does not occur to him that it essential that he rea reach a higher social plane than his father. This psychological attitude is probably due to the fact that French Revolution, and no Chartist nor Reform bill agitation ever stirred the German masses. They came to their rights and privileges methodically and slowly and never had a sudden break with their past.

This is the nation which Adolf Hitler and his National -socialistic party rules. They are not responsible for the characteristics of the nation. They found it so Today there is not the slightest doubt but that Hitler's rule is satisfactory to nine tenths of the German people. There are many things about their situation which they do not like-- which they hate. They do not want war, or military service; they want a l larger degree of personal liberty;the workers want better wages, and better conditions of work; industry wants to be freed ofits political trammels and taxation-- all this is true; but it is also true that all these elements are satisfied with Adolf Hitler and satisfied that he is doing the best and only thing that can save Germany.

Save Germany from what? To answer this one must look carefully at recent German history. During the Napolonic wars, Germany became the football of Eurppe, respected by none, least of all by Germans. She started to climb out of thi slough of despond by the democratic revolution of I848. She accomplished unity, respect and power by means of Bismarkian absolutism and military powerHeryielding to demands for popular controll took the form of a paternal state socialism. The raising power of parliament was kept in strict check by two considerations: the fear of outside military aggression and the gerrymandering of popular representation ni favor of wealth and birth. The fear of war was in part sound, but in part encouraged by a persistent propanda thet pi pictured the fatherland surrounded by jaelous enemies. The power of birth and wealth was used for privilege, leadership, and gradually for the development of a gigantic and singularly efficient industrial organization, designed to xxdxxx be the greatest in the world. World War came , so far as Germany was concerned, because it had been promised so long by propaganda, that prophecy had to be fulfilled, and because industry fav ored it, beleiving that victory was certain, and that Germany's industrial hegemony of the world wuold follow. To the disgust of the nation, Germany's political leadership f failed ignominiously, and fighting the whole world, never so bravely, she could not hope to win under the circumstances. She gave up and for the first time in history, Germany tried popular rule. For success, she needed peace, industrial opportunity, and generous sympathy. With all this , she might have turned toward Communism and made with Russia, an attempt to build a statewhich wuold control land, capital and labor and abolish priate profit. For this end she possessed what Russia did not have, a trainded body of tec hnically efficient workers used to regular toil, an unrivalled set of engineers, and a trained civil service, above the suspicion of graft.

But Germany was compelled to make her experiment in industrial democracy aiming at communism, amid renewed threats of war; without markets for her goods

Chapter 6 - Jane on Committees

~~All on my own I am going to study democracy right here in America, while you are gone.~~ ~~And~~ the logical beginning of ~~such~~ a study, ~~I have long thought,~~ is with committees, trustees, boards of directors, and such. You see, Jones, that's how we are really governed today. We appoint a committee, we elect a board, we hand the whole matter over to trustees, and then we go home and await the salvation of the Lord. One of these days I am going to write a learned brochure on "Committees I have known". Usually the appointment even on important matters is a perfunctory thing, and tends among us more and more to Fascist methods. "Let the chairman appoint." This allows us to bring ~~secret~~ influence on the chairman, and also avoids public indication of our knowledge of our friends' shortcomings. If a committee of three is apointed, ~~two~~ shirk willingly or by suggestion and one carries out his own ideas. Argument or consultation is regarded in the worst taste. Get it done and let 'em howl even if its done wrong, is our large Jowettsian gesture. Large committees, even for ~~large~~ projects calling for wide knowledge, are invariably frowned upon. Small, tight, quick-acting cliques are always in favor, and to question their decisions is to get yourself voted a spoil-sport.

~~Once I belonged to an ideal committee in our home Y. It had been assembled slowly by our secretary, after infinite experiments and trials.~~ We represented different races and colors, different points of view, different training, different temperaments. ~~We argued, listened, thought, we decided and then acted and reported.~~ We criticized results without fear or excuse, and then we consulted and tried again. It was real democratic work. Usually after argument and search for real facts we had unanimity or something like it. Often we did not or fell back on majority rule. That was bad. It was bitter to see things go wrong just because a majority thought it right as though seven was omniscience and five original sin. It was however sportmanship or revolution and I'm not sure which is worse. Still we wavered on and were more often right than wrong.

~~Then came the chairman of our city-wide committee, rich, white, dictatorial, efficient.~~ In a month she had ruined it all. We were split by color and residence, reduced to a set of beggars and tale-bearers, suing for influence and favor. ~~I resigned. We became worms instead of reasoning beings. I get sick even now when I hear of a Y.~~

Now there are committees and committees. I was once a member of a democratic committee. It was in a city where I was working in a Y.W.C.A. for a time. The secretary after much experimentation and many painful mistakes, got together an executive committee ~~we represented several localities, many points of view, considerable differences in education, and~~ we had different functions in the Y. We deliberated. We listened to each other and learned. We grew to respect each others opinion. Sometimes we got irritated and impatient, but gradually we learned to be patient with the chronic objector, the enthusiastic optimist, the nearly silent discouraged one. We began to work with a harmony backed by a growing, widening wisdom. Our decisions became so increasingly unanimous , that we gained increasing respect for minority opinions and grew to seek instead of tolerate the freest expression of opinions. We were a happy, harmonious, and on the whole effective group. But of course we lacked money. Then we got it. It came in the shape of a philanthropic society leader, rich, white and over-dressed, who was interested "in your people". Our commitee was disrupted, re-arranged and reappointed. We became lick-spittles and yes-men, and for all wisdom scurried down town to social authorities, who told us how to think and what not to do. Oligarchy, monarchy and plain muddle ruled our poor Y. But the budget balanced and nothing else mattered. I resigned to the unconcealed joy of Lady Bountiful. Since then the Y.W.C.A. has been a stench in my nostrils.

Remember, dear Jones, that the United States is ruled by committees, and that the number of these committees that are democratically appointed and run is infinitesimal. We have committees on work and play, religion and science, crime and philanthropy, health and disease, literature and art -- indeed what haven't we committees about? All our institutions deliquesce into committees: Congress, the Church, Hospitals, Schools and Colleges. The permanent committee graduates into the Board of Directors. People join Boards of Directors usually on the express condition that they will not be asked to do anything. They are asked to join so that the public will think the enterprize is being conducted by these same directors. With the stage thus set, a few persons, or more often one "Executive Secretary" conducts a tight little monarchy, limited only by his ability to raise funds, or more infrequently by revolution in the shape of aroused public opinion in this particular little world.

We are ruled by committees, by committees in Congress and the powerful conference committees which shape most of our Federal legislation and escape all publicity until the thing is done; by similar committees in legislatures and city councils, by political committees like the powerful party national committees; by committees on social reform, and committees in art and education; by boards of directors and trustees in religion and in business.

The method of this committee government has received little attention but really deserves it. It varies from absolute monarchy to pure democracy and taking its tempo from business tends toward oligarchy. The board of directors of a business corporation is by wide custom limited in its functions. Indeed its first function is apt to be window dressing. Names of lords and gentlemen and rich men who simply guarantee by the use of their names that satisfactory profit is being made mostly within the law. The directors may have some function in the selection of higher executives but that is usually pointed out by the ability of the candidates to make profit. There may be further questions of policy which the directors decide but influence over what should be the main matters of business: the price of goods, the wages of employees, the conditions of work, the allocation of salaries; all this is usually decided by one man or a few.

Religion copies after business. To have a church run in a business like manner is the heighth of most members ambition. Within the limits of the balanced budget the pastor may become an absolute monarch, particularly if his sermons and bedside manner are satisfactory to the majority of the flock. He attempts no restatement of religious dogma usually and his application of Christian ethics is pretty well limited. The committees and boards of various sorts are usually his appointees and do largely as he wishes. On the other hand, if the pastor is weak or unsatisfactory in doctrine or antagonistic to the aims of the church members, he may be virtually displaced in power by some influential member, or displaced indeed by another pastor. The democratic control of the mass of the congregation is seldom invoked save in unusual crises.

In social reform we have evolved a well-known pattern. A board of directors is appointed. They are either busy with other matters or uninterested in this matter. They loan their names or attend perfuctorily. Their first business is to get rid of responsibility and load this on an executive secretary. Thenceforth the aims, government and methods of the organization will depend upon the secretary. If he is forceful and successful he will determine what the organization stands for, how it works, and what it accomplishes. An astute executive secretary who manipulated publicity without and conjoles the directors becomes a monarch limited only by the amount of money which he can beg or ~~obtain~~ get. So long as the reform work is popular with the usual earmarks of success, the secretary goes on from one stage of authority to another with ever increasing salary. On the other hand, if his work becomes unpopular or impeded or lacks funds he is liable to be displaced preemptorily without much careful inquiry as to just why he failed. It suffices to know that in certain essential particulars he failed. Such a secretary may of course use democratic methods, that is, he may regard his board of directors as a set of men of varied experience who are able to advise him carefully. He may consult with them and get their careful judgment, and even further than that get them to study and investigate on their own account and from their own point of view in order to furnish a real and valuable fund of information. And then in addition to this he may arrange that certain matters come to a vote. He may go outside his board of directors and take counsel with his membership, or or even better with those for whom the reform movement is suppose to be working. Perfect democracy of the most efficient kind may in this way evolve, but all this is ~~special~~ rare and unusual. In most cases the secretary works alone, or with a small knot of intimates. They run the show and from them there is no appeal.

In education we are ruled by monarchy and oligarchy with the committee as a camouflage. Parents and teachers, while appealed to publicly, are not allowed privately to interfere or even be heard; but all this is so important and touches me so nearly that I am coming back to it in another letter. In art and science ~~we have~~ we have at the one end of the gamut the anarchy of individual taste and at the other end the absolute rule of a president or a

~~curator~~ bureaucrat. Unfortunately the tendency is toward absolutism. The young artist who paints as he will, sees what he wishes, or carves what he dreams is more than apt to run up against the ukase of a grim committee or curator who says, "No". The young scientist who wants to experiment finds himself hemmed in by starvation on the one hand and profit making on the other.

The meat of the matter is that the monarchy which rises in the home and extends itself to business is releaved by oligarchy in business, reform, religion, and art; that the actual work in these lines of human endeavor is in the hands of committees and boards; but that even then democracy does not usually obtain. Thinking in democratic terms even in the case of committees is unusual and unpopular. What we want and demand is efficiency of execution but we do not stop to think that efficiency and celerity may be bought at the expense of slurring over and killing a great, even if slow, method of making all experience our province and thus using human knowledge for human ends.

Chapter 4 - Jane glances at America and democracy

Jones, dear, I've got it. It's been slowly maturing in my mind for days, but it cleared today as I was reading your letter, walking down the long path. (The president was spying, damn him - wince, Jones, but "God", "damn", and "hell" are good English, and as Barrett Wendell once said, 'Swearing is all right, only most folk swear so inartistically'; I'm going to find something male to walk down this path with me if it is a cat.) Jones reflected that this was not exactly complimentary, but smiled and continued to read:

"Came that wonder-year, 1776, when the Declaration of Independence, and the "Wealth of Nations" were born. Well, people, that is people who were articulate, demanded a share in Government. And they meant by government, the selection of officials and the making of laws ensuring physical freedom after universal slavery. Many opposed this; they said, how can ignorant people choose good administrators or make laws? Many answered: freedom will give opportunity for knowledge and ignorance will disappear. What happened? Ignorance did abate, Democracy worked, until Capital and Technique appeared in new form. The African slave trade was allowed to re-establish slavery, and slavery and the new technique concentrated capital more and more in the hands of a few. The problem of Poverty appeared - the problem of wages, employment, income, wealth. They were major problems of a new life, and should have become major matters of government. But the new Democracy was induced through ignorance of its voters, to ignore the most important function of government - earning a living, and still ignores it. Education flared and dwindled. Only one government in the world today recognizes the fact that the work and wage of a people is the first affair of government. What to do about it is another matter; but if Russia disappeared tomorrow, her vast contribution to modern life would remain: she has pointed out that the distribution of wealth is the first business of government. Has she done more than this? I do not know. That you my friend must tell me. But this I know, and your English letter confirms it: every democracy today is trying desperately to keep the matter of wealth, its production

and distribution, just as far from the function of democratic government as possible; and even where desperately against their will, they are compelled to undertake such matters as employment, wages, poverty and relief, and excessive wealth they are doing it unwillingly, with temporary planning, with eagerness to escape the task at the first minute, and with bitter refusal, even to physical punishment and social ostracism, to allowing any discussion of the possibility of a democracy that deals not simply with choice of officials, but with the infinitely more important matter of the distribution of wealth. You mustn't even voice the idea - Bolshevik! Anarchist! Attack on Civilization! they yell, and this in the name of Freedom. The trouble with democracy today is that it refuses to admit that the production and distribution of wealth is in its domain. Even when forced, it sees only temporary necessity of dealing with these matters.

Am I right, Dear? Tell me if I am. Warn me if I am not.

Of course, if without government, (Which would be Blessed Anarchy, and I'm all for it) we could administer civilization, police the anti-social, and abolish Poverty and ignorance, there would lie our obvious path. But in just the realm where the modern world has given Anarchy its fairest trial (and that is Business) we have had our most glaring failure and threat of failure. No, that is wrong - of course its wrong: we have our most brilliant and spectacular success; but followed continually by shattering failure until at last, permanent recovery, permanent advance seems impossible. If it is possible to rescue Capitalism in private hands, why not get at it - the power is still where it long has been.

I keep trying to concentrate on the results of attempts at democracy here in America. Our work - of government and society, depends largely on committees and boards. One of these days I am going to write a learned brochure on "Committees I have known". Usually the appointment even on important matters is a perfunctory thing, and tends among us more and more to Fascist methods. "Let the chairman appoint." This allows us to bring secret influence on the chairman, and also avoids public indication of our

knowledge of our friends' shortcomings. If a committee of three is appointed, two shirk willingly or by suggestion and one carries out his own ideas. Argument or consultation is regarded in the worst taste. Get it done even if its done wrong. Large committees, even for large projects calling for wide knowledge, are invariably frowned upon. Small, tight, quick-acting cliques are always in favor, and to question their decisions is to get yourself voted a spoil-sport. Once I belonged to an ideal committee in our home Y. It had been assembled slowly by our secretary, after infinite experiments and trials. We represented different points of view, different training, different temperaments. We argued, listened, thought; we decided and then acted and reported. We criticized results without fear or excuse, and then we consulted and tried again. It was real democratic work. Then came the chairman of our city-wide committee, rich dictatorial, efficient. In a month she had ruined it all. We were reduced to a set of beggars and tale-bearers, suing for influence and favor. I resigned. I get sick when I hear of a Y. We became worms instead of reasoning beings.

We are ruled by committees in America, but not democratically; in business, our directors do nothing as long as profits come in. Business is monarchical as long as it pays private profit. Let a director begin nosing into the wage scale, the hours of labor, the endless questions of business ethics, and he becomes an insupportable bore. In the Church, the committees are yes-men to successful pastors and willing to do as little as he wishes leaving ~~God to his flock.~~ "to the devil the rest" At most they curb his expense account, by controlling what he may spend, not what is needed. In work of social organization and reform, the function of the Board is to find an executive secretary, put all the power he can use in his hands, and listen wisely to his monthly reports. Any member who wants to probe or question is regarded as a nuisance, unless he is rich. In that case he is humored.

The legislation of cities, states and the national government is laid out by committees, and these committees are the center of influence and bribery of all direct and indirect sorts. Their members are chosen by all methods except that of securing

discussion and light. Chairmen of Congressional committees are chosen by seniority, that is, by heredity. This puts a premium on local oligarchy which can keep men longest in office. Thus the South which never had democratic government, has all the chief and most powerful chairmen. Little legislation can be hoped for without a favorable committee report. All that wealth or anti-social influences have to do is to get at committees.

In general democratic government in this land has been continuously and deliberately muddled so as to defeat its objects, make it ridiculous, and conspicuously ineffective. Start with your local government to teach go ernment, say the text-books blithely. I'll bet there isn't a professor of political science in South Carolina, who has the faintest idea how ~~this~~ his county is governed, or could find out. And as for the State, the mess is even more muddled.

We are having a national election, ~~Dear Jones.~~ Do we know what or whom we are voting for? Not on your life. First of all the nation is so gerrymandered that some citizens have no votes and some have seven. Citizens of Mississippi, the most ignorant in the land have the greatest political power of any. In states like New York, the ignorant country can out vote the criminal city two to one and this brilliant division of political power is supposed to insure democracy. The duty of voting, the efficacy of voting, the possibility of democracy are all systematically sneered at by all public men and makers of opinion. It is impossible to get vital questions in such form that they could be intelligently voted on, even if folk were intelligent enough to vote. And most are not, because after giving children some knowledge of reading, we leave them for the rest of their lives with no training in intelligence, no authoritative information, no dependable intellectual or moral guidance. They get their real education from newspapers made to sell, radio programs made to sell, movies made for profit, ministers gagged by rich pews, demagogs on the make, and big business in charge of universities. Then we say democracy won't work and yell for freedom - to make money.

I tell you, Jones, of all modern countries America is least prepared by intelligence

or moral stamina to face the fact that government by private capital has failed, that the proud empire of Big Business which we have builded at such horrible cost cannot longer carry on without aid of public taxation and that democracy in America must first function and then resolutely assume as one of its major tasks the control of wealth, the planning of production for the wisest consumption and a distribution of goods and services for the widest consumption on the part of the mass of the people of America. Whew! Can't you hear 'em swear at such a proposition as an alternative to the rugged individualism of Hearst and Al Smith!

So, now you're off to Germany, where once you studied. Good luck and keep out of jail, if possible. Kiss Hitler for me. I hear he hates being kissed, and I'd like to do anything to add to his discomfort.

Chapter 13 - Jane on National Government

Propaganda and gerrymandering prevent democracy in the nation. The propaganda is carried on by news-gathering agencies, newspaper chains, radio broadcasts and movies. All these depend on control of large amounts of wealth. They work subtly, by omission of facts, by distortion, emphasis, ridicule and deliberate falsehood. They bribe readers and hearers by gifts of pictures, fiction, entertainment, contests and diversions, which no poor and independent thinker can hope to rival. An arena of ideas does not exist today in this land because of difficulties of publication and deliberately prejudiced audiences. The fair presentation of a new idea, or the criticism of established prejudices is well-nigh impossible. A weak weekly press survives only by the largess of certain rich men and serious books of ideas sell but sparely; if among 120,000,000 people, a publisher sells a book to one in every 10,000 he is satisfied. If he sells one to every 1,000, he faints with joy and surprise. Only a rich corporation, or a successful demagogue or a president of the United States can secure a real radio audience, and then seldom and for a minute. Nearly all the agencies of national thought control, have for a generation, ridiculed, derided and decried the essentials of democracy.

The distortion of the popular vote is the most fatal of all handicaps: some American citizens have ten times the voting power of others; five percent can prevent the constitution from amendment; a small minority can easily prevent major legislation; a decided minority can elect a president. The former slave states by the simple expedient of disfranchising and suppressing half of their labor vote can wield a block of 140 electoral and congressional votes and thus not only ~~thus~~ hold the decisive balance of power in all national elections and legislation, but monopolize the chairmanships of all major committees of congress which determines all laws.

Some answer all this by saying that the South is exceptional - the Negro problem and all that; ~~they~~ they dismiss the matter as though it had nothing to do with the North nor West. Ah, but it has; it has all to do, and for that reason comes first in any consideration of government in the United States. Take for instance, Congress.

Insert figures

Mr. Deend from the 8th district of Georgia has over 241,957 persons in his district of whom a hundred thousand are twenty-one years of age or more. Of these only 21,000 voted in Mr. Deend election. Nearly 80,000 were disfranchised - involuntarily because they were black; or voluntarily because they were white and uninterested.

Even with an intelligent, educated, alert, unfettered and fearless electorate, the task of restoring or rather establishing democratic control in the United States would be enormous against these obstacles. Two well nigh insuperable obstacles remain: the mass of the citizens could not vote reform even if they wished, because those who determine their income would not allow it save at the risk of deprivation if not starvation; and secondly, most citizens do not want reform, because of the long, persistent and subtle propaganda against democracy carried on throughout the nation since the Civil War. Americans have come widely to disbelieve not only the possibility but even in the desirability of democracy in the United States. The experience with the Irish in New York; the Irish and Italians in New England; the Germans and Scandinavians in the West; the Negroes in the South - have convinced the majority of Americans that democracy, if it includes the masses of men is just what they do not want: that it would not work; and that if it did work they would like the result still less. Quietly then but determinedly they sabotage this democracy; they ridicule it and criticize it unmercifully. They teach their children to doubt it. What they would mean by democracy is the rule of property and class; they emphasize heredity and birth and they decry the danger of mob-rule. Exclusive social prestige is given excessive space in popular newspapers. The "best" colleges tend to become the special preserves of the "Best Families", and even the state universities protect themselves by exclusive fraternities. The very circumstance which should protect democracy in our land, is killing it: we are sprung from the lowly; the proletariat not of one but of many peoples; from Negro slaves, from white beggars and prostitutes, from poor half-starved Irish, refugee Germans, poverty-stricken Italians, landless Scandinavians and bitterly oppressed Slavs. One might imagine that the offspring of such lowly might

stand together as a rock wall against caste and race hate. Not so. The second generation of these folk want to be identified with the ruling classes. They despise each other heartily. They want democracy for themselves and their betters but not for any persons beneath them or capable of being pushed beneath. What may Negroes expect of the Irish? Or hunkies of Italians? Or Chinese of Negroes? Hence we hailed Mussolini and even Hitler when he threatened our richest.

All this comes from anti-democratic propaganda. We despise humanity in the concrete present. And we defend this ponderously: shall the Mob (i.e., Negroes, Dagoes, Irish, Jews) overwhelm civilization and gentle culture? Did you ever see an Irish Wake? Have you noted the manners of Jews? Have you seen the Niggers at a Southern station? Well then, does democracy mean that I must eat, drink with and marry such people? Must Art and Letters descend to such canaille?

No, it means that by slow and infinite pains these must ascend to Culture and to real culture and not necessarily just your conception of Culture. No and twice no, is the bitter retort: they cannot; they have not the brains, nor the sensibility, nor that delicate, elusive genius of the gifted among men. They are born inferiors. To which the eternal rejoinder is: there is not one among the present Elect of America, some of whose ancestors less than a century ago, were not less likely subjects for culture than the most cultured among us now. Great genius is rare among all groups but the real accomplishment of democracy has been to prove how often the lowliest may achieve civilization. The tragedy of present day America is to see those who have risen by democratic opportunity seek to slam the doors in the faces of the disinherited and forgotten. And too because we have been seduced by money-making, we all like sheep have gone astray and produced a bastard culture of flamboyant imitation, instead of the finer thing that beckoned us when we still believed in this democratic ideal.

It is no longer possible to distinguish between Nation and States in our government, in any logical way. The attempt to do so spells muddle. Airplane and railway, telegraph and radio have so pulled the ends of the nation together that national interests have swamped the local, and our whole conception of the natural limits between state

was to him an Intelligence, and not a mere receptacle for protoplasm. It was good to live and think - only, not alone, not alone.

I am not sparing us. We black folk have striven to be Americans. And like all other Americans, we have longed to become rich Americans. Wealth comes easiest today through the exploitation of labor, and if we have exploited our own and other labor to but a slight extent the praise belongs not to us, but to those whites whose monopoly of wealth and ruthless methods have out-run our tardy and feeble efforts. This is the place to pause and look about as well as backward and forward. The labor movement in America as well as in Europe, deceived us just as they deceived themselves. They left us out. They paid no attention to us, whether we were drudging in colonies or slaving in cotton fields or pleading in vain at the doors of union labor factories. The object of white labor was not industrial democracy, it was to join capital in sharing the loot from exploited colored labor. So we only half emancipated, hurled ourselves forward, too willing if it had but been possible, to climb up to a bourgeois heaven on the prone bodies of our fellows. But white folk occupied and crowded these stairs. And white labor loved the white exploiter of black folk, far more than it loved its fellow black proletarian.

What to do? We went to school. But our industrial schools taught no industrial history, no labor movement, no social reform, - only technique just as technique of trades and changing to mass industry. Our colleges taught the reactionary economics and anti-democratic of Northern schools. We landed in bitter and justifiable complaint and sought a way out by complaining. Our mistake lay not in the justice of our cause, but in our naive assumption that a system of industrial monopoly that was making money out of our exploitation was going to help us to escape their talons. It was real funny and everybody except us laughed heartily over it.

Now in the year of God, 1937, and of our freedom from slavery not yet the first, and ask seriously, what can we do to force our entrance into a democracy that wants neither nor democracy, but is faced by serious dilemmas: waste of the national resources, muddle of governmental efficiency, breaddown of the industrial machine and loss of faith in mankind. By grace of 20th century imperialism we cannot withdraw to ourselves and fight

for salvation by ourselves. The possibilities of the 17th century are not ours.. We have got to study our situation here and start to right it.

For this I've worked out a creed. You'll laugh at it and criticise it. But think it over:

Not sensibly absolutely
touches democracy
— but creed & basis
of conduct with
We do not want &
share power
We do and would
& then spoil
We like the idea

We get on there
& deny a shrinking section
of Europe — send Mark
& Van Cronstein / Kruger
& A. & Engl

—

We Thought this week &
wrote with above comments
on our wider realm & freedom
& welfare — We thought as named
ancient.
Today practice is shutting on
together & under

If The struggle
Unbroken for Peace
& wrong causes
Jealousy, hate, crime &
disease — The struggle
of nations causes race
hate war, strife of
democracy & disintegration
& culture

The tenure — Race
our segregation
intolerance

Education — democracy
most ghastly
failure

Not a single
economic mistake
of Europe, that South
is not making in Africa

~~Malaya~~ — 1677

One does not
share + defend the
liberty of worst by
agrees democracy are
defeat the deliberate
freedom of Society by
whoever.
Not volunteering for
for unpleasant something
but the deliberate will
the only real immediacy of
will cause death

If a people
mistake their
mighty Virgins
& fierce women Colleges
in & celebrity, they lose
over

Whole race has had to breathe + lost something of brains + strength

over

Valley of man is a gentleman down in bed before he enters W.W. I W.W. Can do nothing for him He may do something for himself but that is doubtful

Art is why emotions are impossible Jobs, + discipline a waste of time

I think I see a man walking in a ——— decayed town, his head — two hands, I present by a silence

Art is Freedom

Democracy is Fascism

Work is Slavery
Socialism

Family is Duty
Marriage is Death

Work + Income

Marry when you want
+ remarry + Com
enjoy sex

+
Read when you are free to
elect + discard at +
master it and depend
forever upon after

schools
Churches + theatres
universities
Freedom
Peace

Not the Artificial
Midnight that seeks +
Miserable day But the
real midnight when all
sleeps save you +
You stand alone in the
center of a dark + awful
universe of silence

The curse was not
lifted but relocated
Upheaval made
inspiration not menace

blow, beneath arrival
Some Tone too
deep for Sound —
Elemental + boundless
without Bound

Econ. Illiteracy

Unemployment
Indefence
Profits
changing technique
Consumers control
Advertising

Government buy lands
for Indians + encourages
Cooperation

Wheeler
Howard bill
1934

over

All adown the dark
Zambesi
flying from the fly

Sunset
or
Starvation

I saw ~~a~~ Midnight, crowned on the
~~a~~ hills all gowned in blood
Black was her face her eyes
her hair, Black were her hands
her legs her
& feet & her black shod her heads
her voice was song, her breath
her heart was death
was black & her thought
was God. Holy holy Midnight

KRYL *and His Symphony Orchestra*

CONDUCTOR BOHUMIR KRYL

SATURDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 12, 1938

SISTERS CHAPEL, SPELMAN COLLEGE

EIGHT O'CLOCK

Soloists

DOROTHY DICKERSON - - *Coloratura Soprano*
BARBARA LE BRUN - - - - - *Harpist*
JOSEPHINE HARRELD - - - - - *Pianist*
BURTIS PRESTON - - - - - - *Baritone*

1. OVERTURE TO THE OPERA "The Bartered Bride" . . . . . *Smetana*
2. "VISION FUGITIVE" from "Herodiade" . . . . . *Massenet*
   BURTIS PRESTON
3. (*a*) SLOVANIC DANCE No. 1 . . . . . *Dvorak*
   (*b*) HUNGARIAN DANCE No. 6 . . . . . *Brahms*
4. "INTRODUCTION AND ALLEGRO" . . . . . *Ravel*
   BARBARA LE BRUN
5. SYMPHONY IN B MINOR . . . . . *Schumann*

Intermission

6. CAPRICCIO ESPAGNOL . . . . . *Rimsky-Korsakov*
7. UNA VOCE POCO FA from "Il Barbiere di Seviglia" . . . . . *Rossini*
   DOROTHY DICKERSON
8. CONCERT WALTZ, "Tales of the Vienna Woods" . . . . . *Strauss*
9. HUNGARIAN FANTASY (for Piano and Orchestra) . . . . . *Liszt*
   JOSEPHINE HARRELD
10. PRELUDE TO THE OPERA "The Mastersingers of Nurmberg" . . . . *Wagner*

STEINWAY PIANO

Life

Harvard

Problem { White / Black

Africa

Brutal

Friend

Leben

All Mother

Life { 7 decades / as College

Dusk { Jamaica / Sierra Leone / Dakar / Leben

Dawn { Shake of / White / Black } Leben

of - All Mother

The trouble with democracy in America is our obsession that democrscy is an end in itself and not means to an end; and that there is something divin about majority rule. Democracy is a rough rule of thumb, which put in contr of the state or filters into the seats of power the mass experience and know ledge of the inhabitants of the state in order thatvrhrough this body of knowledge we may accomplish the welfare of the state. It works of course if the voters are intelligent to comprehend teir experience and expreass th knowledge and therefore democracy assumes education and freedom to think If the electorate is ignorant or is not allowed to think, democracy become meangless word, In the Sovietsthe drive toward popular education is the gr greatest this world has ever seen. It surpasses in many respects what the United States has done. The figures of printed book circulation shows this But education cannot be accomplished in a generation and during that time t thought must be directed or the state will be in danger; particularly if the state is threatened as Russia is and has been by outside aggression Few states have allowed wider discussion and experiment than Russia. But when Russia found what she and her trained leaders thought was the truth she strictly guided thought abd dictated procedure. If her assumption of t truth was wrong, she is and will be in danger until the error is righted and the promise of such righting is education.

Meantime we, who are in no danger of aggression have stopped freedo of thought and knowledge of facts and guide our education into false channels. For this we must and will pay

For me then, Liberty, Equality and Democracy, have meanings different from most other Americans. I have seen Liberty as license to lynch and kill as the right to deny me decent privileges of travel; the right to refuse t to work beside me or let me buy or rent a decent house. It is to laught to hear States Rights and local home rule in the South defended as methods of keeping "niggers" in their place; denying them schools and bastardize ing their children.

In west and south there is singular equality among the mass of peopl and an absense of class snobbery and distinction which fills the stranger with a glow for human kindnes. But in that I and mine have little part. I am denied meals and hospitality; titles of courtesy; friendships and affection. And all this seeps over into the whole land and becomes patter of superior race assumptions.

The Democracy current in America is denied me; either entirely as in Mississippi and Texas or partially and with subterfuge and cheating as i Boston, Chicago and New York.

It was the knowledge of all this, and despite the slow breaking of hearts and barriers, that made me greet the promise of Russia with an up surge of emotion and hardly conceived hope. For I knew that we black folk did not stand alone

add Search for Democracy

Chapter 12 - Radek

Jane's answering letter flew to Jones on the Trans-Siberian in Novi-Sibirsk:

Cutting across all this argument like a red knife, is one fact: I knew Radek. Not intimately and well, but my friend spent a long afternoon in 1928 in his room in the Kremlin. It was a scholar's room, a man of broad, international interests. There were magazines and books in all languages, strewn about, evidently in frequent and constant use. Radek himself was carelessly clothed, alive, alert, interested in all mankind and all its actions. They talked of the world broadly and sympathetically. Always afterward, he stood in my friend's mind as the finest example of the Russian communist; who wanted economic and spiritual emancipation for all men. Who sought this through the light, through knowledge, through severe reason; by this path and discipline, Radek had come to what seemed to my friend wholehearted and passionate support of the Soviet government.

That is Russia's problem today; that is the perpetual problem of all revolution. I am bitterly awakened and in reluctant doubt. I had thought Russia was solving this problem with unusual and indeed not to be expected success, when these wholesale murders and persecutions of Russian thinkers come in mass. There is no question of the danger Russia faces in a capitalistic world, led by Hiter and Mussolini; and British, French and American reaction against the newer demands of the laboring classes. Doubtless Stalin must choose flatly between Trotsky's immediate world revolution and the less spectacular but surely wiser plan of Russian socialization first. But how should Stalin treat the opposition? So as to drive honest and thoughtful men into desperate and underground revolt, or so as to permit within reasonable limits, difference, discussion and reference to a trusted electorate? Such tolerance would have indicated beginnings of a birth of real democracy in Russia, which the friends of Communism await with bated breath. The harsh murder and suppression of ideas, may have been necessary for the survival of the Russian state, but the burden of proof rests upon Stalin. He is under no compulsion to prove his case before every carping critic of Communism. But to the friends of Karl Radek and others, Russia owes explanation.

No doubt but the kernel of the problem is the securing of a civil service. That Russia has not failed completely in this, is in itself a triumph. The astonishing thing is that up out of the mass of the Russian people is apparently coming the talent and devotion for this exacting task. I say apparently, for I do not know - no one is yet certain. But if the underlying assumptions of democracy hold, Russia must succeed. Those who doubt Russia, doubt democracy. Look around the world and see.

But my friend says, that the present effort to answer Russia's problems of men and materials lies outside of Moscow, in the vast East, which we now approach.

But how I'm running on and forgetting my main research into democracy. The meaning of the Russian revolution is the realism with which it approached its task. It followed Karl Marx, but inductively, not solely by the dialectical dogma. It studied the facts of the situation and then by careful inductive reason asked how far the keen analysis of Marx applied. It was not afraid to modify the dogma in face of the fact. Thus Lenin evolved a newer Marxism suited to Russian conditions, just as future economic change must do. The end aimed at was a state democratically ruled by the working classes. But the Russian working class was too ignorant and inexperienced to rule. It must be led and taught. The self-appointed dictatorship formed a small compact group and built a-

round themselves a small communist party. This working class party did not contain all the workers, and here the revolution met the difficulty of the class struggle idea. The workers did not form a class with conscious unity and opposition to the rich. Such a class consciousness had to be taught and its expression disciplined - a long hard matter of mass education, still going on. But at any rate, the facts once known, proved the thesis. But the industrial workers of Russia were a comparatively small class - terribly exploited by foreign capitalists, who before the war were making often 50% profit. On the other hand, most of the workers of Russia were peasants, the largest proportion of rural population in the world. The leadership of these seemed an easy task, despite their ignorance and isolation. They demanded land. They got it immediately, as much as they wanted or could use. But their ideology was capitalistic, from age-long training. They did not follow the working class revolution. In effect they revolted. They refused to plant for the nation except at a profit.

The Russian revolution was easier because the workers had not been differentiated into classes whose interests conflicted, as technicians, highly skilled workers, semi-skilled and laborers. They had no capital in homes and savings accounts. Thus literally they had nothing to lose but their chains. When now it became imperative that the new Russia train technicians and import foreign technicians to help in this training, there arose the danger of counter-revolutionary ideas among the industrial elite - the desire to amass wealth, the temptation to despair over the herculean task that faced Russia. Here was a second danger. Finally, the threat of capitalist countries gave emphasis to Trotsky and others who followed the Marx dialectic and averred that there could be no one socialist state unless all other states became socialistic. Universal revolution then was their primary program, before attempting to make Russia independent.

Here were three enemies of the Russian communism at its very start. They had to be met and overthrown or the revolution was in vain. The revolting peasants were starved into acquiescense in collective farming, and thus brought into cooperation with the workers. The technicians who were not loyal were shot as traitors or expelled. The Trotsky-

UNTITLED

Manuscript of collection of Du Bois speeches given during 1950 senatorial campaign

Incomplete

Peace and Civil Rights

(At the MADISON SQUARE GARDEN RALLY

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1950

BEFORE 17,000 PERSONS)

The world is astonished at recent developments in the United States. Our actions and attitudes are discussed with puzzled wonder on the streets of every city in the world. Reluctantly the world is coming to believe that we actually want war; that we must have war; that in no other way can we keep our workers employed and maintain huge profits save by spending 70 thousand million dollars a year for war preparation and adding to the vast debt of 218 thousand millions which we already owe chiefly for war in the past. Our present war expenditure must be increased, yet we cannot tax the rich much more since the lawyers who make the tax laws can also break them and let the bulk of wealth go untaxed. We cannot raise the taxes on the poor much higher because rising prices leave less and less to tax. Citizens have borrowed 200 thousand million dollars on homes, farms and furniture, and the poor and middle class have spent nearly all their savings. Yet we cannot stop; either we spend more and more on top of what we are spending or our whole industrial organization, with its billions of private profit monopoly, will face collapse. On the other hand, the Soviet Union whom we are determined to destroy does not at present seem willing to fight. We have warned and dared it. We have publicly and privately insulted it. We have eagerly given currency to every charge which anyone at anytime makes against the Soviet Union, its ecomony, its morals, its plans. We thought that at last in Korea we had them where they must fight and we prepared jauntily for World War III almost with shouts of joy.

We were sure the Russians had started the Korean uprising, were furnishing arms and ready to march to war. Henry Wallace actually saw them and ran backward so fast that he tripped over his own resolutions, and stepped

in the faces of his friends. Still the Soviets did not fight and began instead to call for world peace: for union against the atom bomb: for peace congresses. But the United States was not misled: not they. They stopped the peace appeal. They picked up and jailed advocates of peace. They barred from our shores foreign advocates of peace, even men of the highest reputation.

Highly placed public officials and military men began openly to declare that if the Russians would not attack us, we would attack them to keep them from attacking us. The Wild Man of Tokyo, who remembers shooting down World War I veterans in Washington, and who is turning ~~turned~~ Korea into a stinking desert, has received the President of the United States in audience. Whatever they talked about, the result, if MacArthur has his way, was not peace now or ever; until we seize China, conquer southeast Asia and drop atom bombs on Moscow. Meantime, wave after wave of our young men are being trained for murder, and congress is on the verge of calling every youth in the land for this purpose. We are set to "lick the world" with Eisenhower and Stassen, the educators of youth; Dewey and Hanley, the new brand of statesmen; and Herbert Lehman, supporting notorious General Anders, in order to make out foreign investment pay with oil, planes, battleships and artillery. We will restore Korea and when we are through restoration with taxes raised from out poor, Lehman Brothers and like investors will own everything in Korea worth owning and will draw fabulous profits from risks which they never took. After that we will rail at Korea for not loving us for our generosity while the Koreans pay for democracy at fifty cents a day and no land. This is what Europe sees us set for, in contradiction to everything we once professed—liberty, free speech, truth and justice. To this our masters will lead us unless you intervene: unless right here and now you, the people of the United States, say No! Enough of this hysteria, this crazy foolishness!

Our slow but steady descent into belief in complete and universal war and our determination to make all men agree with what some believe, rather

35-6-243

than to let them exercise their free American heritage of choosing truth--this literal descent into Hell in our day, and in this our own country, has been so gradual and complete than many honest Americans cannot believe what they actually hear and see; and sit bewildered, rubbing their eyes in order to get some vague conception of what can have happened to the land which once declared "These truths to be self evident that all men were created equal: that they were endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights: that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

35-6-244

No American born before 1900 ~~could 1900,~~ could possibly conceive that the United States would become a land approaching universal military service; with its armed forces in every continent and on every sea; pledged to conquer and control masses of mankind, order the thought and action and belief of the nations of the world, and ready to spend for these objects more money than it ever spent for religion, education or social uplift altogether.

When men arise and say this and try to prove its truth, every effort is made by secret police, organized spies and hired informers; by deliberate subversion of the fundamental principles of our law, to imprison, slander and silence such persons, and deprive them of earning an honest livelihood.

Avoiding all hysteria and exaggeration, all natural indignation and instinctive defense of the right of free speech and hatred of thought control, it is clear to all Americans who still dare think, that my description of this America is true, and if true, frightening to all men who once thought of this land as the land of the Free.

My platform then, like the platform of every honest American who still dares believe in peace and freedom, takes its unalterable stand against war and slavery. There was a day when most men believed that progress depended on war; that by war, and mainly by war, had modern men gained freedom, religion and democracy. We believed this because we were taught this in

our literature and science, in church and school, on platform and in newspaper. It was always a lie and as war has become universal and so horrible and destructive that everybody recognizes it as murder, crippling, insanity and stark death of human culture; We realize that there is scarce a victory formerly claimed by war, which mankind might not have gained more cheaply and more decently and even more completely by methods of peace. If that was true in the past, it is so clear and indisputable today that no sane being denies it. And yet of all nations of earth today, the United States alone wants war, prepares for war, forces other nations to fight and asks you and me to impoverish ourselves, give up health and schools, sacrifice our sons and daughters to a "Jim-Crow" army, and commit suicide, for a world war that nobody wants but the rich Americans who profit by it.

35-6-245

If war were a matter of careful study and grave decision; of prayerful thought and solemn deliberation; we might take its fearful outbreak as at least no more than human error, soon to be stopped by decency and commonsense. But when did you ever vote for war? You who have spent most of your lives in a fighting, murdering world? When did you ever have a chance to decide this matter of maiming and murder? Never! And you never will as long as an executive of his own initiative can start a "little" police action" which costs the lives and health of 50,000 American boys, in order that big business can interfere with the governments of Asia.

Of what are ~~they~~ we in such deathly fear? Have we been invaded? Has anyone dropped an atom bomb on us? Have we been impoverished or enslaved by foreigners? Is our business failing and are our millionaires disappearing? Has the rate of profit gone down, is our machinery less cunning, or our natural resources destroyed by strangers? Is there any sign that the United States of America is victim, or can be victim of any foreign country? No! Then of what are we afraid, and why are we trying to guard the earth from Pacific to Atlantic and from the North to the South Pole, unless it be from ourselves?

Our rulers
They are afraid of an idea; tempted by a vision of power which this idea fights. The power they crave long misled and slaughtered the peoples of Europe and Asia, and now insidiously creeps into our own fever-mad heads; and that is Imperialism--world rule over the world. Once this was sought through by black slavery: then it was made easy by yellow coolies: then all "lesser breeds without the law," who could furnish a "white man's burden" and let him strut over the world, and lord it in Asia and Africa, and rule and rule without end, forever and forever. That was the vision of the nineteenth century. The fever of imperialism caught the United States as the nineteenth century died and we choked a few islands out of dying Spain. But these were but small change which whetted our appetite. With the first World War came the vision of an Imperial United States as successor of the empire on which the sun already sets. We rushed so madly at the spoils left by European empire, that we brought down our whole industrial system about our own ears.

It would seem that the memory of the great depression of the thirties would convince all thinking men that war is not the path to the millenium, and that what we need is reform of our own system of work and industrial organization, before we attempt to teach the world what to think or how to live.

But what the men of Big Business ignored was that the industrial system which they were seeking to re-install had already met a terrible and costly reverse; that modifications of imperialism and monopoly capitalism had already been suggested and tried. Such efforts comprehended loosely by the name "Socialism," were not invented by Russia nor first tried by Russia. On the contrary, Socialism is an English, French and German conception and was tried in Russia because that unhappy land was one of the last and worst victims of the capitalist system.

If tomorrow Russia disappeared from the face of the earth, the basic problem facing the modern world would remain: and that is: why is it, with the earth's abundance and our mastery of natural forces, and miraculous

technique; with our commerce belting the earth, and goods and services pouring from our stores, factories, ships and warehouses, why is it that nevertheless, most human beings are starving to death, dying of preventable disease and too ignorant to know what is the matter, while a small minority are so rich that they cannot spend their income?

35-6-247

That is the problem which faces the world, and Russia was not the first to pose it, nor will she be the last to ask and demand answer. The ~~19th~~ nineteenth century said that this situation was inevitable and must always remain because of the natural inferiority of most men. The ~~20th~~ twentieth century knows better. It says that there ~~is~~ can be food enough for all: that clothes and shelter for all can be provided: that most disease is preventable and that the overwhelming mass of human beings can be educated; that intelligence, health and decent comfort are not only possible, but should be demanded, by all men; planned by all states; and made increasingly effective by all voters in each election.

But the powerful who today own the earth and the fulness thereof; who monopolize its industry and own its press and screen its news; have another answer. They order us to fight any idea; to "contain" and crush any dream of abolishing poverty, disease and ignorance; and to do this by organizing war, murder and destruction on any people who dare to try to plan plenty for all mankind. From the ~~19th~~ nineteenth century, they attempt to take over imperialism to bribe the workers and thinkers of the most powerful countries by high wage and privilege, in order to build a false and dishonest prosperity on the slavery and degradation ~~,~~ the low wage and disease, of Africa and Asia and the islands of the sea; and to pay the price for this, they demand that you, your sons and daughters, in endless stream, be murdered and crippled in endless wars.

This is why we are fighting or preparing to fight in Europe, Asia and Africa— not against an enemy, but against the idea--against the rising demand of the working classes of the world for better wage, decent housing, regular employment, medical service and schools for all.

35-6-248

It does not answer this world-wide demand to say that we of America have these things in greater abundance than the rest of the world, if our prosperity is based on, or seeks to base itself on, the exploitation and degradation of the rest of mankind. Remember, it is American money that owns more and more of South African mines worked by slave labor: it is American enterprise that fattens off Rhodesian copper; It is American investors that seek to dominate China, India, Korea and Burma: ~~that~~ who are throttling the starved workers of the Near East.

Yet is it not clear that such a program is sheer insanity? That no nation, however rich and smart, can conquer this world? Have not Egypt, Assyria, Greece, Rome, Britain and Germany taught us this? And also that no idea based on truth and righteousness, can ultimately be suppressed by force and murder?

These start

I never thought I would live to see the day that free speech and freedom of opinion would be so throttled in the United States as it is today. Today in this free country, no man can be sure of earning a living, of escaping slander and personal violence: or even of keeping out of jail unless publicly and repeatedly he proclaims:

- That he hates Russia.
- That he opposes Socialism and Communism.
- That he supports wholeheartedly the war in Korea.
- That he is ready to spend any amount for further war, anywhere or at anytime.
- That he is ready to fight the Soviet Union, China and any other country, or all countries together.
- That he believes in the use of the atom bomb or any other weapon of mass destruction, and regards anyone opposed as a traitor.
- That he not only believes in and consents to all these things, but is willing to spy on his neighbors and denounce them if they do not believe as he does.

The mere statement of this creed shows its absolute insanity. What can be done to bring this nation to its senses? Most people answer: nothing; Just sit still ; bend to the storm; if necessary, lie and join the witch-hunt,

swear to God that never, never did you ever sympathize with the Russian peasants, fight to be free; that you never in your life belonged to a liberal organization, or had a friend who did; and if so, you were deceived, deluded and a damned fool.

But there are others who say: we can do something: that America needs no more cowards and liars. It needs honest men, and that honest citizens who are mistaken, are infinitely more patriotic than scoundrels who follow the herd.

35-6-249

We still have elections and we still have a secret ballot. If you do not want war, vote for men who will stop it. If you want the Bill of Rights restored to the Constitution, you have the legal right to say so. In this Democracy, you still retain the right to help elect your lawmakers and executives. If you fail to exercise this right, you will suffer and you ought to suffer. Today the vast majority of the American people who are not crazy, do not want war. Most Americans hate the current witch-hunt. The only way to oppose war and the death of civil liberty is to elect officials who agree with you.

When I ask for your vote, believe me it is for no personal reasons. I do not want to live in Washington. I hate ~~the~~ that provincial, "Jim-Crow" center of political graft. But you need to be represented there and by someone who will uphold the hands of that ~~m~~ a n of integrity, intelligence and guts, Marcantonio; who today fights in Congress almost single-handed for a decent United States. I would like to have the honor of standing ~~behind~~ beside him, because like him, I want progress: I want education; I want social medicine; I want a living wage and old age security; I want employment for all and relief for the unemployed and sick; I want public works, public services and public improvements. And because I know and you know that we cannot have these things, and at the same time fight, destroy and kill all around the world in order to make huge profit for big business; for

I want freedom for my people.

that reason, I take my stand beside the millions in every nation and continent and cry Peace--No More War!

A new era of power, held and exercised by the working classes the world over , is dawning and while its eventual form is not yet clear, its progress cannot be held back by any power of man.

35-6-250

PRESS CONFERENCE, HOTEL THERESA

SEPTEMBER 24, 1950

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1950

The great issue, of this time, of this nation, of this world, is PEACE; and the central theme of the campaign which begins here today is Peace, no more War. There are in this nation today, powerful interests which are determined on War. To this end, they are suppressing the Bill of Rights so as to stop discussion, distort the facts and stampede the nation through the hysteria of groundless Fear. Who is it among us who wants War and why do they want it?

The American Labor Party knows who and why, and there are many others who also know. But the American Labor Party not only knows, but it is going to do something about it. That right of action is the right to elect our lawmakers and executives by universal and secret ballot.

Our party therefore has selected candidates for governor and lieutanant-governor; for comptroller and attorney-general, for mayor of the city of New York and for members of the federal Congress.

It has asked me to run for the United States Senate. This is for me a new role. Like most men born and bred in the 19th century, I have always thought politics as a necessary career, but not the higher sort of work which a man would voluntarily choose. Largely then I have avoided politics and this is the first time in my life that I have consented to stand for public office. This is because it becomes increasingly clear to me, that this very recoil from political activity, is the reason for that surrender of our Government to men whose prime interest is not social but personal; and for the disaster of seeing repeatedly, a people with a Government which does not represent its real interests.

My standing for office then, far from being any matter of personal ambition, is rather proof that I am willing to forego my preference in order

to discuss with the public the serious objects of public life and action. For today curiously enough, it has become suddenly impossible to express publicly what one believes and knows unless one takes advantage of the few civil rights remaining to us and runs for office in order to talk freely without going to jail. What I ask and plead therefore in this campaign is that you vote, not simply for me but for me as representing the principles which I am trying to emphasize; with the deep belief that, however unimportant I may be, what I am seeking to make clear and stand for, is of the utmost importance to the Negro race in the United States, to the whites, and to the future of mankind.

Only once in my life have I held public office, and that was when for a month I was in 1928, made Special Minister Plenipotentiary to Liberia. My political activity has been almost wholly confined to writing. In this writing, with some speaking, I tried first to put the Negro vote in proper and effective relation to the national needs. In the first election of Woodrow Wilson, I sought to end Negro subserviency to the Republican Party. I tried to induce the "Bull Moose" movement to make Negro Rights a main plank and fought it when it refused. I opposed Taft's "lily-white" Southern policy, and supported the third party movements of La Follette and Henry Wallace. I have never been an active party worker, but I have been an enrolled member of the Socialist Party, of the Democratic Party under the New Deal, and lately of the American Labor Party.

The basic motive of my political thought and activity has been the securing for all Americans, civil and political rights, regardless of race or color. I assumed, and assumed too easily, that once color discrimination was done away with, the nation and the world would be free to attack and solve certain basic problems of human progress which I knew full well cried for solution. Behind and beneath this demand for rights, lay always therefore the assumption that, with the right to vote, the right to think and speak,

and the right to know, would come through the very exercise of these fundamental privileges: the basic right of human beings to live, to work; to eat and be sheltered, to be shielded from disease and have their children educated.

But to my amazement and fright, I have lived to see the era of peace which I was trained to look forward to as the only goal of civilization, transformed into plans for universal world war; a theory of progress by war and more war, each more savage and destructive than the last. I now realize that I, as well as you, am facing a crisis in which no consideration of ease or age, suffice to hold me back from a great duty. That duty is one of trying to bring reason and past experience to bear upon those of us who have gone temporarily insane.

25-6-253

The basic cause of this insanity is the effort of powerful interests, armed by control of press and radio, school and platform, backed by almost unlimited money, to turn the attention of the world from the fundamental problem of our age.

That problem is that in our unprecedented organization of industry, with its marvelous technique and world-wide extent, the vast majority of mankind remain sick, ignorant and starved while a few have more income in goods and services than they can use.

It is no sufficient answer to this fundamental problem, to point out that the present degradation of the worker is not near so great as it once was, or much less in some lands than in others. The point is that it is far too great than is necessary or decent, and calls for drastic cure now and not a thousand years hence.

This is the basic problem of our culture, no matter how much we try to conceal and ignore it; or try to divert attention from it to other matters. There are no other matters so important or so pressing. We may be led to yell our heads off to convince ourselves that the problem of the world today is the Soviet Union and Communism. That is deliberate

deception. The problem of economic justice to working men existed before the Revolution in Russia and would remain if Russia were swept from the face of the earth tomorrow. Proposals to solve this problem by socialism and communism, did not originate in Russia and will not end there. What Russia did was to attempt to solve this problem in a systematic way, at a time when the 19th century had bequathed to the world the dogma that the problem of economic justice was insoluble; that most men must always be poor, ignorant and sick, because most men were so inferior in gift and morals that this was inevitable; that civilization depended on making the Few masters of the Many, the Rich, the rulers of the Poor, and thus in this way, and only in this way, could civilization be built and maintained.

35-6-254

Is this true? Whether it is true or not, we have no right to stop people and nations from denying its truth--from denying the necessity of poverty, disease and ignorance, and from experimenting in their own way to ~~make a better world~~ abolish them. Moreover, our own duty is clear; and that is, not to pull down others, but rather to build ourselves up; to prove to the world that the economic condition of mankind can be bettered and that we know how to do this and that we propose to prove our belief by action. Instead of this, what are we up to? We are trying to fight an Idea. We are going to make nations agree with us and our way of life by using atom bombs, and bomber planes, battleships and artillery. And while wasting time, strength, and wealth in this effort; we are doing almost nothing to implement our own theory of progress.

Why? Why do we propose to make the Russian experiment fail, to throttle China and to throw the world into continuous war? The reason is clear: we fear that any success of socialism or communism will interfere with our own money-making. We have become a nation of money-makers. We think that money-making is the great end of man. Our whole ideology bows to this fantastic

idea. Religion, science, art and morals in America tend to be measured by the profit they bring, and the true vocation of American manhood is regarded as profitmaking business enterprise, and not social service.

War is Big Business and a business immensely profitable to a few, but of measureless disaster and death of dream to the many. Big business wants war in order to keep your mind off social reform: it would rather spend your taxes for atom bombs than for schools because in this way it makes more money; it would rather have your sons dying in Korea than studying in America and asking awkward questions. The system which it advocates depends on war and more war.

35-6-255

In order to have war, Big Business must have Hate; so its press and newspapers ask you to hate communists and if not communists, hate all who do not hate communists; indeed hate all who do not take orders from those who now rule America.

What has happened to the world is that those who profit from war, especially in the United States, have gained control of government, of information, of gigantic and unprecedented propaganda. This came about because of the First World War, which we entered with reluctance and in which we participated mainly by furnishing materials at a huge profit for those who controlled them. The result was two-fold; Americans conceived the idea of continuing to profit from the world's disaster and to move in as successor of the British Empire as ruler of most of mankind. On the other hand, Russia and other nations who had been through Hell because of war, began experiments for reforming, if not replacing the current methods of industrial organization. We joined the capitalists of the world to suppress their socialist experiments which threatened our plan of world industrial empire. However, just as plans were ripe for a mass attack, in particular on the Soviets, the bottom fell out of modern capitalist industry. This was no fault of Russia nor of

socialism, but was directly due to the overreaching greed of private profit.

But no matter what its cause, the result was that the Soviet experiment got a breathing space, while in the United States the New Deal was forced to adopt many radical socialist remedies for poverty, unemployment and disease: we curbed the profits of capital; we put the State into certain industries, and we adopted planned industry like the TVA, and we relieved the unemployed, and we established Social Security, and began to house the homeless.

35-6-256

In other words, the United States began to form and carry out its own plans for so reorganizing industry as to save capitalism whereever it deserved to be saved.

Here the American Labor Party takes its stand as the successor of the New Deal. It maintains that the Soviet Union has a right to adopt its own economic philosophy and carry it out as it will. And that also the United States has a right to attempt to save its own way of life and that this can be done, as the New Deal started to prove, when it was sabotaged not only by its enemies but more completely by its friends. What the American Labor Party asserts is that the present plan of Big Business to compel the world to adopt our philosophy and our methods by force of arms is not only unreasonable in the light of our failures to continue our own program of economic reform but impossible in itself and can only end in disaster.

It would seem that the futile efforts of a succession of master races to impose their will and power upon mankind would teach us that our program of world conquest is crazy. There is no possible chance for us to accomplish what Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, Great Britain and Hitler Germany failed to do. With our little "police action" in Korea shaking our resources to the foundations, how long and what effort will it take to conquer China, the Soviet Union, the Balkans--not to mention India? Our military plans are idiotic and still more so, if we depend on Germany, Japan and Franco to pull our chestnuts out of the fire. It will take more than one Wild Man of Tokyo to bring this fantasy into fact.

Moreover the American Labor Party points out that the persons who are forcing us to adopt this policy of force and violence are the upholders of Big Business; and they are profiting as never before by war and preparation for war, and are deliberately blind to the fact that their profit is the disaster of America and the world. Moreover, we point out that Herbert Lehman was trained in Big Business and today deliberately represents its interests. Last year, Herbert Lehman called John Foster Dulles "a bigot, an Anti-Semite and a Fascist." For that reason I voted for Lehman instead of Dulles. This year Senator Lehman welcomes this same Dulles into "bi-partisan" collaboration for war; he sponsors legislation for concentration camps for Communists and those called Communists; he ignores the restoration to power in Germany of the same gang which killed six million Jews, and acquiesces in their re-arming.

35-6-257

Why? What has changed Mr. Lehman? He has not changed. He follows automatically his training in the same school and on the same Wall Street which made Dulles a warmonger and attorney of the Nazis; and that is; foreign investment of American capital, so as to make enormous profit out of the poverty and helplessness of South America, Asia and Africa. American capital is pouring into South Africa and Rhodesia. We are the real owners of serf-labor in the Belgian Congo. We are wild to have Chinese factory hands at 12 cents a day. We helped shoot down the striking black miners in West Africa. And to bulwark our investment and guarantee high profit, the power of business joins hands with the military.

Thus, we are today ruled by Big Business and Big Brass for profit. A representative of the Steel Trust has been Secretary of State; a representative of Morgan and Rockerfeller is chief adviser of Truman on foreign affairs; another Morgan man has been under-secretary of State and may be second in command under Marshall; a Secretary of the Navy and Defense Chief represented Dillon, Read and Company, and another became Secretary of War.

Where Big Business does not control government, men trained for war do. We have just reformed our defense department by placing a soldier at its head in defiance of sound tradition; his first word is "universal military training of our children, for all-out war all over the earth, at a cost greater than we ever spent for education, health, housing and social uplift altogether. And for what? For profit to investors which is today piling up at the rate of $23,000,000,000 a year; with the prospect that the profit for 1950 will be four and a half times that of 1939, and twice as high as the enormous war profit of 1944.

35-6-25 8

It is the theory of democratic government, that when a situation like this arises, two political parties will examine, debate and dispute issues and acts until the poeple can make intelligent choice of the problems before them. Today we have only one political party which shares power for the same ends. Men like Dewey and Hanley can only try to outdo what the Democrats have already done; if the Democrats are for war, they are for more war; if the Democrats repudiate the New Deal, the Republicans loathe and despise it. The one point of agreement between the two so-called parties is war on any nation or movement which stands in the way of American profit; and the suppression of all discussion of the merits of the present crisis. I try to spread in America news of the peace movement in Europe and I am threatened with jail. Paul Robeson advises Negroes never to fight against people striving for a better world for black and white, and he is denied the right to make a living.

My platform then, like the platform of every honest American who still dare believe in peace and freedom, takes its unalterable stand against war and slavery. It warns all thinking men that the cause of our present failure and disgrace is simple and sheer mass insanity. We have known individuals to go crazy. We have long viewed this as an unfortuante disease, or

illusion fostered by a man's own weakness or by the wicked plots of his enemies.

We are learning all too slowly how to cope with and cure the individually insane. But mass insanity is a newer thing. To be sure we have experienced it in the race hate of the South, which we increasingly recognize as distorted mentality rather than deliberate will to harm; and while this dawning comprehension of one of the nastiest blots on our culture has not yet cured it, it has at least let us see our way to begin to plan the long upbuilding future. But before we are well-started on this path to goodness and truth, there comes an insanity, a wild and cruel madness, ~~and truth, there comes an insanity, a wild and cruel madness,~~ which engulfs the world, hurls us into planned and horrible murder calls to its ends every ingenuity of science, and even sets at its head followers of that Prince of Peace, who once out of degradation and poverty pled with a world far less guilty than ours; while we today give our world a distortion of his words and shriek:

"Come unto me all them that labor and are heavy-laden and I will give you war."

That the civilized world today, nearly 2000 years after the birth of Christianity, not mentioning those older and younger faiths, with their high hopes of reason and love of humanity--that this world today with all its triumphs which once we greeted with shouts of joy--that this world has gone crazy, no sane man can for a moment deny.

But he can pause and resting a minute from his Atom bombs, his Hydrogen horror, his propaganda of disease of body and mind, his mad destruction and wild waste of wages of the poor--pause and ask in this election season , Why? For God's sake, why? What are we yelling about? Of what are we in such deathly fear?

35-6-259

The present Senate of the United States is a war-making body and a body hostile to Civil liberties not only in the South but in this State. You have a right in November to help change the composition of the Senate. The present Junior Senator from New York is a respectable man. He has often, as Governor and Senator, voted for the right. I voted for him last year. But this year the whole picture of the world has changed and Senator Lehman has supported our war program and openly condoned in some cases the invasion of our Civil Liberties.

35-6-260

As representative of finance and investing interests he could hardly do otherwise. Remember what modern investment is; it is not as it once was, the loaning of your savings to help an enterprise which you knew about and watched. It is control of goods and labor over vast areas and under conditions of which you neither know nor care. It may and often does involve slavery and disease, ignorance and cruelty. It may drive wages to starvation, declimate and ruin family and group life; it may turn vast areas from happy primitive life to centers of crime and horror. But if it earns a profit; if it does not transgress the laws of the country where the investors live and where they largely make the law, then it is legal, legitimate and respectable. This has been the history of modern finance and investment all over the world. Its path is marked by blood, war, ignorance and the subjection of most of the peoples of the world to the comfort and convenience and luxury of the few.

The fight to curb uncontrolled investment and exploitation has been long and difficult and has had much success. But today and in America it is failing and resulting in a program of World War. The overwhelming influence and representation of finance capital in our legislatures in the executive and especially in the Senate of the United States must be curbed and curbed immediately. It is time that Senator Lehman be replaced by a man who is opposed to war and willing to fight for Civil

Liberties and not simply for the liberty of Corporations but liberty for the mass of working men and women.

It has been intimated however, that my candidacy is designed not really to replace Senator Lehman by a man willing to fight for peace and civil rights, but rather to elect as Senator a man even less qualified ~~fm~~ and less willing to represent progressive thought than Mr. Lehman. So far as I am concerned personally, I have but one object in this campaign and that is to win the election.

35-6-261

In a long life I never have and never expect to act as stool pigeon for any man or party. I shall not begin now. I know that every third party movement meets such accusations, which if heeded would make progress impossible. Everytime you suggest voting against a dominant party of a present official, you are met by the prediction that you are bound to fail. Upon this fear and risk, the old parties rely to hold their graft and power.

Today in this state and in the nation the Democratic and Republican parties stand for one and the same thing: war and the slave state. They cannot even phrase platforms that sound dfferent. They can only promise to do what the other is doing better---or worse. The nation faced the same predicament and prophecy in the slavery controversy a century ago. You ~~must~~ had to vote Democratic or Whig, because the Free Soil Party had no chance; because if you failed to vote for a Democrat you help elect a Whig. But that was not true, as the eventual triumph of Abraham Lincoln proved. Every defeat of a candidate for a free country, does not mean defeat for what he stands for.

Even if I be defeated for Senator, the vote for me would still be a vote for civil rights and against war, and eventually this program must win. If it wins this November so much the better; but if it wins ten years from today that victory must begin now.

It is the program and not the man for which you vote. The only assurance you have is that if I am elected to the Senate, no power in Hell, Earth nor Heaven will keep my mouth from speaking and voting, while I live what I conceive is the truth and right.

In this situation the American Labor Party takes its stand on the proposition "There can be no progress without Peace." We are the only nation in the civilized world, today advocating war and compelling other nations to fight. For this we are hated and feared. We call for the immediate settlement of the war in Korea, which an American soldier has characterized when he said: "I never saw such a useless damned war in all my life." Mediation with both North and South Korea in conference, and China represented in the United Nations, is the only solution. We ask resumption of the free flow of trade between East and West and the utter overthrow of colonialism even when masked under Point Four.

35-6-262

To stop this program of reason and progress, the allied and associated political profit-makers, called the Republican and Democratic parties, have adopted the last tactics of despair. They have made not only truth but civil rights a casualty of war! They have turned your attention from progress and peace, to hate and fear. They are making it illegal to think of progress or to advocate peace or progress. Every path to reform like taxation of great wealth; social medicine, effective rent control; river development, public housing and forest planning, are all called communistic or socialistic and their promoters threatened with disgrace, jail or loss of livelihood.

And now as a last exercise of tyranny, we are presented with the McCarran Act--the Fugitive Slave Law of 1950. You know what the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was: capital invested in human beings began to run away; foolish northerners, black and white, helped it hide. The Slave

Power which ruled the nation as Wall Street rules it today, passed a bill that made kidnapping of any Negro possible without trial, that made a man prove his freedom instead of forcing masters to prove property; and tried to make Abolitionism a crime. This law was so successful that in a decade it brought Civil War, and Abolition of Slavery, three years later.

So today, we are bidden to hate Communism when what we must hate is War; we are called subversive when we try to think and act as human beings and not as puppets. If we attack segregation in the army or civil life, we are called traitors to America. Against this the American Labor Party protests and fights. And as its candidate for the United States Senate, I ask you to vote to curb Big Business and War as represented by Herbert Lehman; War and Big Business as represented by that eminent veteran Joe Henley; and to uphold peace and civil rights, which are being sabotaged by Harry Truman. To the support of this program I welcome everybody who agrees with it, White and Black; Jew and Gentile; Democrat, Communist, and even Republican.

35-6-263

30

HARLEM IN THE CAMPAIGN

Golden Gate Caucus, Oct 9, 1950

~~W. E. B. DU BOIS~~

Harlem Is one of the most widely known localities on earth. In Europe, Asia, and Africa the average man has heard of Harlem and has some idea of its signigicance as a center, not simply of Negro expression but of a new concept of Democratic power. Naturally the meaning of Harlem has greatly changed in the course of time. At the close of the Civil War, there were only 15,000 Negroes in the whole city of New York and none in the empty farming district to the north of 14th Street.

By the beginning of the century the center of New Yorks' Negro population lay at 53rd Street. It was there that the music and drama which afterward made Harlem famous began; and between 1900 and 1910, Phil Peyton the Negro real estate man began the opening of Harlem to the crowded Negro population in the west side below 53rd Street.

It was the First World War with its stoppage of foreign immigration and new opportunities for work that brought the great influx of Negroes into this area of New York. The black community of 60,000 which had gathered here by 1910, became a hundred thousand by 1920 and doubled each decade to 200,000 in 1930 and 400,000 in 1940. Probably today Harlem and adjacent areas contain more than a half million persons of Negro descent; perhaps the largest Negro city community in the Western world.

In its earlier years, from 1900 to 1920, Harlem connoted Negro art in music and theater with Williams and Walker, Cole and Johnson, Will Marion Cook, Sissle and Blake and Florence Mills; hither came the blues from Memphis and Jazz with Jim Europe. The world looked on Harlem as a playground and slum which the rich and curious visited and which sent its singers and dancers around the world. But beyond and beneath this Harlem, was a crowded labyrinth of homes and workers; with poverty, disease, with all that swell and pulse

of living that makes life in a great city. Out of this came, in the twenties, attempts at expression, at writing and acting: poets, novelists and playwrights began to appear and a Negro literature whichwas a part and an important part of American literature. Also there came crime with gambling and prostitution, assault and theft and this made an ideal stamping-ground for politics in the lower sense of that term. Here among the poor and depressed, votes could be bought cheaply and both Tammany and the Republican machines soon began to disburse considerable funds to control the Harlem vote. This was paid for in cash and followed by a few offices and jobs and sale of the right to deal in liquor and women and the numbers.

35-4-499

Then came the depression of the thirties and Harlem sank in poverty, destitution and crime; the literary renassiance disappeared in a grim fight to live and survive; and by the advent of the forties there came to Harlem a new sense of the power and meaning of life in this section; born of struggle and of a growth of intelligence and planning. Politics took on new meaning and no longer meant simply pay for votes or for the privilege of breaking the law. The Harlem Negro began to demand representation in government and representation by men of his own choosing and not simply by those chosen and thrust over him. Political machinery began to pass into his hands and he enterd the city government, the police force, the civil service, the state legislature and the national congress.

During this time Harlem thought of itself as a Negro community dealing mainly with the problems of the American Negro. Althougha community of workers, it did not conceive itself as part of the Labor problem of the city or nation.

Although a part of the American expression of democracy, Harlem wanted to be a part of that democracy, for which others did the thinking and guiding. This was natural for a group brought up with a slave psychology: whose highest ambition quite naturally was to share and not to guide: to be recognized

and not to dictate. But Harlem lived in a changing age; in an age when the burden of governing was shifting from the privileged to the mass: from the owner of property to the creator of value. This meant often as men feared it would, transfer of power from intelligence to ignorance and from experience to uncertainity; yet at the same time, it was bringing a new thing into the world: a broad sense of unselfish care for the mass of humanity, instead of the fierce struggle of the smart to survive at any cost. And a feeling of the unity of mankind across lines of race as well as class. Thus the Harlem voter gradually began to feel himself not simpy as symbol of a race, but as part of a people: not simply as a center for entertaining the rich, but much more as a community of citizens whose duty it was to heop make a new nation and a new world.

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To illustrate my meaning, I remember how a quarter of a century ago, I started a little theater in the basement of the 135th Street Library, to let Harlem portray and entertain and express itself. Young Aaron Douglas painted the scenery. The so-called Krigwa players wrote their own plays and acted the parts and furnished their own audiences. After hesitation we entered a nation-wide contest of little theatres downtown and won second prize. That ruined us. Broadway beckoned to our actors and they fled to money making and show-off, instead of sticking to the far finer task of building a community which through drama could take its rightful place in the building of a nation. Then the depression finished our venture and now a new world looks at Harlem in this cirsis of modern civilization. It sees it not as an entertainment center but one of the world's great testing grounds for modern democracy where the representatives of a great people have a chance to guide the world in a day when as perhaps never before the world needs guidance.

And it is a battle, make no mistake about it--the last great battle of the West; centered about a new development of the grave and unanswered question: where in the state-- in the organized community--does the real

ultimate power lie: the power of police control; of the organization of work and wage? The content and range of education? Of the ownership and distribution of property? In these matters of universla power, where and whose is the ultimate control?

We know how historically this power at first rested anturally in the father of the family; than as the family multiplied, it was shared by a council of elders and the leader who stood at their head by choice or self assertion. But as families and clans grew to tribes and nations, the owers and identity of rulers varied by chance and strength, until the right to rule became tangled, hidden and often incapable of any clear explanation or understanding. Then men had to clear away the underbrush and rationalize government; first into royal rule "by the Grace of Gos" until kings mistook themselves for God and were beheaded: until certain citizens, distinguished by birth, ability or wealth monopolized the right to rule the state. This often degenerated into a rule of self- nterest and privilege but in Europe in the 18th century and 19th, men grown rich by reason of new discoveries and inventions, took over the powers of government, yileding the working class some li ited rights to share their power. In the latter part of the 19th century this rule of the rich and property holding classes with increased numbers of workers sharing political power, brought the whole world under the control of Europe through a new science and technique and reduced to subservience the workers of the world outside Europe and North America. This was scarce accomplished when in the 20th century the world burst into flame, in a confused and rapidly changing series of wars; first a war to redistribute the colonies of Asia and Africa among the empires of Europe: then to prevent by force the working classes from controling the property and curtailing the powers of the rich: and finally the attempt of the colonial people themselves wholly to escape the control of Europe and North America.

This is the muddled world in which we find ourselves today; its basic problem of porperty, wage, power and privilege are increasingly clear; the answer to these problems is not war: and the interests involved are not simply nor mainly the interests of the rich, nor of industry in inself. A new era of power, held and exercised by the working classes the world over, is dawning and while its eventual form is not yet clear, its progress cannot be held back by any power of men. It is facing this problem that Harlem stands today and in its light, we must act and vote. First then peace and civil rights, then study, education and public informat on in a press free from the control of Big Business is our program.

It may seem nonsense to a proverbially modern group to conceive that they who have always followed, listened and asked; should today with a certain suddenness be ordered to lead, to inform and speak out in clear, firm tones. Yet this is far more true than you think. The majority of the poeple of the world are today watching Harlem and American Negroes with fascinated interest. Today in China, India, Indonesia and the Phillipines, through the length and bredth of Africa; in the Caribbean and the South Seas, in the Near East and South America and Behind the Iron Curtain, men are asking--many have asked me personally--what is this dark group of 15 million Am ricans thinking and advising? The group which has fought and faced Europe and America hand to hand for three awful centuries until today, while not yet free, still they stand with two million ballots in their h nds and brains in their heads to vote as modern men and not as purchased slaves: what do they think and advise in this crisis of the modern world. Where does Harlem stand in the battle for Peace and Civil Rights?

Your answer should be calm and clear: Harlem stand s for Peace and Civil Rights: for Peace among all nations, before and behind the Iron Curtain, for civil rights for all men, Chinese, and Koreans, Russians and Poles, Black Brown and Yellow peoples, as wellas for Englishmen and Americ ns.

A pretty batch of scoundrels we are supporting in order to make money for persons who already have more than they can spend. Chiang Kai-Shek and Syngman Rhee, Quirinal, Bao-Dai, the rulers of Persia and Greece, Budens and Bently, the Anti-Semite Anders, whom Lehman now embraces and a host of allied and associated spies, thieves and liars. The people of communities like Harlem foot the bill and sacrifice thris children for this precious privilege.

In order to stop you from discussing or voting on war, we have erected again in America, a slave state: just as a century ago we made the discussion of Negro slavery illegal. It is possible today than an honest American, without committing a crime or an illegal act, can be jailed and impoverished if he talks peace, higher wage or civil rights; they may be done even without trail or hearing; and any public discussion of the case can be absolutely stopped. I am a candidate for publice office today, because only in a campaign like this can I discuss peace and civil rights on the platform, over the radio or in the public press. This is liberty, this is America. One right is left us and that is the ballot, outside of Mississippi, Georgia and their sister states, who beacuse of disfranchisement hold all positions of power in congress, with n ither Lehman nor Hanley protesting.

35-4-503

Here in New York, you can vote for peace, provided of course your employer does not know it, and he need not know it. Legally it is none of his bussiness how you vote. Your vote is secret. It may not be tomorrow, but it is today. Only three nights ago, Governor Dewey turned the old Abraham Lincoln stop on this platform and told his audience what must have been real news to them, how he and the republican party had bought and paid for your votes. He told you how he favored the FEPC, but forget to remind you how long he stalled on it and ducked until he had to yield. He rightly charged Truman with failing to keep his civil rights promises but did not mention that Republican leader, Vanderburg was his right-hand-man to clinch

the job. He mentioned housing but not in Styvesant Town. He deplored failure to pass anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation by democratic congresses which acted exactly like Repbulican congresses. Indeed any attempt of Republicans or Democrats to assess guilt for anti-Negro bias is merely exercise in the pot calling the kettle black. I ask Harlem to vote overwhelmingly for peace and civil rights against Dewey, Hanley, Lynch and Lehman.

The United States Senate is probably the most powerful legislative body on earth. Senaotrs are elected by the people for six year terms and they represent in theory all the people but in fact the chief interests of certain people. These interests are not equally distributed; business and banking, law and manufacturing, commerce and the learned professions are over represented by trained and talented men: but labor and servants, farmers and women, the poor and unfortunate, have small voice or thought in the body, and 15 million Negroes have no voice at all. In November, New York will choose a Senator from three candidates: one is a respectable citizen, who speaks for property and investment and for the military forces, and who expressed this week his fear of peace. These interests are already over represented in the senate. They do not need more Lehmans. Another candidate is a hack politician who represents your public life at its lowest. He has no business in the United States Senate, where he would stand shoulder to shoulder with war-mongers and profiteers, with Dewey and Dulles.

I am a third candidate: think the matter over carefully, which of these three men would best voice the interest of the people represented here today.

35-4-504

6-17-49

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

Jamaica Arena, Oct. IO; and St. George Hotel, Nov. I, I950

In theory, the American Way of Life involves wide freedom of individual initiative in work and thought, limited by democratic control of the individual in the interests of the whole community. Such freedom has in the past made for efficiency and resourcefulness, for invention and discovery. On the other hand, democratic control for general welfare has insisted on education for the masses and a rising standard of living. During the Nineteenth Century, our democracy failed because of the spread of Negro slavery which had to be abolished by force. Now again in the Twentieth Century, our democracy is failing because organized industry, through corporations and monopoly, has over wide areas displaced democracic government. Thus lately, our most pressing domestic problem has become the control of Big Business by our ballots and making general welfare instead of private profit our chief aim.

35-4-242

This great national duty has recently been made more difficult of accomplishment because of our foreign relations. The increasing investment of American capital in foreign lands, leads to the attempt to control these nations and their policies and economies by huge appropriations and military power. Domestic industry is thus geared to war and work is planned to aid foreign investment. Thus income from foreign enterprise makes our domestic corporations more and more independent of domestic democratic control.

Our excuse for foreign enterprise has in theory been our desire to encourage the American Way of Life in foreign countries. But in this policy we apparently forgot that our way of life when successful had two aspects: individual freedom and democratic control. What we sought to introduce into China, Greece and Korea was freedom of business enterprise, without democratic control in these lands, capable of controlling either foreign or

domestic business. In lands where the standard of living was and had been wretchedly low and the illiteracy almost total, our policy tended to hand labor and materials into the uncontrolled power of greed both foreign and domestic. To implement this program, for instance we took six billions of money from the pockets of the poorest American taxpayers to bolster the tyranny of Chaing Kai-Shek. Most Americans seem still unable to understand why 400 million Chinese arose in their poverty and ignorance and by years of superhuman effort drove this combination of profit and greed into the sea.

35-4-243

Similarly in Greece where the democratic foundation had never been laid our vast business enterprise, backed by our military and naval power, fastened in control those Greek rulers whose method was tyranny and whose object the exploitation of the poor. There they sit today while the mass o Greek people starve. America brings to backward lands not freedom and democracy, bu exploitation and dictatorship from merchant and soldier.

Consider Korea, instead of planting schools, to educate the people in democracy; or dividing up the land monopoly so that the Koreans might eat, we gave freedom of initiative to Syngman Rhee and his gang of big landholders, and proceeded to let them without any restraint either from a native democracy or from the American army which backed American Big Business, to use Korea as their private property. We knew what we were doing; we publicly accused Rhee of oppression and theft, but continued to pour dollars of our taxpayers into his filthy pockets, and are today restoring his power by order of the Wild Man of Tokyo.

When the lid blew off this unholy alliance, we arose in righteous wrath and sent our sons by thousands to kill and be killed, to ruin a raped and unhappy land, not for democracy but for Big Business. We put the blame on Russia and accused the Soviets of a conspiracy which we were never able to prove. Even when we have entered lands like Germany and Italy to implement democracy what we really br ught and intended to bring was not popular control

of government and work, but American business methods in offensive and defensive alliance with domestic business led increasingly by former Nazis and Fascists. This organization of work was not in the past adequately or properly curbed by democratic methods, was not set to subject individual freedom to the commonweal; and now with even less democracy and with greedy foreign capital joined to native power, we established neither democracy nor freedom, but i cipient revolution.

35-4-2144

What did we want in Puerto Rico? To make money. Why did we seize Puerto Rico? To make money. What did we do in Puerto Rico? We made money. To be sure, out of our loot we took a new dime from every dollar and gave the Puerto Ricans one school where they needed a hundred and one hospital where they needed ten. While we kept on making money out of this starved and ignorant crowded mass of cheap workers and out of the tons of sugar cane they watered with blood. We gave them self-rule in name only, while in truth they were an oppressed and unrepresented colony. From this history what w can we expect? Sweetness and light? No. They that sow the wind reap the whirlwind. This is our harvest in Puerto Rico. This will be the harvest from the seeds we are sowing today in Asia? But vaster--millions instead of thousands; the death of a civilization and not insane and deplorable attempts at assassination.

In Europe, where because of war, curbs of democracy over industry were weak, we have bolstered French capital by huge subsidy so that the nation is split in twain, with the vast majority determined never to enter another war on any terms, least of all terms set by American business. Italy lies landless and starved under our heel.

But why does America want another war? That we do want war and are increasingly preparing to have it, it today apparent to the whole world. We stand today as one great nation of war-mongers, ready to pour into organized destruction a treasure greater than we ever gave to missions, education or

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health altogether; ready to educate the youth of the nation for murder. Secretary of Defense, Marshall, demands universal military training, before we have established universal learning to read and write.

Meantime, a large part of Europe and Asia has begun to look for liberation from poverty, disease and ignorance to that great body of theoretical doctrine, built in Britain, France and Germany during the 18th century, which from Godwin to Bentham; from Fourier to Bernard Shaw, from Marx to Lenin honestly believed that the whole system of industry built on private property of capit l goods must be changed and a national socialism established with government control of industry for the benefit of the actual people who did the work.

35-4-245

This doctrine of socialism remained chiefly a theory, until the First World War. Then in Russia where the condition of the mass of people had reached unendurable depths of degradation, revolution ensued. An attempt was made to build a communist state, which was socialism with complete government control of industry and ownership of land.

This state did not plan to eliminate all individual freedom, nor to overthrow democracy: it planned eventually to increase freedom by abolition of poverty, disease and ignorance; it wanted to increase the scope of democracy by putting it in control of industry as well as of political life. Most of the world did not believe and does not believe that this can be done.

Western Europe and the United States therefore from 1918 to 1930 used every effort of military might and propaganda to overthrow Soviet Russia. Their motives were first to save the wealth which they had invested in Russia and second to preserve the possibility of future profit in Russia; in the Balkans and in the rest of the world where socialism was spreading in theory. They might have succeeded had not the bottom fallen out of capitalist industry in the world-wide depression of the thirties.

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Whether this disruption of industry was mainly because of defects in the capitalist system itself as Communist claimed or because of world war and destruction, is not a matter to be discussed in this campaign. What interests us, is the fact that the depression in America and Western Europe gave the Soviet Union the chance to establish communism as a going concern. No one then believed the experiment would succeed and many still doubt if its success will ever prove communism as effective for industry and freedom as the American way of life. Whatever the answer to this debate will be, the astonishing answer in our time, was that the Soviet Government was sufficiently successful to help America and Western Europe to overthrow Hitler, a task which without the Soviets we were utterly unable to accomplish.

35-4-246

What next? Next in the astonishing alembic of time, instead of this fact uniting the world we have turned right about face and after conquering fascism in alliance with Russia, we have announced a national policy of preventing by force the idea of progress by communism to spread and beyond that, we are apparently now ready to smash communism even in the Soviet Union itself, by every means at our disposal.

Our excuse here is that Russian Imperialism is imposing communism on nations and peoples, against their will and that if this spread of communism continues, it may eventually be forced on us against our will.

This grave charge is absolutely unproven and to me illogical. It is idiotic to say that the Soviets forced communism on China, if anyone forced China into communism it was the United States and Chaing Kai-Shek.

The case of the Baltic States is different. They belonged to the Russian empire before the First World War, they were separated from the Soviet Union after the war not to establish democracy, but as was openly said, to form a basr for re-conquering Russia. The Justice of returning these states to the Soviets after the Second World War was not disputed. It was sheer evidence of our good faith. in accepting Russia as our ally in overthrowing Hitler.

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35-4-247

In the case of Poland and Czechoslovakia and the other Balkan States it is also unfair to say they were forced into communism by the Soviets. In these states an overwhelming majority of the long oppressed workers and peasants were arrayed against a minority of wealthy landholders, nobles and industrialists who for years in conjunction with Western capital had exploited these lands and people. These exploiters represented birth and wealth and thus had the ear of the world. These were the two elements locked in bitter struggle here and also in Greece, and Italy. The Soviet Union did not conquer the Balkans but it did give influence, arms and leadership to the masses, and prevented America and Western Europe from active interference on the side of foreign investors. It was a conquest not of force but of ideas. It could have been opposed only by better ideas and that has not been tried neither in Greece nor Italy; least of all in China or Korea.

But our role is clear; we have no right to take the word of Senator Lehman's Anti-Semite, General Anders against strong testimony of the increasing prosperity of Poland and Czechoslovakia and other states. There are in the United States a number of Poles who recently lost jobs in Poland, which paid them well for doing nothing. They will never happy until they get those jobs back; which means they will never be happy.

To bring home my point may I refer again to Senator Lehman and General Anders. I do not bring this up from a captious desire to criticize what may appear to some as an inadvertent mistake. On the contrary, I regard it as an incident of grave import. I was in Poland in 1893, and 1949. My first visit took place a year after Wladyslaw Anders was born in Latvia in a rich land-holding family. I saw in 1893, not only the wealth and ostentation of the land-holding aristocracy but the degradation and tyranny under which Poland grovelled at the hands of Russia, Austria and Germany. And in 1949, despite the wild destruction of war I saw a nation re-born and infinitely more prosperous than 56 years before. Anders born into this

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35-4-248

ruling class became a Colonel under the Czars. When the revolution came, he with so many of his class fought the Soviets and then took refuge in Poland which became the center of Western Europe's efforts to reconquer Russia. Anders became a General in the Polish army and spent most of his time on his stable of race horses. Eventually he joined with Pilsudski in an all-out effort to united into a fascist party the reactionary and anti-semitic elements of Poland. Landlords and Militarists joined in every effort against Russia. When Hitler finally attacked Czechoslovakia it was Poland that prevented Russia from coming to the rescue. When Germany and the Soviets made alliance Anders offered his services to the Soviet Union. The Soviets loaned him $250 million without interest. He drove all Jews, socialists, and liberals out of his ranks and equipped an army of 75,000

When the Germans turned and attacked the Soviet Union, Anders without striking a blow for the Soviets deserted just before the seige of Stalingrad and under the protection of the British took his whole army with 40,000 members of their families to Iran. From 1942 to 1944, Anders was in Teheran where he promptly clapped all Jews in a ghetto, confiscated large stocks of goods from America intended for the Persians and sold them in open market. He stopped Jewish children from being sent to Palestine, speculated in Iranian money and acted so outrageously that at last MacDonald, head of the Red Cross resigned in disgust. The powerful Polish lobby in Washington prevented publicity in America

Anders then joined the allied campaign in Italy and sought to enlarge his army and arrange for an attack on Russia. From the allied prison camps he took poles and Nazis, getting a fifth of his army from those who had xxxxx served under Hitler. One estimate was that 30,000 former Nazis were attached to the Polish army. His camp in Italy became a rallying ground for international adventurers and nazi troops who had massacred Poles, Russians

and Jews. The resentment of the Italian people grew because of Anders' army. The NEW YORK TIMES reported that they terrified the Italians , impoverished the countryside, interfered in local politics and were resented a s a genuine curse to the Italian government and to Italy.

35-4-249

In the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, Anders was denounced as a "dangerous fire-brand if ever there was one." His army transferred to Great Britain from Italy, where again he was cordially hated and every effort made to get rid of him. His army's stay cost the British Government $442,000,000. Next a corps of his army, 10,000 officers and men, came to Palestine where they stirred up trouble between Jews and Arabs. Some of them had to be removed from settlements for killing Jews and finally the corps was forced to be evacuated.

At the same time Anders actively interfered with affairs in Polant while the people were tryint to rebuild their industries, homes, farms and schools. Underground gangs were guilty of terror and sabotage as was proven in public trials in Poland in 1947-48. Arms and spies were smuggled into the country by Anders organization, until by unanimous decision of the Council of Ministers, Anders was deprived of Polish citizenship in 1946, for a long series of activities detrimental to the Polish State. In th t decision Stanislaw Mikolajik, leader of the right wing concorded. But Anders was not through, during the cold war, Anders kept his ear to the ground, and when America seemed set on a war with the Soviets, Anders planned to come to New York to further his internatial intrigue. In New York he was welcomed by the representatives of the ousted landlards of Poland, by Merwin Hart, the professional Anti-Semite, by Americans interested in foreign investment and set on war with the Soviets. The history of this notorious freebooter must have been known to Senator Lehman: he must have known his Anti-Semitism and his determination to plunge the world into a Third World War. But

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35-4-250

Senator Lehman's l yalty to the investment interests of Wall Street outweighed all this and he joined to welcome Anders to America and reviewed with him a parade down Fifth Avenue, carrying banners to insult Russia and cry for war and atom bombs on Moscow. Lehman sent a letter of warm welcome to the brilliant dinner that night. Thus Senator Lehman put money-making and war ahead of humanity and peace and proved himself unworthy of the support of those who want peace and civil liberty.

We have no basis for denying that the Balkan States are not progressing faster today than in the last ten centuries. Western Europe and America had every opportunity to uplift the Balkans and particularly after the First World War. They only tried to fasten the chains of landlordism and exploitation tighter upon them.

The United States is today using every device, encouraging every spy, financing every traitor to stir up civil war and revolt in every nation which does not obey our will; and using the taxes wrung from our poverty and not from our wealth to accomplish this dirty job. We have no right to prevent China, Korea, Viet-Nam and other nations from choosing without duress from us or Russia, they type of government and system of industry which they prefer.

Above all, it is an international crime to overturn civilization in a vain attempt to overthrow the Soviets by force. We cannot do this, but we can put a blight on human culture for centuries by the attempt. I ask your suffrages to place these ideas on the floor of the Senate of the United States.

Television Broadcast October 8, 1950

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WPIX FEATURE

BATTLE PAGE OF THE AIR

What the United States is fighting for is not freedom nor democracy but the profitable expansion of American business. We gave but little attention to the plight of the mass of the Chinese people so long as we had open door to their cheap labor and rich raw materials. We mocked the m sery of the Balkan peasantry so long as their landlords gave us 50% on our investments. When we saw the fall of the British Empire our main ambition was to replace Englishmen in exploitation of the poverty, disease and ignorance of Asia and Africa.

If we were really burning to spread freedom and democracy where could we start better than at home? We could profitably begin with the police in New York and the jails of New Jersey. Then for permanent employment we might concentrate on Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana. Instead of this we want to send abroad what we do not possess at home. And therefore what we actually send abroad is not freedom and democracy but American capital. We send capital abroad because there our business methods are not hampered by labor laws, or taxes for schools and hospitals. When, then curbs on private profit at home increase the demand for freedom of foreign investment rises Senator Lehman represents foreign investment and st nds wholeheartedly behind its demands even if the cost is world war. Today American capital is chief owner of slave labor in South Africa, of serf-toil in the Belgian Congo and of the poverty and disease beneath the oil of the Near East.

Led by the Wild Man of Tokyo, we are fighting to regain that grip on China which our own greed lost through Chiang Kai-Shek. This program of money-making we are attempting to mask by yelling vigorously"Here come the Russians" Even when the Russians refuse to start, recently Senator Lehman has expressed his fear at the outbreak of peace. He is afraid that after

35-4-257

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this hysteria the nation may regain its normal sanity despite the most ruthless propaganda ever attempted since Hitler. Mr. Hanley's program so far as he has one is a firm promise to do more anywhere and anyhow of everything which the democrats propose.

The American people do not war war, they do not need war. They are in no danger of foreign attack. We have plenty to do at home. We still have too much poverty, ignorance and disease and too many families homeless to waste billions on war and ruin over the earth. I ask opportunity in the United States Senate to raise my voice against war and in defense of Civil Liberties.

35-4-252

I think that the clearest result of this discussion is that not three parties but only two are presenting programs here. Democrats and Republicans voice one program. It varies in small details but it stands for war and curtailment of civil rights. Moreover the source of this Bi-partisan Program is clear: it is organized industry. Big Business in the United States wants us to believe that our prosperity is dependent on its profitable career. But surely any intelligent man would admit that the private profit made by any particular transaction does not necessarily measure the good accruing to the mass of people. Profit is not an invariable measure of progress and private profit may often be public disaster. When then organized business dominates both major parties and candidates follow unquestioningly this Bi-partisan program, these parties become in fact one party.

A Third Party is not only logical but absolutely necessary if democracy survives. The Republican Party under Governor Dewey and his mouth-piece, Joe Hanley represents Big Business fighting for foreign markets at ruinous cost to our economy. If unrestrained, this program is bound to lead to the same sort of disaster which brought on the depression of the thirties. The Democratic Party under Franklin Roosevelt overthrew this program and began to build a party of social progress and control of private property.

War and death overthrew this new party building and Harry Truman has allowed the almost complete overthrow of the Roosevelt Program and today agrees in every important particular with the reactionary Republicans. Senator Lehman follows the lead of Truman even to Truman's voicing a liberal measure and then conniving at its defeat. If then a citizen wants peace and not war, wants freedom of discussion and not a slave state, he has no choice but turning to a Third Party, the American Labor Party.

35-4-253

Broadcast- WMCA October 9, 1950

PEACE

by

W. E. B. DU BOIS

I have consented to be a candidate for public office for the first time in a long life because I believe that the people of New York are entitled to an opportunity to vote against war and for Peace. Neither of my opponents provides that opportunity. Both Herbert Lahman and Joe Hanley agree with the Truman -Dulles policy in foreign relations. They both advocate a policy which is daily leading us nearer a Third World War. The Truman policy was bad when it gave aid to reaction in China and Greece. Now yielding to pressure from the republicans, it is making new alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek, helping France conquer Viet-Nam and threatening to make the Korean War the beginning of war with China and the Soviet Union.

35-4-254

Foremost in advocacy of this policy is Governor Dewey and his ally, John Foster Dulles, whom Mr. Lehman a year ago, characterized as a 'bigot an anti-Semite and a Fascist.' This same man Senator Lehman now welcomes to the "Bi-Partisan" alliance of republicans and democrats, not because Mr. Dulles has changed, but because Mr. Lehman has succumbed to the present war hysteris of the nation. He has recently declared that he fears peace;: that he hopes that the present war phychology of the nation will not subside but increase and spread toward preparation for war on a world scale.

It is difficult to follow this reasoning of a man who knows the increasing horror of war and its threat to all civilization. In our own nation nearly every step toward social progress is stopped today because of the supposed necessity for spending more for murder and destruction than we ever spent for education, health, better standards of living. Let any man today propose aid to our collapsing school system: to begin social medicine for a people deprived to a frightful extent of medical care: for a whole system of TVA's to tame

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the destructive and wasting rivers of our land, and preserve the dwindling treasure of our forests, no sooner are such plans advocated than the proponent is faced by two answers: we have no money for social progress because of all-out preparation for killing men and destroying property all over the world.

And secondly that anyone advocating such social aid and control is a communist or a socialist and a traitor or prospective traitor to his country. Thereupon the advocate of Peace, and social reform; of an expanded educational system; of medical attention for the vast number of sick who are now uncared for of the control of industry in the interest of the public welfare is faced by an almost universal barrage of insult, half-truth and whole lie to prove that we are in imminent danger of attack from bitter enemies from without and must submit to endless taxation and loss of our civil rights in order to start world war in defense of our liberties. And the advocacy of this fantastic thesis has grown to a frightful extent since Senator Lehman has been in the Senate and he has gone along with its chief advocates with small protests; until today he actually says publicly that he is afraid we will prepare for peace instead of wasting our wealth and hopes for increased welfare on war. Yet Mr. Lehman must know that of allsocial tools of progress, war is the least effective. That if this world is going forward to war after war, each greater and more destructive than the last, the end of civilization is in sight. Suppose we follow Mr. Lehman and Mr. Hanley. And suppose that by super-human effort weconquer China and the Soviet Union, smash southeast Asia and Strengthen our hold on Africa and South America--what then?

Have we had such success in administering Germany, Japan, South Korea and the Philippines that we are sure we can successfully rule the world. Our only hope in making our way of life acceptable to the peoples of the world is not by armies and airplanes but by ideas--by example. What have we in the line of civil liberties, decent treatment of the lowly, and lack of prejudice and mob rule, disfranchisement and miscarriage of justice to put before the

35-4-255

dark majority of the worldas proof that weare right and other nations wrong? Just because a Secretary of Defense went insane when he thought he saw the Russians invading Washington: just because a liberal leader like Henry Wallace suddenly announces that we are already fighting Russia, does that prove that the Soviets are att cking or planning to attack us? Have the Soviets ever attacked and invaded our country as we have theirs? Have thay ever helped seize slices of our territory as we have of theirs? Are their armies and airforce today camped on our every border with the openly expressed and reiterated object of stopping our way of life by force? The only hope of peace in the world is not threat and boast: not insult and repeated misrepresentation, but faith and hope and cooperation. We refused the proffered help of the Soviet Union at the outbreak of the Second World War. Later we had to take it. Did the Soviets fail us/ Were they unfaithful to their committments? We helped their effort by giving their arm es materials; but they saved the world from Hitler by giving 12 million of their sons and daughters and none praised their effort more than the United States in 1945. The faith we ha then must be used again if we want to have peace among men.

35-4-250

Moreover, let no American be so simple as to think that when we conquer Russia, we conquer socialism and communism. Com unism did not begin in the Soviet Union and it well not end there. If Russia today were swept from the face of the earth the basic and fundamental roblems which gave birth to communims will remain. If we cannot answer them before war or with war, what hope is there that we c n answer them after war? They will still stand; and the rest of this question: why is it, with the earth's abundance and our mastery of natural forces, and miraculous technique; with our industry belting the earth and goods and services pouring from our shores, why is it that nevertheless in the world most human be ngs are still starving, dying of preventable disease and too ignorant to know what is the matter: while a small m jority are so rich they cannot spend their income?

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35-4-257

We cannot maintain that the United States has satisfactorily answered this question. Despite all we have done, we still have poverty, ignorance and preventable disease. We might go far toward remedying these faults of our industrial system and it is quite possible that the American Way of Life could teach the world much in social progress if it were geared to such continued progress and not to war. It is not by the destruction of the plans of others but rather by developing our own that our way of life can hope to succeed. But we are misled by a mirage. We want to base our economy not on our efforts in the United States but on our control of the work and industry of certain backward lands in Asia and Africa and until recently, in East Europe and the Balkans.

We want to succeed the British Empire of the 19th century in exploiting the labor and materials of the ignorant and weak. This is back of our foreign policy which is pushing profitable investment abroad under the pretense of preserving our liberties at home. This is back of our bitter determination to dominate China, for cheap Chinese labor has long been a rich source of wealth for American and British investment. Senator Lehman represents the investing interests of America. He fights their battles in the Senate and fights them so whole-heartedly that he is willing in their interest to restore to power in Germany the Nazis who murdered six million Jews. For these reasons and despite his high charater he should not represent this state in the Senate. And so long as Joe Hanley repeats by rote the commands of Dewey and Dulles he is much safer in Albany than in Washington.

Broadcast, October 19, 1950 WMCA

CIVIL RIGHTS

Friends: One of the anomalies of this present crisis in our nation is that after we have loudly accused other nations of slavery, repression, totalatarian government and lack of democracy, we then turn around and apparently seek to outdo the world in every sort of repression and tyranny. Today it is no exaggeration to say that the United States stands in grave danger of becoming a slave state. The proof of this is clear in our loss of personal liberty, our wide attempt to control thought; our systematic spy system, our jailing of citizens not for their acts, but for their beliefs; our police tyranny and third degree system: the open injustice in our courts; the frequent refusal in government procedure to let witnesses face tha accused or let the accused know the charges against them: they systamatic discrimination practiced against racial and national minorities; our hounding of the foreign born and our deliberate taxation of the poor and exemption of the rich.

35-4-258

These things naturally do not happen to everybody all the time, but the fact that they can happen to anybody, any time and the growing frequency of such occurrences proves the frightening tendencies in this reputed land of the free.

For instance, nobody believes that it was wrong to raise funds for the relief of the Spanish victims of Franco. Yet men are in jail today not for giving such funds, but for refusing to tell who did give. It is not unlawful for a citizen to refuse to make public his private beliefs, the Bill of Rights was written into the Constitution to protect the right to refuse. Yet today men are in jail for such refusal. Government employees are losing their jobs without being faced by their accusers or informed of the evidence against them, and not for what they do or believe, but for what they are accused of having believed in the past. As Supreme Court Justice Frankfurter commented the

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other day, the only person who has access to the evidence against these government workers is the man who has power to chop off their heads. Citizens are blacklisted not for their own beliefs, but for what their friends or associates believe.

I saw yesterday a clean cut young, white American teacher, who had gone abroad legally to read papers at a Students Congress at Prague and a History Congress at Amsterdam. At the instigation of our Dtate Department, he was arrested in Holland without accusation, jailed without trial, denied the right to see his wife or consult his lawyer, deprived of his passport, refused the right to study on a scholarship in England, the life of Newton and forcibly sent home. The treatment and threatening and harassing of the foreign-born all over the nation today is a disgrace to a civilized people. You maynot agree with communists, but even the United States Government has never accused communist leaders in the United States of any act or even threat of force or violence to accomplish their objectives. Yet today they are stntenced to long terms in jail, not for what they have done, but solely for what they are said to believe. The FBI's paid array of spies and triators and informers covers the nation. And in the face of all this, Senator Lehman blandly tells us "Our Government and our Nation are looked to by all the freedom-loving world as the hope of all mankind against tyranny and darkness!"

35-4259

The open, crass and deliberate miscarriage of justice in our courts is growing in frequency: six Negro boys in New Jersey are held in prison without trial on the order of a judge who seeks to deny them representation by lawyers of their choice; A Black Man in Mississippi is in jail under the death sentence on the word of a white woman who says she was attacked while her husband was in the next room, but who made no outcry; who says she could not see her assailant in the dark and yet indntified this man as the criminal.

A black woman in Georgia is in jail for life because her teen-age

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son shot, with the man's own gun, the white man who was beating her. The Truman administration says it can do nothing in these cases but it can raise the roof in the case of a Cardinal in Jugoslavia or confessed spies and saboteurs in Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria.

35-4-260

Herbert Lehman and Joe Hanley repeatedly profess their devotion to the cause of civil rights for the Negro people. But neither of them has raised his voice against the unjust death sentence passed by an all-white court martial against Leon Gilbert, a Negro Lieutenant in Korea.

We refuse to let Pablo Picasso, the greatest living painter in the world, and that venerable British Churchman, The Dean of Canterbury, step on our shores to beg for peace. But the State Department announces that fascists from Franco Spain and Perons Agrentina will continue to be welcome. Senator Lehman greets General Anders and stands beside him in public tribute although Anders is a notorious Anti-Semite, a reactionary and a Fascist, who has made trouble in England, Italy, Palestine and Iran, only to be welcomed and feted in the United States.

Parole is denied to Carl Marzani, World War II, veteran with a brilliant record of dervice in Italy, who was sent to prison by a four-to-four Supreme Court decison convicting him of denying he was a communist. But the United States High Commissioner in Germany pardons Baron Ernst Von Weizsacker, Hitler's Ambassador to the Vatican who was convicted of deporting Jews for slave labor in Poland. And neither Herbert Lehman nor Joe Hanley protests this release of a Nazi butcher, whose first act on regaining his liberty was to kneel in adoration at the graves of Goering and other Nazi war criminals.

What is the reason for the crushing of liberty, miscarriage of justice and deliberate denial of the right to think, hear and choose to American citizens? The reason is that the present elements which rule America, Big Business and Big Brass, fear the truth, which may interfere with their power and income: and secondly, this nation falls the more easily back into the grip

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35-4-261

of a slave state, because less than a century ago it actually was a state in human slavery was legal and customary. We would rather forget this shameful past, when for 250 years this land of Freedom, of religion, of democracy was the only civilized state in the world where human beings were bought and sold precisely like cattle: where slaves had no right of property, no legal marriage no control of children and no right to learn nor think. That was the actual legal status of black sl ves in the United States of America until only 80 years ago, and vistiges of it are still law and custom in a third of our national territory.

We want to forget this. I want to forget it. But when Governor Dewey (and of Joe Hanley, as soon as he gets word) try to tell me that the republican party freed the slaves, that statement is a lie. The republican party never intended to free the slaves. It won the election of 1860 on a solemn pledge to protect slavery in the South and to return runaway slaves without trial. Abraham Lincoln vowed solemnly that he would not touch slavery if he could save the Union without doing so. But he co ld not save the Union until he used black soldiers to win the war. It was these 200,000 black soldiers and the promise of a million more which brought Lee's surrender.

We distort this truth and pt the distortion into our school books because we are ashamed of the whole sordid disgraceful mess, which still reaches down the ages to give the lie to our unctious pretense of having led civilization.

This defense in only human. What is inhuman and dangerous is the ease with which this past l ts us slip back toward slavery and injustice, lets us lynch without trial 6000 black and white American citizens, since the abolition of slavery and shows the unhealed wound of lawlessness stamped on the soul of America. Yet no anti-lynching law can pass either republican or democratic congresses. This holds just as true for the democrat-controlled 81st

35-4-262

congress as it did for the republican-controlled 80th, on the record, no voter can have the slightest confidence in the promise of either of the old parties or their candidates, Lehman or Joe Hanley.

But even worse than the hypocrisy of the democratic and republican parties and their candidates on the civil rights issue is this: that whenever powerful interests in America feel their rule is threatened, their first impulse is to resort to the same tactics which the slave power once used to stop abolitionists from discussing slavery. Today the power of organized industry is great and growing. Through its control, of both old parties, it can and does tax the nation for a vast army to protect its interests and promote its expansion over the world. The weight of these taxes is borne by the common people working men and women and farmers, while the profits of the big corporations and the personal incomes of their millionaire owners rise to new heights.

In our land, Big Business owns the press, the magazines and newsgathering agencies; it controls radio, stage and platform, gradually Big Business in the United States, to choke off criticism and conceal the facts is building a new slave state. This descent into hell, Joe Hanley and Senator Lehman defend and excuse repeatedly and with enthusiasm. For all of their ties are with the leadership of the republican and democr tic parties and with the Big Business interests that run both. Our first step toward freedom is to repudiate both old parties, their candidates, and this policy that they stand for.

That can only e done by voting for the American Labor Party. The American Labor Party is the Party of Peace, Freedom and the Bill of Rights. We want Paul Robeson to travel where he will and say what he thinks so long as he breaks no law. We want an end to congressional witch-hunts, presidential loyalty orders and FBI police state methods; we want the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and the McCarran Act.. We want an anti-lynching law, an anti-Poll tax law and an FEPC with claws. In other words we want this to be a land of the free, not simply in song but in law and truth. We urge all of you who

35-4-203

join us in wanting this to vote for the candidates of the American Labor Party ;

Thank you, and Good Night.

Broadcast--Albany, N. Y. WROW--October 22, 1950

THE CANDIDATES FOR SENATOR

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Friends: As candidate of the American Labor Party for the United States Senate I want to review the records of other candidates for this office. Joe Hanley represents one of the most dangerous tendencies in our political life and that is the use of money. The pattern runs through our politics; large sums from rich men or corporations are given to politicians: and these politicians support the policies of the donors: the distribution of public offices is made as a reward and not for competence: with the net result that our elections cost huge sums and offices tend to go to those backed by the largest election funds. This is government by bribery and graft and not by democracy. Both Hanley and Dewey are too closely connected with this conception of government to make either of them fit candidates for public office.

35-4-762

Senator Lehman's support rests largely on the feeling that if a candidate is respectable and of good character, that is sufficient reason for electing him to an office of power. This is dangerous misapprehension. Men of character cannot ask your vote simply for that reason. You must be assured that the powers of the office which they seek are going to be used for the best interests of the nation. It is no excuse for an official who helps plunge his country into an unjust war, killing and maiming thousands of its most promising youth, that this official was a man of good character and meant well.

Herbert Lehman has had a long public career. Much of this carreer, most of us would praise; but many of use are deeply critical of his present attitudes especially when he tells us that his defeat in this election will be interpreted as a vote of no confidence in our present foreign policy. In other words those of us who do not approve of the present foreign policy of the United States cannot vote for Senator Lehman. In 1942, Herbert Lehman said: "There are some among us who are critical of Russia, they close their

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eyes to the right of every nation to choose its own form of government." He loudly praided "The stoic courage of the Russians" in the war, which "Amazed the world and won the admiration of America." He became head of UNRRA, but in 1946 resigned because of the unfair and provocative polocy of the United States, Britain and Canada.

Lehman critised our attitude toward Chiang Kai-Shek, as : "Clinging to the dead hand of a regime which has completely lost the confidence of the Chinese people." He said later "People would have us occupy Formosa or send the navy to protect it...by what right could we do that?"

35-4-265

As Senator however, Mr. Lehman changed both words and policy. He became an all-out supporter of Truman and the forces back of Truman. He gave complete assent to war in Korea and preparation for world war.

What brought this about-face on the part of Lehman? Why did he suddenly regard the spread of communism as Russian imperialism? It was clearly because this was the complaint of Big Business and in the Senate the influence of Big Business is supreme.

Here too the long training of Herbert Lehman in the foreign investment field was far more influential than it had been in his role of Governor and social servant. The firm of Lehman Brothers in which the Senator was once a partner, and which gave him his wealth, has wide ramifications. It invests in oil in South America and Arabia; in copper and lead in Africa; in rubber in Asia, sugar and fruit in the Caribbean; it is closely connected with war industry in the United States.

Foreign investment is a form of imperialism. When labor unions and the labor vote begin to grow in power, capital, to increase profits and avoid taxation, seeks escape to countries where labor is half-slave: where there are no unions, few public services, low taxation and no elections. In this way the British and French Empires were built up. Germanys' effort to share the loot brought war. the first World war.

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When the British Empire fell, France reeled and Germany died, certain Americans wanted to fall heir to this imperialism. They had to let Russia assume chief role in crushing Hitler but were aghast when communism threatened to keep western business methods not only out of Russia, but out of the Balkans, and China. Thereupon they accused the Soviets of an imperialism which threatened the plans of American business in Asia and Africa. To enforce their own imperialism, Big Business drove the United States into war and Lehman consented. He backed Truman, he backed Acheson, he evern backed Dulles. He forgot his brave words of 1942 and 1945, and stands today no only or war but also for suppression of civil liberties.

35-41-2696

He opposed the McCarren bill, because it gave more right of court defense to alleged communists then the Kilgore Bill, which he co-sponsored. He wanted Spain to have American money but from banks instead of the United States treasury. As a result of his support the budget director now proposes to cut $500,000,000 from Federal social services, while congress prepares for the universal draft of your sons for a Third World War.

Senator Lehmans' retreat from his previous high stand has been a calamity It can be explained only by his training and the pressure which Big Business exerts upon him. This cannot be overlooked or forgiven. He stands today for a program which his whole previous career contradicts. As candidate of the American Labor Party, I offer a program of peace and civil rights instead of war and slavery.

PROPAGANDA

Broadcast, Oct. 26, WMCA.

Most Americans are puzzled at the state of mind in this nation today. They try to explain it as the usual case of people coming to know the facts of the world situation and reacting accordingly with symptoms of alarm and determination to repel evil at any cost. Such understandable reaction does not seem to explain our situation adequately. There is no proof that the Soviet Union started the war in Korea, wanted it or furnished substantial aid to north Korea. On the contrary, it is quite possible that Russia did not desire this conflict at this time; that hostilities were precipitated by Syngman Rhee encouraged by American business interests represented by John Foster Dulles. Again there is no proof that active aid of the Soviet Union helped the Chinese drive out Chiang Kai-Chek or caused the war in Viet-Nam. However much we may suspect that these occurences were indirectly chargeable to Russia, nothing that can fairly be called proof has even been adduced.

There can be no doubt but that the Soviet Union wants Communism to spread, just as the United States wants the sysgem of private capital and profit to dominate the world. But the Soviets have forwarded their ideology less by arms and more by ideas than we have done. Certainly it seems a fair conclusion that the Korean adventure was started against Russian advice and against Russ a's immediate interests unless the Soviet Union was ready for world war, which there is every indication that she was not.

Puzzled folk ask then Why are we scared? Who is about to attack us? And why should we arm ourselves to the teeth; set out to convert our economy into the vastest war machine in history? The answer to this is that our present state of mind is not the usual development of truth into action, but the result of a new and unusual situation in human history; calling for new education and new understanding; and a different set of efforts to emancipate our minds and calm our emotions.

What we face today is not Truth, but deliberate distortion of Truth and Feeling and consequent action based on half-truth or deliberate falsehood. The possibility of this situation arises from a relatively new development of Science, the meaning and use of which has not yet sifted down to full public comprehension. All men today know what the science of Physics has done for the world; and how through the machine, it has

35-4530

45-4-32

ged the whole pattern of our culture and the course of our history. So too we are beginning to comprehend what Chemistry is doing to our everyday life and the shape of our future plans. But comparatively few persons comprehend just what the recent scientific study of the processe of our thoughts and emotions can do further to transform our world. After centuries of mystical and metaphysical examination of what we called our souls, we began at the dawn of this centuryto make our minds a subject of observation and measurment. The public began to get some inkling of the results when the Public Relations man began to appear. At first we laughed at psychology in labor relations, in the conduct of education and in publicity. I remember well how I awoke to the signifigance of a nwe profession, when the propaganda organization to which I belonged wanted to meet in Georgia and discuss the Negro question. Everybody objected that we could obtain no publicity in the local press. We hired a "public relations" expert and got on the front page of the Atlanta Constitution.

In the First World War, we used camouflage and propaganda to persuade the public to do things they otherwise would not, or see things differently from normal vision. Here we were trying to reveal Truth or at least distort truth for ultimately truthful ends. Here lay the strength and extraordinary popularity of Franklyn Roosevelt. Speaking s traight to the people and ignoring press and platform, he told the nation what he believed the facts were and what they ought to do about the m. The people believed him and put over the socialism and welfare state of the New Deal despite the screams and curses of Big Business. For this reason Big Business still hates his memory.

But even when Roosevelt was putting over this propaganda for truth direct to the people, in another part of the world, Adolf Hitler, a perverted psychopath , was using propanda not to put over truth, but to make a nation believe lies. He found that by using the same means that Roosevelt used for truth, Hitler could spread lies, if only he control ed public commjnications. By monopoly of radio and press he could make the public either believe his lies or be too scared to deny them.

I knew Germany in my young manhood. I saw it again in

WMCA

PROPERTY

BY

~~W. E. B. DUBOIS~~

The Progressive Party, represented in this state by the American Labor Party, seeks to teach voters the truth and ethics of wealth, property and income, which are among the chief concerns of men and to which men devote most of their time effort and thought. To this end, we want first to dispel certain assumptions concerning the labor movement among those who see it as primarily based on envy of the rich and successful and on a desire to deprive the thifty and foresighted of the just fruit of their efforts: and to do this by law or even in emergency by force. For that reason numbers of respectable folk today instinctively dislike labor unions, regard strikes as wrong and futile and think of laborers ba gaining with employers as unnatural. This thinking is the source of much of the support back of the Taft-Hartley Act.

35-4-267

Our task is all the more imperative because these ideas are based on myth and inherited culture patterns and are not adequately contradicted by the press or ~~colleges~~ in Schools. Most Americans still think of property as something accumulated --a pile of treasure--which an individual has made by his own effort and sacrifice and which he therefore has a right to use in any way he sees fit; to consume it, to waste it, or to save it. ~~Instead~~ On the Contrary income is current use of wealth and services presently produced and available now. It is not a past accumulation but present and actual goods and present right to use labor.

In the same way men think of an industry as something which an individual or a group owns and which they have a right to conduct as they see fit--to set the rate of wage, to hire and fire, to fix price; and that public interference with such powers is fundamentally unjust.

These beliefs are not only wide spread and often honestly held, but our colleges and schools are doing almost nothing to dispel these fundamental

mistakes concerning modern industry. They stem from the earlier centuries of the beginning of industry and from current farming methods in many nations, where the individual worker, producer and owner is the best-known type. But since the Industrial Revolution, this method of work especially in manufacturing, trade and commerce is not typical. Production in these fields, which are today of dominant importance is not an individual adventure but a vast social undertaking. A large number of persons work together in numberless ways, in widely separated places and for periods varying from a week or less to ten years or more to produce a valuable product. The exact proportion of their contributions to the final result by physical or ethical measure; by kind and efficiency of effort, by length and intensity of labor or by money value cannot be determined accurately by any mathmatical method. The product of modern industry is a social product and belongs to society and not to certain individuals. Results should be allocated to individuals by standards of social justice and not in accord with established custom nor by ukase of an oligarchy basing its right on chance or legal fiction.

35-4-268

Property is a legal concept, and legal concepts are made and changed by laws, legislatures and the votes of laborers. Property is the legal control of wealth. Now wealth is not and never was entirely the result of indivudual effort; it always involved some measure of group cooperation. And today more than ever before wealth is the result of social effort added to the bounty of nature. Property is the legal right to use wealth; the wealth may stem from your own effort or from the effort of others; it may come from siezure of natural resources; it may come from inheritance or gift; from cheating or gambling; from theft. There is nothing sacred about property; everything depends on the social welfare involved in its use.

This means that property and its use are proper subjects of political consideration and of election decision. There has been in America too much

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cheating and theft in the acquisition of property and too much injustice in its use. Where property has been acquired by hard work and sacrifice, its owners right to enjoy it should be recongized and protected and no labor party has asked a ything else. But this has not been the record of American business. Huge properties have been accumulated by highway robbery, monopoly of natural resourses belonging of right to all, and even by transgressing the very law to protect the rights of the public.

35-4-209

Our present economic problem stems from the fact that while production is increasingly a social process, the distribution of its results still remains largely a matter of the individual judgment of persons who happen to have or who seize the power to decide, and on the basis of concepts of property and income which no longer correspond to fact.

The paradox which consequently upsets the labor world is that despite the indispensable cooperation of laborers, managers and capitalists in current industry, when the results and increasingly valuable results are distributed, most of the laborers get less than is necessary for decent life, while many of the capitalists get more than they need or can spend. And particularly capitalists get the power to direct the use of the residue for any purpose which they choose.

The age-long explanation of this is that goods are so scarce that with the best effort some folk must remain in poverty and need. It is this alleged fact that the 20th century laborer is disputing. He maintains that a more just distribution of the results of industry could eleiminate poverty disease and ignorance among the working class. For this purpose he has been organizing labor unions and trying by appeal, bargaining and if necessary by strikes, picketing and legislation to raise his standard of living to decency and comfort. He does not want in this contest to deprive manager or owner of his just reward for saving, planning and direction, but he insists

that he, the l borer as partner in production should have some voice in deciding what is just. He rejects certain age-old excuses for present conditions. When the National Association of Manufacturers advetises that the "more we produce the more we will have," he knows full well that this depends on who does the dividing and who gets the shares.

35-4-270

The conventional answer to this contention of labor is th t the essential capital to employ labor c n only be had if its owners are attracted by large profit to invest the'r wealth instead of consuming it. Once this was true. In the 17th and 18th centuries most of the rich did not save; they spent conspicously and extravagantly; and industry could only secure their cooperation by the gambler's bribe of high profit.

Today the situation is far different; there is capital in so great abundance that it begs opportunity for investment and indeed cannot be used in any other way. Also the risk of loss in legitimate industry is not small and might be reduced nearly to nil by intelligent and scientific planning. Moreover most of the curent capital comes not from the rich but from the comparatively poor who save for old age and a rainly day. But the huge profits of industry to not to them but to the financiers who as middle-men handle their funds, giving the 2% in savings banks while this wealth in forieng trade often reaps 50%. Small wonder Big Business fights and schemes and drafts the 18 year old youth. Profit is thicker than blood. Which makes Senator Lehman representing the foreign investor love Dulles, the Anti-Semite counsel for Lehman Brothers. When both seek the coal, iron, copper and gungston of Korea for American capital.

This has led many a social thinker to point out that capital for all real human want and improvement could e sily be taken from production and leave sufficient income for all consumers, provided of course that individual consumption was so li ited that no man had cake if any man lacked bread:

that mink coats for the rich were not allowed, if the poor had no shoes, and of course here's the rub. This compulsion which socialism proposed long before Lenin as the only way to decent human life, raises shrieks of protest if hinted at today in the United States. Rember what happened when Roosevelt proposed to limit incomes to $25,000.

35-4-2711

What church of the lowly Jesus, who railed against the rich , would for a moment admit or preach such ddnctrine? And yet is it strange that the poor and hardworking laborers of the world, without sufficient food, shelter and clothes; fearing old age and sickness more than the flames of hell-- is it strange that they by overwhelming majority are demanding this regulation of production and consumption and that this is not Russian imperialism but American commonsense?

You cannot stop this line of thought from growing in an intelligent world if you kill all the youth and dye the oceans red with blood. Social control of production and distribution of wealt is coming as sure as the rolling of the stars. The whole concept of property is changing and must change. Not even a Harvard school of business can make greed into a science, nor can the unscrupoulous ambition of a Secretary of State use atomic energy forever, for death instead of life.

The sales tax in Mississippi amounts to 18% on the earnings of the poor; the tax on homes in Georgia has driven hundreds of workers into the street; the withholding of wages for taxes in New York makes the tax burden often unendurable for stenographers and clerks. Great wealth today escapes its just share of the tax burden despite its huge and increasing profit. Yet taxation is being used for securing markets all over the world: for getting cheap oil, rubber, minerals, copper, tin, and lately for threatening world war on any nation which interferes directly or indirectly with our proposal to own and exploit the earth, even if it kills a few hundred thousand of our youth.

35-4-272

Thus taxation falling mainly on the poor furnishes funds which make American investment safe; and then the business man without risk, with cheap native labor, reaps 50 or 100% profit and calls it his. He uses it in elections like this to buy public officials, push legislation which favors him and kill laws which he does not like. Moreover much of the capital used today is taken from public funds through taxation while the returns go to private profiteers. For instance huge profits of the automobile industry are largely due to the vast expenditure for roads paid for by the public. Labor contends that it is therefore but fair to take part of this profit for public use. On the other hand industry in the United States consistently refuses this demand and is reluctant to bear its own share of public taxation. Today for instance, the owners of our commerical shipping, built and sustained in part by public taxation pay less proportionately in taxes than the sailors on their ships pay out of their wage.

Today despite every effort in the United States to conceal and deny the facts, all civilized nations except this have been progressing toward socialism especially since 1900. They own and run the railways, the telephone and telegraph, street cars, buses and subways; they largely conduct housing sanitation, insurance and relief, they guarantee employment; they engage in industry, in manufacturing, foreign trade, mining, forestry and river control in power conversion and control and wide ownership of land. Some nations like Britain go further than this; others like the Scandinavian lands plan less in theory but do evermore in practice; while the Iron Curtain lands attempt complete social and industrial planning and ownership of all capital.

Here then is a world movement which the United States almost alone is attempting to stem. We are attempting to champion private enterprise when no great industrial effort can possibly be private or carried on primarily for private ends; we stress individual initiative which is laudable when it is for social ends and inadmissable when it leads to anarchy.

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35-4-278

All this is not gossip and spite. The truth, the simple truth about wealth and property; about social control over greed and monopoly is well-known but it is not taught in our schools and colleges. Our teachers of economics instead of teaching the ABC of income and wage go off into higher mathematics and are paid $7000 a year to stay there, not counting income from writing against labor and socialism paid for by Big Business. Our bright young men are driven out of government employ by low salaries and witch hunts and hired by Big Business at high salaries to keep their mouths shut and work for private profit. This throws the burden of teaching economics and the ethics of income and wage on the laborers themselves. For this reason the leaders of the Labor Party in this election are talking not only what is usually called politics but matters of vaster importance which have to do with life itself. They are pledged to work for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and not to be fooled by the Truman run-around, to keep plugging for a real FEPC, so as to give opportunity for ability despite race or faith; for peace so as no longer to sacrifice our sons for private profit from the poor and degraded of the world. And beyond this to demand public housing, social medicine, federal aid to education; and especially higher wage and lower tax on the poor in order to readjust the present unjust distribution of wealth in accord with the highest social welfare of all.

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BROADCAST, NOVEMBER 6, 1950

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DEMOCRACY

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Democracy is the form of government in which each citizen has a voice in all decisions of policy and action. It contrasts with dictatorships, oligarchies or class rule. In a democracy the citizen must have freedom of opinion, access to the facts and right of expression by voice and vote. The United States has always regarded itself as a democracy and lately has assumed leadership of the democratic forces of the world. The American Labor Party ventures to examine this claim. First of all this country was not at first a democracy even in theory, but successively a monarchy, a theocracy and then an aristocracy of birth and property. Jefferson and the French Revolution turned it toward the democratic ideal and the age of Jackson admitted the workers and farmers into the body politic.

35-4-186

I saw American Democracy in the last quarter of last century, from the point of view of New England, then its best expression. We had freedom of opinion and considerable right of dissent. But in actual political life we were under the pretty strict control of the small landholders, the owners of town real estate and the merchants. They were the only ones who were elected to town office and whose influence was dominant over public opinion. There was no public discussion or voting on such matters as wages, hours of work or income. Slums, poor relief, sewage and health were discussed only as they affected taxation. The wretched slums in my town surrounded the woolen mill, whose owners were the social aristocrats of the town. We never discussed them. In school we did not discuss property nor income. We regarded these as purely private matters. We never had strikes and opposed the idea as futile and unnatural. Poverty was looked on as usually the result of laziness, and good schools were furnished free to those able to attend. Poor relief was a public disgrace distributed gingerly. Private alms-giving was common. This was an

approach to democracy, but it was not complete democracy.

First of all, democracy in the United States has historically excluded from the right to vote, at various times and places: Catholics and dissenters like Jews and Baptists, all women before 1920; the poor, even in some areas today, Negroes or descendants of Negroes, Indians, Asiatics and Foreigners; illiterates, even where there were no schools nor ability to attend.

Meantime there was growing up along side our democracy and increasingly contradicting it, a system of human slavery which was an integral part of our economy and a prime source of our wealth. When we nobly declared "All men equal," every fifth American was a slave, purchasable exactly like cattle. Naturally we saw this fatal contradiction but excused it in various ways and hoped it would disappear without costing us too much. But after hesitation during the period from 1776 to 1820, just as democracy was broadening so as to include white laborers, Negro slavery in the United States became the basis of a cotton kingdom and cotton together with sugar, tobacco and other slave-raised crops processed by a new technique, caused an Industrial Revoltuion which rebuilt the modern world. In the United States the slave power grew until it became the rule of a political oligarchy which not only was not democratic but openly derided democracy in the North and West and expanded the slave aristocracy South and West. However coincident with Southern aristocracy had grown up a Western section of adventurers and pioneers among small landholders and there a new virile democracy began to flourish. If the free land which the nation owned in abundance had in the 30's and 40's been distributed widely among them, augumented by immigration from the South, East and Europe, this region of peasant proprietors would have imposed democratic government and freedom of thought on the whole nation. But the western land was held off the markets as long as possible, then was given to railroads and corporations digging for minerals and oil, as well as to small farmers until the day when the western farmer had to fight the slave power for free land.

35-4-187

In the ensuing Civil War, no one except the despised Negroes and white abolitionists opposed or wanted to attack slavery. The mass of citizens wanted to keep this system of labor off its free soil but was quite willing to protect it in the South so long as it applied only to Negroes.

Northern industry was hand in glove with slavery from which it derived huge income. It swore violently to protect all the rights of slave owners in the South and deny Negroes citizenship or human rights in the whole nation; but it refused to surrender Southern products and markets to Europeans and rather than lose this profitable union was willing to fight, destroy and kill. But victory in war is not always as easy as scrap-happy generals tell us. The Southerners with leaders trained at West Point, weapons stolen from the government and with black labor in the fields to raise their food and clothes, fought the North to a stand-still, invaded the North and nearly captured Washington.

35-4-188

Then the North had sense enough to accept the cooperation of slaves which had been offered to them from the first. Negroes had fled from the plantations by thousands and were used as spies and laborers until finally 200,000 of them became armed soldiers in the armies of the North replacing Northern white men who refused to fight. Southern poor whites began to desert. Victory for the North became simply a matter of arming increasing numbers of the whole mass of a million able-bodied slaves. Facing that prospect, Lee surrendered after a futile attempt to induce Negroes to fight for slavery.

Then suddenly and most unexpectedly, the United States had a chance to fulfill the dreams of its greater founders and become a democracy in fact as well as name. Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens; Frederick Douglass and Wendell Phillips urged the nation to give the emancipated Negro the vote. Sumner said in 1866: "In the fearful tragedy now drawing to a close there is a destiny, stern and irresistible as that of the Greek drama, which seems to master all that is done, hurrying on the death of slavery and its whole brood on sin. There is also a Chrisitian providence which watches this battle

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with erect countenance looking to Heaven, made in the Image of God, and I show you a man who, of whatever country or race, whether darkened by equatorial sun or blanched by Northern cold, is with you a child of the Heavenly Father, and equal with you in title to all the rights of human nature."

35-4-189

The nation was aghast: what, recognize Negroes as men and voters? Impossible. And then Industry realized that the South, although beaten in war, was about to resume its control of national politics by reinslaving the Negro and basing increased political power on white representation of disfranchised b blacks. There was but one way to forestall this and that was to put votes into the hands of the Negroes and let them by democratic methods outvote their former masters. But soon it was evident that the new Negro voters would not confine themselves to serving Northern industry and agreeing to the narrow definition of democracy which was current in the North.

On the contrary they were going to interfere with property, ~~and industry~~. This was from no theory of socialism learned from Karl Marx, but from dire necessity. Thaddeus Stevens said in 1865: "We have turned, or are about to turn loose four million slaves without a hut to shelter them or a cent in their pockets. The infernal laws of slavery have prevented them from acquiring an education, understanding the commonest laws of contract, or of managing the ordinary business of life. This congress is bound to provide for them until they can take care of themselves. If we do not furnish them with homesteads, and hedge them around with protective laws; if we leave them to the legislation of their late masters, we had better have left them in bondage."

Congress however refused to give Negroes land or tools; the freedmen were penniless; they had no clothes nor food; they had no trained social leadership. They began, they had to begin to divide the big plantations into small farms; to provide capital from higher wages and public funds and to open free public schools. This was too much for the nation: they had not emancipated Negroes for a new democratic socialism, but for control of the

35-4-190

cotton crop.

The white ex-masters were equally alarmed to see black folk about to acquire education and capital by democratic methods. North and South united to overthrow democracy in the new South; to disenfranchise the Negro vote: establish a color caste of cheap labor and to get cotton back on the world market. When this overthrow of democracy was accomplished about 1885, Big Business in the guise of oligarchy in American industry began openly to move in. In vain we yelled about reform, trusts and monopoly; the power of capital and wealth in the United States grew frantically in the 90's until a great wave of fear and resentment engulfed the nation in the Nineties.

William Jennings Bryan voiced the revolt of the Populists and was on the way to victory, when Mark Hanna, an Ohio capitalist, threw off all disguise and openly bought the Presidency for William Mckinley; capital slapped and cheated Populism into oblivion, while the rank and file American was appeased by absolutely unnecessary Spanish War and our democratic country became an imperial owner of cheap colonial labor and serf-grown sugar.

We entered the 20th century, not as a democracy ruled by the votes of the people but as a plutocracy ruled by wealth and for wealth. The slave power was replaced by the money power and under neither could democracy flourish. Thus today the heirs of the slave power, adopted by the money power, rule congress through disfranchisement and unlimited debate, so that illiterate chairmen of powerful committees run foreign affairs and domestic policy, while the fabulous resources of an empire like Texas are surrendered to monopoly by manipulation of federal funds.

We openly expressed our disbelief in the possibility of democracy and absolute necessity of manipulationg elections, choosing picked candidates and circumventing the popular will, if such a will existed. Our representation in legislature and congress was notoriously unfair and unequal. Twelve million voters in the Middle Atlantic States send six senators to Washington

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35-4-191

while 4½ million voters in the South send twenty. In the South 44,000 voters have equal power to 134,000 in the Middle West. Our courts were removed as far as possible from popular choice and juries are often a picked aristocracy, insured conviction of any enemy of the ruling classes. We added to our colonial possessions and influence. We evolved a technique of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ control which we loudly advertised as American Democracy. It consisted of putting stooges and quislings like Chiang Kai, Shek, Syngman Rhee , Quirino and Munoz in power and letting them run the government and rig the elections while America's business moved in to exploit labor and materials for American profit. When the lid blew off this arrangement, we yelled: "Here come the Russians" and prepared for world war.

This technique could not fool the nation forever so that on the threshold of the second half of the twentieth we are set to curb and suppress that public opinion of the people of the United States which once aware and arcused will sweep away the rule of Big Business like chaff. This happened under Franklin Roosevelt and will happen again when this drugged and frightened nation wakes up.

We fooled the public with lies; we nailed up the real sources of information; we spread fear and fairy tale; we hiked the price of elections until $40,000,000 a year is used to buy results which Big Business wants; and finally we marched the Generals in to put the youth of America into the Goose Step and spent for drilling what we ought to spend for education.

Here we stand today and what can we do about it? We can get out of South America, the Caribbean, Africa and Asia; we can stop war and preparagion for war; we can stop obstinately refusing to negotiate world peace save on our own terms; we can put the military out of public office. And then we can turn our fantistic waste of money on murder and destruction toward education; knowing as our slow-witted president has just discovered that a third of our youth today is illiterate, untrained, sick and unfit. We can support a free press and refuse to take pictures and advertising

35-4-545

PEACE AND CIVIL RIGHTS

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

This is the astounding day when the nation which has most loudly boasted of Peace and Freedom; which assumes leadership of the democratic nations of the world, is preparing for war; and not merely for defensive war, but for a war to destroy the Union of Soviet Republics, China and all nations which embrace communism or even extreme socialism. This conquest of the world has started in Korea, is spreading to China and may any day embrace the world.

The United Nations, our hope of peace after the horror of Two World Wars, is being disrupted by deliberate attempt to break that principle of unanimity wisely imbedded in its charter and to surrender it a helpless puppet to a majority dominated by the United States. To finance our proposed dictatorship of mankind we are spending and preparing to spend a sum of money greater than the income of the rest of the world and so vast that we ourselves cannot conceive its size nor the shattering impact it will have on our economy, on our total life and work.

This is the bare truth which confronts us, although many americans stagger in a daze and do not seem to realize our situation or the unprecented crisis which confronts civilization in our day. Nor do they appear to know that the great corrective of sane and informed public opinion, which in crisis like this could hitherto be relied upon to restore sanity and normal reaction, today no longer exists. Organized propaganda on an unprecedented scale and world wide in incidence has denied this nation access to the truth and distorted our every judgment.

Our intellectual leadership today stands cowed, or silenced completely. Our ethical and religious guidance is even more completely shorn than usual of all influence or initiative. We are a lost and leaderless people rushing madly down steep places into a great sea. Our youth in schools are frightened

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by tha atom bomg; or in colleges headed by merchants, politicians or generals indoctrinated with hate, or in the military forces in steadily increasing number blindly goose stepping to orde s and pe paring to disappear into crippled manhood, insane mentality or be black fate of purposeless death.

The American Labor Party in this day of wrath cries to this great city and Empire State, a last work of warning, muffled though it may be by silence, threat and lack of opportunity to bring our message to a tenth of those who should hear. We say and say again with reiterated emphasis; our plight, our sorry plight in this land today, is due and due mainly to the money power; to the organization for private profit which has bought up our periodicals, throttled our news gathering and paralized our thought.

Our whole concept of life has been altered since the day when after the overthrow of the slave power, Northern merchant and Southern slaveholder united to overthorw democracy before it was born in a new South; to disenfranchise the Freedmen's vote and establish a caste of cheap black labor , which bound white labor in equal chains. When this overthrow of democracy was accomplished, monarchy and oligarchy in American industry beg n openly to reign.

This technique could not fool the nation forever so that on the thres hold of the second half of the 20th century we are set to curb and suppress that public opinion of the people of the United States which once aware and aroused sweeps away the rule of Big Business like chaf . This began to happen under Franklin Roosevelt and will happen again when this drugged and frightened nation wakes up.

35-4-546

65-4-18

RESULTS

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

On the whole I enjoyed this unique excursion into political activity. I encountered little open race prejudice, although of course few New Yorkers wanted bo be represented in Washington by a Negro; because of their prejudice and also because they suspected I was more Negro than American. To counteract this at least in part, I made no appeal to the Negro vote as such. I wanted the people of New York to know that as Senator I would represent the interests of the state and not merely those of one minority group. At the same time I knew and Negroes knew that I would regard Negro emancipation as a prime prerequisite to American freedom and possibly from birth, training and bitter experience, I would unconsciously over-emphasize this aspect. The Negro voter of Harlem was in a quandry; he knew that no candidate would defend Negro rights as I would; he also knew I would be defeated and that he must depend on Lehman or Hanley. His path was cloudy.

My age was always mentioned and emphasized; it being apparently assumed that no American had any business to live and think beyond the age of 70, or preferably 40, on account of the wisdom and courage of current youth. Naturally I was not impressed by this argument and was annoyed that age should continually outweigh reason. But above all I was amazed and exasperated by the overwhelming use and influence of money in politics. Millionaires and corporations, not record and logic, defeated Marcantonio. Dewey could afford to spend $35,000 for one day on radio; when friends of mine the nation over sent $600 to further my campaign, it represented more honesty and guts than all the millions spent on Lehman and Hanley. Small wonder the result of this election throughout the land sounded like a "story told by an idiot."

Five million persons voted in this election; of these, four per cent voted for me, which was far more than I expected. More than a million of the

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voters stayed from the polls, after a great social effort like the election of 1950, one must feel the let-down. Even thevictors gain less than they wish, while the losers wonder if it was worth all the effort, all the worry, all the breathless disappointed hope. Yet there is a sense in which no sound effort is in vain, least of all a struggle with high ideal and personal integrity.

One feels that in the end, all of this can never be lost; that somehow, somewhere, whatever was fine and noble in this campaign will triumph; and what was vicious and low will remain contemptible, no matter what the returns today say. Of course I was disgusted at the re-election of an acknowledged demogogue and opportunist like Thomas Dewey as governor of the Empire State and the continued threat of his elevation to presidency. I was insulted to know that two million New Yorkers wanted a petty grafter like Joe Hanley to be continued in public office. I was sorry to see Herbert Lehman go back to Washington to keep us in war and chains. But most of all I could not understand how a sane and intelligent electorate could reward the brave, lone fight of Vito Marcantonio with defeat. It just did not make sense, but dollars did it--just plain cash to purchase the election of as reactionary and characterless a nonenitity as ever sat in ~~x~~ Congress.

I felt as seldom before the vicious use of money to nullify democracy and the chains of party politics for selfish and dirty ends. As for myself, having never expected anything but defeat I would not have been surprised if no more than 10,000 persons had voted for me. I was astonished by a vote of ~~125,000~~ 205,729 a vote from men and women of courage, without the prejudice against color which I always expect and usually experience; a vote from a tenth of the voters of a state owned, cowed and enslaved by Big Business. This meant that these faced poverty and jail to stand and be counted for Peace and Civil Rights, for this I was happy.

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I had slapped no backs during the campaign which I had not slapped before; I had begged no man for his vote as a personal favor; I had asked no vote simply because I was black. It was a fine adventure. [redacted]

35-4-794

"BLACK DILEMMA"

Undated
Draft pages and notes for chapter 5 of an unidentified book

Ch 5

~~The~~ Black Dilemma

~~KEEPING BLACKS AND WHITES APART~~

~~By W. E. B. Du Bois~~

Present leadership among American Negroes is in chaos. ~~The reason is not far to seek and~~ may be illustrated by the abridged dialogue of a recent conference. Those present included two white persons,--a social worker, and a lawyer; and four colored folk: the minister of a church, a teacher, an official in the city civil service, and a housewife, whose husband was a professional man. They were discussing racial segregation; that is, the laws and customs of this land which seek rather successfully to put white and black folk in separate ~~spiritual~~ and even physical worlds.

"It's all wrong and thoroughly undemocratic," said the social worker, crisply.

"We must never accept it," said the Civil Servant.

"But we have accepted it and we've got to," replied the minister, meekly.

"That's cowardice; you must fight," said the lawyer.

"How?" asked the troubled teacher.

"By refusing under any and all circumstances to submit tamely to it."

"In which case," said the preacher firmly, "most of our children would go without education, and most of us would lose our jobs."

"Nonsense," snapped the Civil Servant. "I got my job by merit, and I work side by side with white men--"

"Backed by the solid black vote of your ward which is organized in a separate bloc, and held as a threat over the power of the local white boss," interrupted the minister.

"We have mixed schools in our city," retorted the housewife.

"And mixed treatment," said the teacher; "with no voice in the school board and few colored teachers. Most white teachers despise their colored pupils and discourage them so that very few struggle through the course."

"So you want separate schools?" asked the lawyer.

~~"No, I don't. What I want is for this great city to feel that its~~ colored children are as important to the world as its white children. ~~The present~~

fall

Colour Can only find education in separate Schools
then I want separate schools & I would then fight as
long as State regard ~~Coloured Children as less~~
~~entitled than White Children~~

36-11-33

Historically this has often happened with

successive waves of indignation, despair and high hope. This
ing cut
color line cutting across, as it so often has and does, the cultural line, has caused men like Nat Turner to kill every white person in sight or men like Russwurm and Lott Carey to shake the dust of America off their feet or men like Douglas and Lynch to urge the use of political power so as to compel the breakdown of the color bar; or men like Booker Washington to attack that bar by industrial organization and accumulated wealth; or finally by groups of persons, white and black, to show by thuggish agitation and protest, by court case and stinging arraignment, the loss, paradox and frustration that this senseless mixing of culture and race is bound to bring.

But today economic disintegration adds to political and cultural problems. Everywhere one hears the solution discussed & the difference of opinion emphasized

"Don't you know" said the colored housewife passionately that 'colored schools' are always poorer schools, never taught with fewer funds?

"I'm Ga." added the lawyer, Negroes forming 34% of the school population get 13% of the school

And I shall suffer from Negro schools & good White school where Negroes go [illegible] killed mean streets crooked & them heads turned they weren't responsible they're colored but because the world fight men gun & make them killer

30-14-246

(2)

So "You're willing to drop the fight," said the social worker, impatiently.

"No, I want to fight harder but with more power "but how and when?"

"Yes," said the preacher, "How? Would it help this fight against segregate to me to close up my church?"

"It might," muttered the Civil Servant, ~~half beneath his breath.~~ anyway

"I know; at any rate, it wouldn't hurt you because you never come; and I can't say that I blame you. But, after all, there are fifty thousand Negroes in this city who've got to go somewhere; and if they are not welcomed in theaters, settlements, parks, concerts, public meetings, ~~gmes~~, bathing-beaches, camps, and white churches, where in Hell (and I speak advisedly) are they to go, except to churches like mine, poor as such churches may be. Of course, Hell welcomes them at pool narrow and ugly rooms, joints, liquor dives and whorehouses---"

"Mr. Jones!" exclaimed the housewife.

"I don't care," shouted the Civil Servant, reaching for his hat. "Under any circumstances, I say No Segregation."

"It threatens democracy and world peace," added the social worker, rising.

"You must continue to fight it," insisted the lawyer.

"Yes, I know and I agree, but how?" persisted the puzzled ~~teacher~~ preacher.

The housewife turned on him impatiently. "We have been fighting race segregation for fifty years and more," she stormed, "we've got mixed schools in th North; we've got civil rights laws for hotels and theaters; we are often received as social equals in art and literature. And now, because the climb has been hard, you want to retreat, throw it all over, surrender and crawl."

But the teacher's voice ~~got~~ roar thin and bitter. "Yes," she said, "but we've many white still got separate schools for nine-tenths of our children in the land; and schools and colleges make the lives of the other tenth if not miserable, certainly not happy. We've got civil rights laws, loads of them. They are seldom enforced, and over half the time we dare not test them in court. We can perform in music and art for the curious and prurient in Harlems and Beale Streets, but that's a variety of social equality which I do not appreciate. We make the Broadway footlights now and then but only now and then and in starkly limited roles. We must be clowns or commit suicide. I tell you, I don't want to retreat. I want to fight. But

Paul Robeson

30-14-246

Keeping Blacks & Whites Apart

Present leadership among American Negroes is in chaos. The reason is obvious & is best shown by a recent conference. There were present two whites — an author & a lawyer, and four colored folk — a preacher, a teacher, a civil servant & a housewife. They were talking about Segregation — the law, its, laws & customs of the South which keep white & black folk in the more or less separate worlds

"It is wrong & undemocratic" said the author, crushingly

"We must never accept it" said the Civil Servant

"But we've got it" replied the housewife meekly

"I fight it" said the lawyer

"How?" asked the troubled teacher

"By refusing under any circumstances or any where & at any time to submit to it."

"In which case" said the preacher "our children would go without education, their morals & us would lose our jobs, and mixed black workers would starve"

"Nonsense" snorted the Civil Servant "I got my job by merit and effort — "

"Backed by the solid block vote of the South and organized in a separate class

& threatening & from the local boss" interrupted the preacher

"We have mixed schools in our city" said the housewife

"And mixed treatment" said the teacher "with one person on the school board

& one part time colored teacher. Most of the teachers despise their colored pupils & discourage them so the poor struggle through"

"So you want separate schools" asked the lawyer —

"No I don't. I want the city & feel that its colored children are as important

& the world as white children. And as long as it doesn't look as —

"you are willing & dark the fight" said the author indignantly

"No I want to fight & harder — but How?"

"Yes How?" said the preacher "I might & help & close my church."

"It might" groaned the Civil Servant

"I know — it would hurt you. You never come & I'm not complaining. But

There are 5000 Negroes who've got & go somewhere & they are not

welcome in theatres, hotels, restaurants, camps, public meetings, games, bathing beaches

and white churches, where in Hell (and I speak advisedly) are they & go except

& churches like mine poor as they are. Of course Hell welcomes them & pool room

parties, liquor dives & whore houses —"

30-1-48

"Mr Jones" exclaimed the House wife

"I don't care, I say No Segregation" yelled the Earl Edmund "reaching for his hat

"And I say fight it" said the lawyer

"It threatens democracy + peace and the Button man

"Yes" I know, but don't" demanded the puzzled Lieder. The Housewife turned on him unbelievably

"I've been hearing race segregation for forty years" she stormed; "We've got mixed schools in the north, we've got civil rights laws for hotels + theatres, we've achieved several equality in art + literature + now you want to retreat, throw it over raise the white flag + crawl"

But the leaders would get him + killed: "Yes we've got separate schools for 9/10 of our children + hotels + college are under the laws / the older South remains; we've got civil rights laws that are not enforced + we don't dare test them; we can't perform for the citizens + tourists in Harlem + Greenwich villages. I don't want to retreat. I want to fight, But I don't know whom to fight or how + to yell "No Segregation." is not fighting the yelling". But his audience was gone

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Of course is pulling an age old stone wall with arguments excuses + extenuations just as old. Granted a social cancer suddenly smaller + all its ends in collision, friction is inevitable. But the cost of human friction, a quick amalgamation, national hatred + racial dissension is of tremendous, so appalling, that the work of social betterment demands more serious + continual effort. It cannot excise the fact that in the blood + tissue of American we have in microcosm world wars. We only deny + murmur vain, deny it nevertheless dead bones + poisonous openings + yet the fatal cloud of Suicide Assault + Spleen, the war of hatreds, can be averted by see that a tenth of this nation is allowed human + cultural development

The answer to this demand is a thousand discouragingly by a very uncommonly. Of course — to be sure — certainly. All what has been accomplished already. What is considering? All is well.

All is not well. No more critical moment every faced black America, neither in 1820 or 1861 nor in 1867. Before the Dishonest Negroes of the South were doing "Negro jobs" — This is the kind of the world's work assigned them by common custom, from field and kitchen to brothel, and like - Pushkin

The Crisis, Vol. 8, No. 1, May 1914, p. 30

New techniques, mass production, trade unionism, displaced Negro workers in tobacco, lumbering + mining, and confined them to common labor and domestic service + the worst paid sorts; in textiles, tobacco, and chemical [illegible] they were almost excluded while in farming they sank more + more to landless tenants + farms. The world war + its rapid aftermath opened a door and two million black workers rushed north + west to steel + automobiles and factories rushed. They met hard [illegible] race antipathy + the A.F. of L. unions and the Democratic party + Labor met them

They lost their jobs north + south. They lost their farms + homes they used as their savings. When relief came it reached the white worker first + the black never last or not at all. Now in all this they were much like other workers only more so; their technological disablement was greater + subtler; the Depression struck them sooner + will last longer + go deeper; above all relief was less complete and in all the planned recovery they find no integral place.

All this calls for energetic thought + plan on their part as Americans they are. They are no longer wards nor children. They have been detached by the Great Society and made aware by an interwoven complex and yet they have grown up well educated men + women, they have accumulated some property + acquired some skill and they have had long experience in organizing + fight for their rights + the recognition of their fellow men.

But Negro leaders have not been fighting on the economic front — rather they must persistent effort has gone into education + social recognition as men. Even the Booker Washington [illegible] fight was not completely industrial + economic. It was only economics in so far as it formed a labor complement to the industrial plans of white employers. Freedom and intercaste industrial control sought + provide a reservoir of docile common labor and an army of skilled + semi-skilled artisans outside the unions and able + desirous union demands. The programme was one economic

On Keeping Black & White Folk Apart

by

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

The Conference

No segregation

But Rent got it

Your church — your school — your job

But make one trouble with N.Y.

Police Surgeon — Civil Examiner Tax Commissioner &c

How did you get it? Segregation!

But it is relief

Depression is relieved

No segregation

The classic Arguments

For — race loyalty + individual Taste

Against — Christianity - humanity - Liberal

unity - Peace

Intermarriage

Amalgamation

Redeemed by Communism Lynching and
Race like but Russian hell
Ostensibly Ethiopia will remain Race

Intangible Black ignorant masses
a "Stone Cutter"
Reasons for the Revolution

Negro — Difficulties — dodge of inferiority

divisions of political Reform (schools, banks)

Culture by contact

Assimilation

Intermarriage — Rising by Strain — Escape & Work — & whole World

Slogans: No segregation

Exceptions

South

North

Marriage

Comes Boom of war — 2 million move — results.

Aftermath falls Unemployment + Depression

Jobs — Schools

Differentials — Farms

CCC

(over)

Save your Race!

Arouse! Stand Pat & Stand + degenerate

Workers unite — & Lazy

Negroes unite — Lunch

Cooperation — Contributions
Paradoxes
The impossible must

New Technique — Tuskegee
Discipline
Combination
Government

Danger + Loss of Immunity

World Outlook

~~End~~ Colored Hair — Impossibility of Extinction

Evolution Evolved due!

Basins for more survival

UNIDENTIFIED BOOK

C. 1920's
Typescript of 3 chapters
"The Shadow of Africa"
"British West Africa"
"French West Africa"

Section II.

The Shadow of Africa

The persistent shadow of Africa over the thought of black and white America from the beginning has been perhaps the central blot of American history. Upon the Europe of that marvelous 15th Century, there bursts suddenly the realization of rich free land beyond the sea. Free land was unknown to the organized Europe of that day. All land was owned and more than owned. It was the basis, not simply of economic organization, but of government, of society, of military defense and aggression, and even of religion. The new land of America first presented itself as a place where wealth might be found and brought back in triumph to be enjoyed in Europe. Then came the realization that the wealth of America was to be had but only in rent and hard labor and this hard labor must be furnished by white indented servants transported from Europe, and then in larger and larger proportion by black men brought from Africa. Out of this rose the problem of slavery in America which in its various aspects and transformations became the central problem of the history of the United States from the signing of the Assiento in 1713, to the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. And even beyond that to all the insistent Negro problems that arose from the adoption of the 13th Amendment down to our day.

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Africa, therefore, has always been in the mind of America. First, as a source of labor. Then, gradually, as the place to which black laborers must eventually be returned if slavery could be abolished. And then, finally, in the minds of the slaves themselves and the freedmen the idea of Africa as the Fatherland toward which they would go or toward which their hearts would determine or on which their interests

must at least to some extent be centered.

The return of the slaves to Africa was an idea that early took root. Before the Revolutionary War, there were some plans started for sending Negro Americans as missionaries to Africa, but the idea of proselyting among the natives and gradually attracting free Negro Americans. In England, the matter took deeper root. Under Wilberforce, Clarkson and Sharpe and stray Negroes, were gathered from the slums of London and recaptured slaves from slave ships and all dumped rather unceremoniously in what is now Sierra Leone. Sixty white prostitutes were considerately added to the band and the wretched little colony struggled and grew. Meantime, after the Revolutionary War, American statesmen began to look about. Jefferson first thought about a Negro colony in the new Northwest, but after the Haitian Revolution began to consider the West Indies. Finally, he turned to Sierra Leone and West Africa, but the pitiful colony there was in such wretched condition that the English did not encourage him. Nevertheless, the Abolition sentiment, after the Revolutionary War, grew, both North and South. In the North, it resulted in the freedom of the slaves; partly as a reward for their fighting in the Revolution; partly as an attempt to make America in reality a free Republic.. But the difficult question was. What was to become of the slaves? No one envisaged the possibility of the mass of these enslaved Negroes becoming a free, intelligent and enfranchised voting class in America. The only hope seem to be to colonized them, and January 1st, 1817, the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States was formed at Washington, with a nephew of George Washington as President, Andrew Jackson as one of the Vice Presidents, and twelve managers, who were all slave holders. Immediately, there arose a grave question. Was this an organization to support or undermine slavery? Was it an organization to get rid of free Negroes under any

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circumstances and make all American Negroes slaves or was it a sincere effort to colonize in their Fatherland 1,750,000 Americans of Negro descent, and here was the rock on which the whole colonization movement spread. For a young nation, impoverished by two wars, by internal weaknesses and foreign complications, to undertake to expatriate one-fifth of the nation forming at the time probably two-thirds of its ordinary laborers, was a tremendous undertaking, and the question of the physical and financial possibility of such a thing, even if stretched over a generation, was a grave one. On the other hand, the people of the United States and no considerable part of them, were really in favor of any such action. The South had lost large numbers of their slaves in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. They needed not less but more labor. Especially, with the growing importance of the cotton crop. The North, impoverished by the Napoleonic Wars, was not disposed to pay too much for philanthropic effort. They wanted peace and trade. It was, then, very easy for the colonization movement to palliative by which obstreperous and unambitious Negroes would be _____ out of the country and the s_____ of slavery made stronger and more permanent than the rest.

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This brought within the ranks of the Negroes themselves and attitude toward Africa that has persisted down to our day. They began to look upon Africa and all suggestions of emmigrations as part of the pro-slavery program. Even those who were disposed to leave America were disillusioned. Paul Cuffee, born near New Bedford in 1759, took at his own expense in 1815, thirty-eight Negroes to Sierra Leone and had larger plans of emmigration. John Russwurm, a graduate of Bowdoin College, and the first American Negro to graduate from college, sent another to the new Liberia to lead in education, and Lott Cary purchased his own freedom and went as one of the first American missionaries to Africa in 1821.

But these were all exceptions. Most Negroes of that day had been born in America, spoke English, were unacquainted with Africa, and considered expatriation as simply an attempt to get rid of them, nor did the experiment of Liberia convince them. The Colonization Society had sent two men to West Africa in less than a year after it had been formed. They recommended Sherbro Island for settlement. Then, the government came to the rescue by authorizing the return of slaves captured on the high seas to Africa. With the help, then, of the Colonization Society, on the one hand, and the government on the other, a permanent settlement was finally made on the Mesurado River, and from that beginning, after many vicissitudes, arose the Republic of Liberia which became an independent government in 1847. Comparatively few American Negroes migrated to Liberia. Perhaps, the total migration amounted to _____. Slowly the interest of America and American Negroes in Africa dwindled, and the idea began to be more and more firmly fixed that for better or worse the American Negro was going to find its future in America. Nevertheless, it was impossible to break the spiritual ties between Africa and black America, and in the 20th Century there has arisen among American Negroes renewed interest in Africa because of the ameri__ of blood and among American white people renewed interest because of the new economic meaning of Africa. Let us, therefore, for a moment consider what Africa is? We may use an expert and old similie. Africa is an averted plateau, with a great plateau in the center, and a raised rim and series of deserts along the coast. But we must distort this plateau a bit, making it long and broad at the upper end and tilted high in the South. It will be seamed and scarred with a great lengthwise crack in the Southern East, veiled by great and deep lakes. There will be vast deserts, North and South, which were once seas, with snow-capped peaks on the equator and hills and ranges of mountains along the plateau's raised edge

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Above all, there are rivers. Rivers so mighty that the history of Africa is the story of its rivers. Of Nile and Niger, of Congo and Zambezi, and of others which circle and turn and finally fall bursting through the mountains, fall off the edge of the plateau in rapids and cataracts, down into most of the seven seas. This Africa is too vast to be one country. No one living in Africa or knowing it speaks of it as a whole. They talk of West Africa and of South Africa, of Portuguese Africa and of Egypt, of Algeria and of the Sahara. No one speaks of its races by anyone name. Nor is the word Negro known there, except as a modern importation from abroad.

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What has happened in this land? One may tell its human story in this wise:

Once upon a time there lay a land in the southern seas; a dark, grim land, walled well against the world. And in that land rose three rivers and a fourth, all flowing out to seek the sea. One river was born amid the Lakes and Mountains of the Moon, sun-kissed, snow-capped, and fled to the northward silent, swiftly; it clambered over the hills and swam the marshes. It threaded the sands—the narrow, choking sands that grew hotter and narrower as it went; yet the river swept on to wider, greener fields, to a laughing plain until through many mouths it burst like a rocket to the Middle Sea with all its myriads of men.

In the wake of the river came dark men creeping, dancing, marching, building, until their pyramids and temples dotted the land and dared the Heavens, and the Thought of their souls and cities was the Beginning of the World.

Far, far away to westward another river leapt and sang and lightly turned its back upon the Sea, rushing to northward. But the grim desert shrieked in its fastnesses crying "Not here!" So the river whirled southward till the black forests cried in their gloom, "Not here!" So the river whirled southward till the blacks forests cried in their

gloom, "Not here!" The river bowed and circled westward. Sullenly, silently, yet proudly, she swept into the western sea. As she swept she sang low minor melody; as she sang she scattered gold carelessly to the black children. But ere she died in the depth of the sea she gave to her strongest and blackest sons, Iron--the precious gift of Iron. They fashioned it cunningly and welded it in faery forms and sent it to the ends of earth to make all men awake. And men awoke. They awoke on the cunning breast of the river's self and kingdom on kingdom arose until the empire of the Songhay rivaled the empires of the world. The sound of the might of Negro land echoed in Carthage and grew in Numidia and gave fairy tales to the Middle Sea.

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Away to the south and eastward and below the Mountains of the Moon the third broad river heard her sisters hurrying seaward. North and westward they had gone but she turned to the eternal east. Golden she lifted up her golden hands and stretched to Ophir, Punt and Tarshish her long, lithe finger. Her voice rose mighty in song until with a million stars in her throat she dropped wild singing in the southern sea and shuddered to the vastness of its silence.

Her black children sat in mine, fortress, temple and flowering field and traded with dark traders beyond the India Sea, till lo: out of the north came a cry, a cry like the anguish of a soul. For back in the bowels of the land men heard the running of three rivers and rushed away madly; for they were those that would not hear and could not see. On they ran, on, on and eastward ringing their spears and crying their great, awful cry of war. As locusts swarming they passed the north of the glooming forest with its dim red faerie; eastward they looked upon the inland oceans and southward they sent their war cry reeling to the Mountains of the Moon.

There came a shouting in the wilderness and again as swarming bees

onward they came, and again the war cry echoed to the stars. Over the ruin of things that were passed that black and human flood until its angry surf dashed into the vast, red Heart of the Land, and knew the haunted spell-crused realm of the Last River. Mighty was this last of rivers—a river of rivers, an endless lacing and swirling and curling and swelling and steaming of wild, weird waters beneath the giant jungle, where the lion, the leopard and the elephant slept with the long, slim snake.

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Hand in hand and voice to voice these waters whirled in one vast circle within the bosom of the land saying their incantations. They shouldered past the mountains and sang past all the seas, then shunning the glaring desert and ingathering themselves to one swarming flood they thrilled and thundered on the sea. Snake-like and lion strong they gathered the children, the little dark and weeping children, and lo, beyond on swelling waters rose a hoarse, harsh cry and slim and sail-like fingers beckoned to the westward deeps. The river paused and rose red and reeking in the sunlight—thundered to the sea—thundered through the sea in one long line of blood, with tossing limbs and the echoing cries of death and pain.

On, on! the bloody waters, with those pale ghost fingers of ship and sail, with gold and iron, hurt and hell, rolled, swelled and tumbled, until the laughing islands of the western sea grew dark and dumb with pain and in the world, the great new world a Sorrow was planted and the Sorrow grew.

Today, we have then, the hands of Ethiopia which have been stretched overseas, and the Africa which is left at home. This Africa divides itself into four crucial centers. South Africa, East Africa, the Belgian Congo, and West Africa. In South Africa came first the primitive Bushmen. Then, the Bantu began pushing down from Central Africa. They met the Dutch at Lands End in the 17th Century, and the two races

fought each other to a settlement, and at the end of the 18th Century were likely to drive the Dutchmen into the sea. England came, at the beginning of the 19th Century, and for three-quarters of a century fought six Kaffir Wars until they broke up the terrible military machine at Chaka perfected. This leaves a strange racial mixture in South Africa. The English and Dutch are but imperfectly centered and the Dutch that are seeking for that same domination within the empire which they failed to obtain in the Boer War. There are altogether in the Union of South Africa five million Negroes, a million and a half whites, and a half million Asiatics and mixed races. The whites dominate. They have seized 280,000,000 acres of land and left the natives only 20,000,000. The natives have no right to vote save in Cape Colony and there they must vote only for white candidates. They are the victims of caste restrictions; they have limited rights to work, especially in the higher paid mechanical occupations. Their education is so restricted that at least 90% of them can not read and write. They are seething with unrest, while, on the other hand, the dominate whites declare that South Africa is and must be a white man's land. The basis of that power is the mineral wealth which they have taken from the soil and the agricultural wealth which supports them. In East Africa, we have Uganda, where an organized Negro state of considerable culture was imparted by missionaries under the protection of proseliting and then tremendously seized by England. To this, has been added Kenya and the land that was formerly German East Africa. In Kenya, the British Government has granted 7,500 square miles of the best land to Europeans, 22 square miles to Indians, and to the Negroes whose right to the land is undoubtful, no land at all. In this way, and by poll taxes and various compulsory labor laws, they very nearly reduced the Negro population again to slavery. An aroused conscience in England had medicated this to some extent and England is now hesitating over the demand of 12,000 European

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landlords to have complete political and economical domination over 2,750,000 Negroes and 40,000 Asiatics. From this debt of economic and political tyranny, Uganda, on the one hand, Tanganyika and Rhodesia, on the other, rise by various degrees of difference which do not greatly change the essential problem. Portuguese Africa, East and West, is under the economic domination of the English. Abyssinia maintains a Quasi independence, sitting armed upon its hills, and trying slowly to achieve a modern state in the midst of the economic domination of France, England and Italy. In the center of the continent rises the Belgian Congo. It was opened as the Congo Free State, and Henry M. Stanley was charged in 1878.

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Farther North, among the Ba-Lolo and the Ba-Songo, the village policy persisted and the cannibals of the northeast pressed down on the more settled tribes. The result was a curious blending of war and industry, artistic tastes and savage customs.

The organized slave trade of the Arabs penetrated the Congo valley in the sixteenth century and soon was aiding all the forces of unrest and turmoil. Industry was deranged and many tribes forced to take refuge in caves and other hiding places.

Here, as on the west coast, disintegration and retrogression followed, for as the American traffic lessened, the Arabian traffic increased. When, therefore, Stanley opened the Congo Valley to modern knowledge, Leopold II of Belgium conceived the idea of founding here a free international state which was to bring civilization to the heart of Africa. Consequently there was formed in 1878 an international committee to study the region. Stanley was finally commissioned to inquire as to the best way of introducing European trade and culture. "I am charged," he said, "to open akd keep open, if possible, all such districts and countries as I may explore, for the benefit of the commercial world. The mission is supported by a philanthropic society, which numbers

nobleminded men of several nations. It is not a religious society but my instructions are entirely of that spirit. No violence must be used, and wherever rejected, the mission must withdraw to seek another field."

The result meant the death of 12,000,000 natives, as Harris says:

"Europe was staggered at the Leopoldian atrocities, and they were terrible indeed; but what we, who were behind the scenes, felt most keenly was the fact that the real catastrophe in the Congo was desolation and murder in the larger sense. The invasion of family life, the ruthless destruction of every social barrier, the shattering of every tribal law, the introduction of criminal practices which struck the chiefs of the people dumb with horror--in a word, a veritable avalanche of filth and immorality overwhelmed the Congo tribes."

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Since then, the Free Congo State has become a Belgian Congo. The worse a_____ have been mitigated, but the object of the Congo State is still to produce copper, tin, ivory and rubber, and not to produce men of human culture. There is little real education; there is no self-government. And this, we have on the Western Coast, where the slave trade was _____, and which looks toward America, is the plight of Africa.

The other day, a young white man called upon us. He was an average American, straight-forward, not college-bred but business-like and frank. He said that he had just returned from the Belgian Congo where he had been working with the Ryan Interests. Our attention was held because much was said sometime since of the fine way in which, with Mr. Ryan as leader, United States capital was about to enter Africa and develop things. According to this young man's story, developments in the Congo Diamond Mines of Kasai are proceeding apace. In fact in some respects they went so fast that this young man could not stand them. For instance, he did not think that an unoffending native woman ought to be beaten with the rhinoceros hide whip called chicot. When he saw it, it sickened him so that he resigned. But the consulting engineer, Mr. Charles W. Boise and Mr. R. E. Blosser and others urged him not to leave but Mr. Mulligan insisted and wrote them:

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"When I told you that Kirk gave the woman three chicots over the breast, and, when I showed disapproval, then handed the chicot to the capita who slashed her at least twenty times more on all parts of her body, I do not think I exaggerated; to the contrary I think I underestimated the number. Twice or thrice during the chicotting the woman closed in on the capita and dragged the chicot away from him (the most pitiable scene I have ever witnessed in my life). This only tended to infuriate Kirk more, who aided the capita in getting the chicot back, the capita continuing with his noble assignment. I do not care anything about the framed evidence you may now have. My story is exactly as I repeated it at the time, to which no heed was taken.

"Last night you stated that in the sense of the word it was not chicotting, as the woman did not lie down for her brutal punishment. I do not agree with you. If a man dies from a bullet wound inflicted by another person, whether he is sitting, standing or running, I do not

think alters the case...There's no way out of it, he has been shot. Position in life may alter cases, but the position for brutal punishment does not.

"In conclusion I will say that last night I felt humiliated and hurt to think that even you did not see the righteousness of the whole matter and think that Kirk should be reprimanded for his misbehavior. I believe that Moody right under the skin 'knows I am right' but feels indebted to Mrs. Kirk. Perhaps if God had spared his baby, he might be able to see how my ideals and finer sensibilities got the better of me...A mother of a babe in arms being chicotted!...The world is all wrong! I also believe that had Mr. Doyle been acting for the Company in your stead last night he would have tried more tactful and diplomatic methods. I am positive that he would not have attempted a third degree in browbeating fashion. He is all human. I still contend that a native woman should not be chicotted, and regret that I cannot write a letter of the tone you requested."

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Thereupon, Mr. Mulligan wrote the following letter of resignation which was accepted by G. D. Mordin, managing engineer, and Mulligan came home:

"In accordance with our conversation of yesterday I hereby resign my position with the Forminière and request to be returned home, due to the following reason:

"I do not agree with the management's viewpoint as regards the chicotting of a native woman. I do not think it should be tolerated and can only consider it an American atrocity.

"I regret that after eighteen months of 'Hell' in Tshikapa I cannot stay the balance of my term, but such an incident, besides the ill feeling towards me that my expressions of sympathy for the native woman has caused, makes it necessary for my own personal reasons that I resign."

All of which goes to show that the "Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave" is"doing" Africa as badly as ever Belgium did.

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Section V.

British West Africa

It is thus clear that one of the most interesting social struggles of modern times is being carried on today in West Africa. It signalizes the attempt of the ancient tribal land system of Negro Africa to become an integral part of modern commerce and industry.

During the interval between the abolition of the slave trade and the raising of the new economic imperialism, the Negroes of West Africa were confirmed by law and custom in their tribal rights to the land; so that today in French and British West Africa the tribe holds the land by inalienable tenure. Every member of the tribe has a vested right and allotment which he may cultivate for his own use and the produce belongs to him individually. The tribal chief decides the allotment and the individual's family is recognized as having some vested right in the crop.

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In the Belgian Congo this ancient land tenure was overthrown by Leopold and land ownership vested solely in the state. The results for a while shamed civilization and the situation is still most unsatisfactory. In South Africa imperial promises and customs were ignored and the land taken from the Negro despite clear treaty rights.

In Kenya, the Negroes were tricked out of their lands; but in Uganda they hold them as in West Africa. Even in West Africa there have been repeated efforts to displace the Negro tribal owner. One of these efforts is connected with the cocoa trade. For many years the raising of cocoa centered in Portuguese Africa, in the islands of Principe and San Thomé. Some readers will remember that a boycott against cocoa was incited by the English liberals led by the Cadbury Press some years ago, and when the smoke had cleared away from this singular and not easily explainable situation, the center of the cocoa

raising industry had been transferred to British West Africa, centering in the Gold Coast. This was the time of the Empire Development Association and the determination of the British to make their colonies business propositions and exploit them for the mother country more thoroughly than they had been. They planned a large plantation cocoa raising system with white owners and black laborers; but here they ran into the tribal land system and the Negroes had some lawyers and men of education who put up a stern fight. They would have lost, however, had it not been for one singular occurrence; and that was that the chiefs and the tribesmen began to raise cocoa on their own account, on their own initiative and on their own land.

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The story of this development reads like a fairy tale. In 1901, the Gold Coast raised less than one thousand tons of cocoa; in five years the amount had increased to five thousand tons; and today, it stands at two hundred and forty thousand tons. It is all raised by Negroes upon their tribal lands; but they have had peculiar difficulties. In the first place, for all African produce, credit facilities were needed upon the West Coast. In the 90's, P. B. Blaze, a colored merchant of Lagos, approached the Lord Sir Alfred Jones, head of the Elder Dempster Line, to ask aid in establishing a bank. In this way, the Bank of British West Africa came into being with a capital of $200,000, half of which was subscribed for by native Africans. However, no native Africans were on the Board of Directors and as soon as the bank began to pay, the white English board proceeded to sell stock in England until the African owners were quite submerged and retained little influence in its direction.

This meant that the bank served the British mercantile houses, especially on the West Coast. These houses, however, did their cocoa business through black buyers who collected the cocoa directly from

the natives and received salaries and commissions. Many of them earned from $5,000 to $20,000 a year in this way. Their commission was from twenty-five to thirty-seven cents for a lot of sixty pounds. Soon, however, the English merchants formed themselves into the Chamber of Commerce and began to cut down the commission of the black buyers. In the meantime, white buyers and contractors began to push in to share this income. The natives began to feel themselves pinched and their product monopolized by the local English business men.

They sent a representative to England in 1915 who got in touch with the man who is now Lord Beaverbrook, and who was at the head of the Colonial Bank. This representative induced Lord Beaverbrook to open branches of his Colonial Bank at Lagos and Accra. These branches granted credit to native traders and the Bank of West Africa had to follow suit. As a result, between 1919 and 1922, native merchants handled from twenty to twenty-five per cent of the cocoa sold abroad.

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Then came one of those industrial cataclysms. First, there was a storm in the West Indies which destroyed the cocoa crop and sent prices of cocoa from $100 a ton to $600 a ton and this was immediately followed by the general slump of business by which cocoa fell to $225 a ton. These fluctuations ruined the West African traders and compelled the banks to get more capital. The capitalization of the Bank of British West Africa was increased to twenty million dollars while the Colonial Bank increased to fifty million dollars. Lever Brothers of soap fame, absorbed the Niger Company and controlled the Bank. Both banks refused credit to Negro traders and only backed the white firms so that today the natives are really out of the exporting trade and sell only to white merchants at prices which white English merchants set.

In December, 1926, cocoa was selling for $200 to $210 a ton in Accra, while in the United States, it sold for from $375 to $400 a ton. The freight is only $15 a ton and America consumes two-thirds of the West African cocoa crop. The difference in prices is accounted for by the fact that they represent the monopoly of British merchants.

But the Africans have not given up. They have sent one of their chiefs to this country to get in touch with American bankers and to try to get two things: financial support for a skilled corporative movement, including a co-operative market for the West African cocoa merchants; and capital for the establishment of an American bank in West Africa. One-half the stock of this bank the Negroes themselves proposed to take up and thus insist on being represented in the directorate. Here, the matter stands.

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Let us turn from British Africa, in general, to the situation in one specific colony—Sierra Leone.

Africa is always the unexpected. Thus Pedro da Cintra, sailing along the low West African coast in 1462, suddenly saw the Lion Mountain leap and roar to the silver sea. He called these fifty miles of singing headland Sierra Leone, and one sees today that couchant Lion from the ocean, the great twin-humped mountain that comes down close to the waters so contrary to one's preconceived notions of the African coast. All along here, and particularly at Sharbro Island, which lies low, yonder to the right, the slave trade flourished in the eighteenth century until the campaign of Clarkson and Wilberforce, and then in 1787, there began an experiment.

Today still at Sierra Leone the mountain comes down to the sea, looming in curve and peak over the sweep of the harbor. Freetown looks large and wide, built of white and red stone, flinging rows of homes far along the sea, and a gleam of villas up the mountain side. It is a beautiful sight of a sunny morning; hot and dusty at noontide; and always full of folk and puzzling. Puzzling because one senses anomaly here, history built on history, abandoned, built again. Yonder from the low mouth of the wide river sweep in great canoes, with white uptipping rhomboidal sails, long canoes full of black men. Rhythmically, they float across the bay, flashing paddles deftly plied. They somehow speak of Carthaginian triremes with white-swathed figures at prow and stern and lean dark bodies amidships. And sure enough, somewhere here Carthagians and Phoenicians landed 2,500 years ago.

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Here, then, on silver sea lie past and present. But in the street one rubs one's eyes. Here is the garb of the West Indies: the wide, loose, gay gown sweeping the instep, the flowing turbaned 'kerchief. In these garments live the memories of maroons and creoles who came along years ago, some by way of Nova Scotia. There is the English black man, sometimes university bred and immaculate; sometimes from the local schools; a man varied in language and outlook and appearance. There are the natives, for native suburbs gird the town—Krootown, Congoland and the like. One sees them with loin cloth and with flowing Arabian robes. A black Mohammedan does his orisons beneath my window. "Allah-il-Allah! —Allah Akbar"—kneeling on his mat. There are always white subalterns in khaki, silent, almost watchful.

I sense unrest in Freetown. This city of forty thousand people has evidently had waves of prosperity and adversity. Curious chapters of economic history could be dug up here, I am sure; for first the colony was a philanthropy, then a trading company, then since 1808 a Crown colony. Today, it falls into two parts, and thereby hangs a long

and curved tale.

It all began with the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century, and England's far-sighted vision of coming changes in industrial organization. The slave trade declined and this coast became a refuge for recaptured slaves. Black and poor prowlers from England, Maroons from Jamaica and Nova Scotia, load after load of slaves recaptured on the high seas, not to mention a cargo of white prostitutes from England, were dumped on these shores to stew and strive and live and die. All of these pieces of peoples, intermingled groups of individuals from the West Indies, from all parts of the African interior, from the United States and from Nova Scotia, began to settle down and develop along certain lines. By the middle of the nineteenth century the English mission schools were turning out some fairly well educated young people. The older people were grasping at a more or less stable economic foothold; buying from England, selling some raw products. As time went on some of them sent their sons and daughters to England. Some sent their wives, too, and established their families there for purposes of education

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Very slowly, but certainly, there arose in British West Africa a group of Negroes with educated leadership, a few with the best modern university training. England was rather negligently proud of them. They were curiousities when they appeared in London. Queen Victoria's Government promised them eventual autonomy and the chance to set up for themselves, presumably as an independent country. On March 3, 1865, a select committee of the House of Commons resolved "that the object of our policy should be to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible for us more and more to transfer to them the administration of all the Governments with a view to our ultimate withdrawal." Pursuing this policy and with the energetic pushing forward of the Negroes the colony was virtually in the hands of black folk by 1890. Sir Samuel Lewis, a colored man, had been Chief

Justice. McCarthy was Queen's Counsel and the people were voting and electing their own officials.

Meantime, matters changed. Africa became a great open land for new raw material. Instead of giving up African colonies, the European nations after the middle of the nineteenth century began to scramble for all the territory they could get there and by 1885 had it definitely divided up. English business began to move out to Africa, and when it moved to West Africa it met the educated Negro leader. What happened? One can best sense this by going to Sierra Leone today.

You see a country of black folk, of black folk of all degrees of wealth and education. At the Governor's garden party I met black men and women of culture and manners. They would have been at home in any cultured assembly. Their dress was not that of the latest London tailors and yet they were well dressed. The women, perhaps, most of all, followed least the latest styles and yet they were soft-voiced, restrained and pleasant. It was interesting to see that garden party. The Governor was conventionally English, tall and slim, with white top hat and morning coat. His wife was the gradious Great Lady. Around them were Englishmen and Negroes, but they did not mingle. Yet their lack of mingling was altogether different from anything I have seen. In the black belt of the Southern United States white and black do not mingle, but the line is definitely and openly defined. There is a place for the blacks, and wander and swagger as they will, they never cross the line. Yet across that definite and mutually recognized line the races talk and banter quite good-naturedly. Here in Sierra Leone there was no such line visible. Now a black man, now a white man would greet the Governor and his lady. But when they stopped for conversation white very seldom spoke with black or black with white. There was a sense of independence, not necessarily hostility. They acted rather as people of the same social status who had not been introduced.

37-10-191

There were other anomalies. Up the side of the Lion Mountain, and reached by a beautiful and costly winding boulevard, were villas, lovely bungalows, high where the ocean breezes struck them. There were tennis courts and golf links, a beautiful English suburb. Automobiles whirled by and well-dressed people lolled on the verandas. If now you assumed that these were the aristocrats and rulers of the colony you were puzzled by meeting in the main street the Mayor and his wife in their rickshaw. The Mayor was a stout black man, educated, well-dressed, well mannered. His wife was intelligent. You met other men—lawyers, teachers, physicians, men of culture and distinction. The great mass of the people were black; the stores were kept largely by black people, although the great emporiums and wholesale houses were in the hands of whites, and even there colored clerks were employed. If you went to the courts the Judges and Government prosecutors were all white, but the lawyers were all black.

37-10-192

There was busy commerce in the port. The ships were English, manned by white Englishmen. The great and dominant commercial houses were white. The Chamber of Commerce, which had its own representative in the Governor's Council, was predominantly white, with only a few black members. Seeing all this you sat down and began to think and wonder what had happened there. Blacks were ruling and yet they were subordinate. Manifestly, here in Africa and in a country with a small but evident black leadership, there was social and residential segregation by race; there was a degree of disfranchisement that left the Negroes almost without political power; there was a peonage of the great mass of natives that kept them at work at low wages with little profit, and there was very little popular education.

I knew how this sort of thing was accomplished elsewhere. In the

country districts of the Southern South in our own land the thing is done by brute force. In the cities of the South, on the other hand, the same thing would be accomplished by the interference of the police and the courts. In the Northern United States the same thing is approximated by the distribution of wealth. A Negro cannot buy in good residential districts because he has not the income, and may not usually get sufficient income. But how is all this accomplished in British West Africa with a predominantly Negro population, with a degree of highly educated Negro leadership and with only a handful of whites?

Sierra Leone proper, with Freetown and some 450 square miles about it, is a settlement dominated by civilized Negroes of all types. When the partition of Africa added 31,000 square miles of hinterland to this, there arose a dilemma. Legally, Freetown would rule the hinterland and if Freetown had been white there would have been no questions raised; it would have been "home rule" by divine right. But Freetown was black and aggressively black and, true to its great principle of divide and conquer, England proceeded to drive a wedge between native and civilized blacks and to back this movement with propaganda; the black West African was all right in a way and capable of some training; rather good as a clerk and small merchant, but he would never do as a ruler. White men must rule.

37-10-193

At a time, then, when blacks were rising in the Government and civil service of Sierra Leone, the professions and trade, and were on the way to dominate colony and protectorate, there came a new dispensation. The power of the blacks was strictly confined to the 450 square miles of Freetown and vicinity, and here their political power was narrowed and curtailed. Around the little Negro republic which centred at Freetown there was built up a great protectorate. This super-government surrounded and choked and overshadowed the original black republic. The republic still has its feebls forms of government operating within the

confines of Freetown. It has a City Council. It elects the Mayor and some other local officers. But its funds and powers of execution and expenditure are strictly curtailed. Practically direct taxation on land and houses is its only form of revenue. Police, sanitation, the harbor, business and commerce in general and all matters to do with the natives and education are all under the protectorate Government. And not only are the courts under the white protectorate, but as jurors must be black, the white court can at its will in criminal cases abolish trial by jury, and in all cases the white Judges sitting as a Court of Appeal pass on their own judgments!

37-10-194

Thus the Government of the Protectorate is white, is overshadowing, is all-powerful. At the head of this Government is the autocratic Governor who is practically a king by divine right. He is in reality responsible only to the Colonial Office and the Colonial Office in London is responsible to God alone. The policy of the white government is to curtail the functions of what remains of the Negro government; to keep the educated and voting Negroes as far as possible from all contact with the natives and the natives from all such leadership. The territory where the natives live is divided into districts, and over each is a District Commissioner responsible to the Governor and with practically unlimited power over the natives.

The civil service in its upper branches is largely confined to white men who receive high salaries with many and valuable perquisites. In a country where the income of the mass of people is very small, and where the average pay of colored civil servants is $350 a year, the Governor gets $20,000 a year, a mansion and Summer bungalow; the Secretary, Treasuere, Controller of Customs, three Commissioners and medical officials get from $5,000 to $6,000 a year each and homes. The Chief Justice and Attorney General get $10,000 and $6,000 and homes, and other white

men receive from $4,000 to $5,000. In all, 203 Europeans receive nearly $550,000 a year in salaries. In addition to this are numerous pensions, paid in England from the local African revenue, ranging from $50 to $2,500 a year. A man who could scarcely earn $2,000 in England comes out to Sierra Leone at a salary of $5,000, with all the witchery of authority over "niggers". As a pensioner with plenty of leisure in England he and other colonials form a vigilant public opinion to teach Englishmen what they should know about Africa and Asia.

The native tribes are ruled by the Governor and his Commissioners through their chiefs; that is, chiefs who accept white rule and behave and send down palm oil, kernels, rice and other articles, receive money and favors from the Government and its Commissioners and are held in power. Those who do not soon lose their influence and are driven from power. In return, the Government builds roads, makes crop experiments and furnishes a little education for the chiefs' sons through elementary schools superintended by white men. The Governor and his appointees raise by indirect taxation a revenue of about $4,000,000 a year. Nearly all the white people in the colony are officials and merchants. The officials have a special status made for them because they are officials. The most beautiful and salubrious residential district in the colony is officially assigned to these persons for residence. The Government makes their roads, builds their houses, lays out their tennis courts and golf links. The officials ride on a special car on the trains, thus practically inaugurating a "Jim Crow" car system. The sanitary and medical systems are announced as inaugurated "to make Sierra Leone habitable by white folk."

The white merchants are united in a Chamber of Commerce, which has representation upon the Governor's Council, and consequently the right to present its views. Moreover, since it represents the chief source of revenue upon which the Government is based, and since through its English

commercial connections it exerts strong influence in the Colonial Office in London, its views must be received with attention. There is no evident color line to the membership in this Chamber of Commerce and there are a few colored members (one was President in 1929); but the membership fee is high—$125 a year—and there is no restriction upon the number of memberships which any commercial organization may take. The great Elder-Dempster shipping monopoly and similar companies may easily take out a dozen or more memberships should that be necessary in order to dominate the chamber. On the other hand, most small black merchants will not join at all. Why should they waste $125?

37-10-196

Education hitherto has been almost entirely missionary. Sometimes the missionaries have done good work, as in the case of Fourah Bay College, the only effective institution of higher learning today in all West Africa. In other cases the work has been fragmentary and of little account. The Governor has begun to aid education. The system is incomplete and the appropriations amount to about $50,000.

The whole administration of the natives in the interior has to have for its paramount object revenue—revenue to the State, profit to the trader and cheap raw materials for the English manufacturers. The best method of increasing trade revenue is to maintain peace and quiet, which is achieved through using the chiefs, bribing them, cajoling them, displacing them. Although some Commissioners and some Governors try to develop advance movements and reorganization and uplift of native life, most of them, of necessity, are content if they can secure a peaceful flow of palm oil and other native products from the interiorto the coast.

Here, then, is the problem: One is astonished at the ingenuity of its solution. One wonders how much might not have been accomplished if half the ingenuity used here had been used really to build up and develop the African in Africa. As it is, there is inevitably race conflict in West Africa. On the one hand, one hears of impudent and half-educated

Negro leaders in silk hats and long coats who want to rule and exploit the natives for their own aggrandizement; and, on the other hand, one hears of English officials living in luxury at high salaries, pensioned for life at the expense of the black taxpayer after a comparatively few years' service, responsible to nobody for their actions, and desiring only self-aggrandizement and profit for English merchants and investors.

Out of this situation has grown agitation. This agitation has naturally thrown the black community into warring conflicts. There are colored people who gain by the present arrangement. Always the Government has something in its gift for colored men. There are few but possible imperial honors to be distributed Neighboring Nigeria, where blacks are more tractable, has had three black Chiefs knighted recently. But no educated West African can now get more than an "M.B.E." Then there is a large class who say: "What's the use? What can we do against the might of England? After all England does do things well. She brings out English experts who can give us better sanitation than Africans can. She brings out trained administrators with whom we cannot compete. She administers our finances. Why not bear it and hope for adjustment in the future?" Then there are the radicals with wild criticism, with personal grievance, with personal failures.

Despite all this there were always strong Negroes in Sierra Leone who declared that West Africa belonged to West Africans and demanded the abolition of color discrimination in the civil service and color discrimination in residence. Such men were marked, naturally, for governmental disapprobation, and against them were pushed forward puppets, "white folks' niggers," who pretended that all was well when one considered the shortcomings of the black folk.

The first reaction of black West Africa was to win the battle by individual ability; to push their young men forward; to give them the best

university training, particularly in the professions, and thus gradually to work colored men into the civil service and into power. This path of advance was pretty effectually stopped by governmental action. Whereas in 1892 a black man, Sir Samuel Lewis, was acting Chief Justice of Sierra Leone, Maxwell, Chief Magistrate of Gambia and Frans Smith, Acting Chief Justice of the Gold Coast, lately no black man has been appointed Judge or held any judicial office under the Government. For a while it was impossible for competent black men with first-class university degrees in medicine to secure appointment in the African Medical Service, and when finally, by continued agitation, some were appointed, they were put in a special African department at lower salaries than the white men who had pursued exactly the same courses and passed the same examination.

37-10-198

The black people began to see that their fight for individual advancement was not only systematically blocked by the white Governors and their appointees, but that they were losing in their battle the support and sympathy of the natives.

Now the natives of Sierra Leone and its hinterland are men with a mighty history back of them, a history of organization, education, State building, literature and art. They are a part of that great development of human culture in Western Africa which lately has been brought to the attention of the civilized world. They come within the history of the coast reaching from the mouth of the Gambia to the mouth of the Niger, 3,000 miles, where a marvelous drama of world history has been enacted. Here, as Frobenius thinks, was the fabled Atlantis; here came Phoenicians and Carthaginians; and from the interior came the Yoruba-Benin-Dahomey peoples. Behind them came the Mossi, and upon the high plateau toward the Central Sudan arose, in the past, the great empires of the Mellestine and the Songhay.

War, conquest and the slave trade have swept over these peoples and left them disintegrated and bewildered, but they have still the material of great nations. Gradually, then, the new and Europeanized blacks leading Sierra Leone began to get in touch with the chiefs and thinkers of the remaining groups of these native States. This was easier as time went on because some of the sons of the chiefs and of the great families had been among the young men educated in the missionary schools and sent to Europe.

Finally, this whole agitation and fight came to a head in a National Congress of British West Africa, which met at Accra on the Gold Coast in 1920. There were present representatives from Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. The meeting had been projected in 1915 and pushed further in 1916, but came to a head finally only in 1920. The object, as stated by F. W. Dove, a colored man, of Sierra Leone, was:

32-10-199

Firstly, to effect a union between the four colonies; secondly, to stimulate public interest in matters affecting public welfare; thirdly, to give greater weight to West African opinion. * * * We believe we have passed the days of childhood which have been associated for years past with the black man. In other words, we believe the days have passed when it was commonly supposed that the African is like a child and must be forced against his will. The time has passed when the African peoples should be coerced against their will to do things that are not in accordance with their best interests or for their benefit.

The conference sat for a week, debated the situation thoroughly, drew up a splendid set of documents and sent a deputation to England. Official England refused to receive the deputation. English newspapers were dumb. The door of the Colonial Office was slammed in their faces. But all this was in vain. The congress became a permanent body. It met again in Bathurst in January, 1922, and is preparing for a third meeting. A

permanent office under a General Secretary is maintained at Secondee, Gold Coast. One of the speakers who opened the discussion at the meeting said:

Each one of these delebates is an African belonging to a distinctive African family and thereby commanding the right of property and other interests either in his own right or in the right of the family to which he belongs. It follows from this that, apart from the fact of the delegates to the conference being the natural leaders of the people of their several communities, they have in themselves the right to appeal to his Majesty's Government for such constitutional reforms as in their judgment are necessary. But over and above the foregoing circumstances indicating the status of the delegates, they carry with them the support of the people who, whether educated or uneducated, are sufficiently alive to the importamce at this hour of seeking for the amelioration of British West African political conditions.

37-10-200

I need hardly remind you that our empire has just emerged from a great war, in the course of which all its members have more or less made sacrifices of some sort. In this the several British West African communities have not been behindhand and the official records show the extent of their efforts. I believe I speak your minds when I say that British West Africa is entitled to and expects some consideration at the hands hands of his Majesty's Government. We know that India has been recognized and given a constitution which to a large extent will meet some of her most crying wants. Egypt is also about to receive a constitution, and Malta has already been accorded self-government. Is it too much to ask and to expect that British West Africa should also receive due consideration?

Resolutions were adopted demanding self-government, education suited to African conditions, opportunities for commercial development, trial by jury and the reform of land abuses which favored private companies.

Despite the official attitude which the British Government at first assumed, it was compelled to give way. In 1922, Nigeria was granted a Legislative Council with a minority of elected members, the majority still being appointed by the autocratic Governor. In 1923, the Gold Coast was given a similar grant, and in 1924, Sierra Leone, and, later, Gambia.

To gauge the meaning of this we must remember that in Sierra Leone the former Legislative Council consisted of twelve persons, eight white colonial officials and four "unofficial" members (three black and one white). All these were appointed by the Governor. The new system has twenty-one members of Council, eleven official and ten unofficial. Of the unofficial members three are elected by the people, two nominated by commercial interests and five appointed by the Governor. Of these five, three are to be native chiefs, and two others colored men. It is a muddled and indefinite step, but it is a step toward democracy in West Africa.

37-10-201

Natually the Africans are not placated with this sop and they are protesting and pushing. The Congress of British West Africa meets regularly, the fourth session occurring at Lagos in 1930. Consessions in the civil service are being made. In the West African Medical Service, established "for the health of the whites", seven of the twenty physicians are now Negroes. Certain "African" assistants in the Treasury and Colonial offices are being appointed, junior to the white Secretaries and with less pay. This slow and grudging and illiberal yielding is in vain. Black British West Africa is out for self rule and in our day it is going to get it.

§5 British West Africa

It is thus clear that

One of the most interesting social struggles of modern times is being carried on today in West Africa. It [redacted] attempt of the ancient tribal land system of Negro Africa to become an integral part of modern commerce and industry.

During the interval between the abolition of the slave trade and the raising of the new economic imperialism, the Negroes of West Africa were confirmed by law and custom in their tribal rights to the land; so that today in French and British West Africa the bribe holds the land by inalienable tenure, and every member of the tribe has a vested right and allotment which he may cultivate for his own use and the produce ~~of which~~ belongs to him individually. The tribal chief decides the allotment and the individual's family is recognized as having some vested right in the crop.

37-10-212

In the Belgian Congo this ancient land tenure was overthrown by Leopold and land ownership vested solely in the state. The results for a while shamed civilization and the situation is still most unsatisfactory. In South Africa imperial promises and customs were ignored and the land taken from the Negro despite clear treaty rights.

In Kenya the Negroes were tricked out of their lands; but in Uganda they hold them as in West Africa. Even in West Africa ther have been repeated efforts to displace the Negro tribal owner. One of these efforts is connected with the cocoa trade. For many years the raising of cocoa centered in Portuguese Africa, in the islands of Principe and San Thomé. Some readers will remember that a boycott against cocoa was incited by the English liberals led by the Cadbury Press some years ago, and when the smoke had cleared away from this singular and not easily explainable situation the center of the cocoa raising industry had been

transferred to British West Africa centering in the Gold Coast. This was the time of the Empire Development Association and the determination of the British to make their colonies business propositions and exploit them for the mother country more thoroughly than they had been. They planned a large plantation cocoa raising system with white owners and black laborers; but here they ran into the tribal land system and the Negroes had some lawyers and men of education who put up a stern fight. They would have lost, however, had it not been for one singular occurrence: and that was that the chiefs and the tribesmen began to raise cocoa on their own account, on their own initiative and on their own land.

37-10-213

The story of this development reads like a fairy tale. In 1901 the Gold Coast raised less than one thousand tons of cocoa; in five years the amount had increased to five thousand tons; and today it stands at two hundred and forty thousand tons. It is all raised by Negroes upon their tribal lands; but they have had peculiar difficulties. In the first place, for all African produce, credit facilities were needed upon the West Coast. In the 90's, P. B. Blaze, a colored merchant of Lagos, approached the Lord Sir Alfred Jones, head of the Elder Dempster Line, to ask aid in establishing a bank. In this way the Bank of British West Africa came into being with a capital of $200,000, half of which was subscribed for by native Africans. However, no native Africans were on the Board of Directors and as soon as the bank began to pay, the white English board proceeded to sell stock in England until the African owners were quietly submerged and retained little influence in its direction. This meant that the bank served the British mercantile houses, especially on the West Coast. These houses, however, did their cocoa business through black buyers who collected the cocoa directly from the natives and received salaries and commissions.

Many of them earned from $5000 to $20,000 a year in this way. Their commission was from twenty-five to thirty-seven cents for a lot of sixty pounds. Soon, however, the English merchants formed themselves into the Chamber of Commerce and began to cut down the commission of the black buyers. In the meantime white buyers and contractors began to push in to share this income. The natives began to feel themselves pinched and their product monopolized by the local English business men. They sent a representative to England in 1915 who got in touch with the man who is now Lord Beaverbrook, and who was at the head of the Colonial Bank. This representative induced Lord Beaverbrook to open branches of his Colonial Bank at Lagos and Accra. These branches granted credit to native traders and the Bank of West Africa had to follow suit. As a result between 1919 and 1922, native merchants ~~captured~~ handled from twenty to twenty-five per cent of the cocoa sold abroad.

Then came one of those industrial cataclysms. First there was a storm in the West Indies which destroyed the cocoa crop and sent prices of cocoa from $100 a ton to $600 a ton and this was immediately followed by the general slump of business by which cocoa fell to $225 a ton. These fluctuations ruined the West African traders and compelled the banks to get more capital. The capitalization of the Bank of British West Africa was increased to twenty million dollars while the Colonial Bank increased to fifty million dollars. Lever Brothers of soap fame, absorbed the Niger Company and controlled the Bank. Both banks refused credit to Negro traders and only backed the white firms so that today the natives are really out of the exporting trade and sell only to white merchants at prices which white English merchants set.

37-10-215

In December 1926, cocoa was selling for $200 to $210 a ton in Accra while in the United States, it sold for from $375 to $400 a ton. The freight is only $15 a ton and America consumes two thirds of the West African cocoa crop. The difference in prices is accounted for by the fact that they represent the monopoly of British merchants.

But the Africans have not given up. They have sent one of their chiefs to this country to get in touch with American bankers and to try to get two things: financial support for a skilled corporative movement including a co~~rporative~~operative market for the West African cocoa merchants; and capital for the establishment of an American bank in West Africa. One half the stock of this bank the Negroes themselves proposed to take up and thus insist on being represented in the directorate. Here the matter stands.

Let us turn from British Africa in general to the Education of one specific colony — Sierra Leone.

Section V.

French West Africa

The situation in French West Africa today is one of surpassing interest as one phase of the vast colonial enterprise which has divided Africa up among a half-dozen white powers of greater or lesser magnitude. France, following her usual policy, has drawn no absolute color line in her colonies, and, in refreshing contrast with the other powers, has even admitted a few of her black colonials to citizenship; she has laid the foundation at least of an educational system which may yet prove the nucleus of a great mulatto empire in the heart of Africa. Nevertheless the germs of race conflict are here as they are elsewhere in Africa; and only enlightened policy and educated Negro leadership can ultimately solve the problem for both sides.

37-10-202

The world at large scarcely realizes the loveliness and dreamy charm of this part of Africa. French Guinea contains cities that hold the memory of the wayfarer from beyond the seas. Conakry, the capital, is French, which means that it is beautiful, quiet, complete. The city lies low along the sea—mango and palm and yellow Government House—encompassed by beautiful guardian islands. The streets are shaded by mighty mango trees planted regularly; in one avenue they stand four abreast and the shade there at tropical noontide is sweet and thick and cool. I passed a school with a fine large yard and heard the low hum of busy black and white teachers and black pupils. I saw the Bellay monument, a fine and noble thing in its sculpturization of different Negro types; a French Governor stands with his hand on a straight, naked, black boy; a Sudanese chief sits proudly below, looking toward the rising sun; a black mother lies at ease nursing her baby with dreaming eyes.

Conakry is a young settlement, only twenty-five years old; and yet it already possesses roads, a railroad and commerce. It is the gateway

to ancient Timbuktu, which lies a thousand miles deep in the interior. The best hospital of all the black West Coast is here and open to all; the native quarter of the city looks neat and not unattractive.

Five hundred miles northward, is French Senegal, Dakar is impressive from the sea, a modern port with its public buildings, its shipping and its coal-loading machinery. One descries the stately palace of the Governor, the well-built City Hall, the business blocks and homes. On land, however, there is disappointment; the city is hardly beautiful, for Dakar fights with the desert sands. It is a dusty place, busy but with little real charm. It has an artificial made-to-order air, which is dispersed only when one penetrates the miles of native suburbs with their mass of huts and compounds, and beholds strange clothing, dark jeweled hands and burdened heads.

37-10-203

St. Louis, on the other hand, a hundred miles north, is far more charming and individual. The journey there from Dakar is fascinating. I went on a cool, sunshiny morning, when fleecy clouds hung over low, flat, sandy land covered with palm trees and huts. The depot swarmed with natives; there was a group of beautiful mulattoes; the husband, evidently a civil servant was departing; a tall black nurse held a pretty, red-haired baby. A black man came down to speed the going; he was tall and finely dressed and wore a white helmet and the ribbon of an order in his buttonhole. An old black man, adorned with the croix-de-guerre and chevrons, hobbled by. The black natives, gaily kerchiefed, with burdens on their heads, paraded past; brown Moors stalked on and little black boys scurried about as porters.

The women of Senegal, I found, were quite different from those further south. I did not see here the lovely brown nakedness and perfect physique of Liberia and Sierra Leone; these Senegal women were clothed from neck to instep with white flowing overdress and embroidered chemisette; nearly all wore a concealed ceinture which tended to bulk and deform their

figure, though the African beauty of body often made itself perceptible despite this handicap. Their hair was usually twisted about quills and strings and hung in clicking ringlets. One passed Morrish women , veiled in one long blue or black garment, and looking like dusky ghosts. Usually, they carried no burdens and their faces, veiled and unveiled, were high-bred, black, brown or yellow. One sensed in this passing north a mingling of races and racial traditions going back hundreds of years; an assembling of many kinds of people, who seemed to be alike in that their skin was dark, but who were fundamentally as different as the white peoples of Europe. One saw superior and inferior classes; men slouching and dirty; men clothed in flowing white, taller than usual and striding finely. They were not laborers and they had traditions. I walked by a mosque in St. Louis: the sun was setting; the wild chant was rising and swinging within. In the street a mass of men kneeled and cried, facing Mecca.

37-10-204

St. Louis sits on the broad, swift flood of Senegal. It is old French and Spanish, with blank walled streets, tiny shops and courtyards; it is Moorish and North African in its customs. Across the broad river and in Mauritania one finds daily the great native market along the Avenue Dodds, named after the mulatto General of France. All day long the market is full of natives trading meat and bread and cloth, matting and shoes, fish and jewelry. To trade effectively one would best speak Woloff, for knowledge of French is rare.

There lies a little island in the seas, yellow, old; with rocky shore and ancient frowning forts above. There are palms and old buildings, with here and there a new white wall. Opposite is new Dakar; beyond, Rufisque, and far northward St. Louis. But Goree is the oldest of them all: Goree, isle of the slave trade, once centre of teeming marts of stolen black men. There are narrow, winding streets in Goree and its edge is threaded by the winding, changing shore. On the site of the slave mart was built the ancient Spanish-like town, yellow and cream and red,

which the palace of the Governor and the great stone and moss-covered fortification. All about lies the beautiful blue sea.

In the former palace of the Governor-General is the Government printing office, fitted up electrically, with two linotypes, great presses and apprentices and other typesetters. In the left wing is the black Mayor; an old man, simple, dignified, but without assumption, probably possessing only elementary training, but courteous and kindly; and a methodical black secretary.

Goree today is an island of schools, providing for some two or three hundred students, young black men dressed in overalls of blue and buff khaki, and wearing coats and cloth caps. In the great square beneath the forts, facing the sea and backing Dakar—in the curve of the inlet where the slave ships stood and sailed—are schools; an industrial school working in copper tin, iron, steel and wood; a school conducted with French completeness and precision, where the students learn some mathematics and the art of careful writing; the planning of roads and ditches; the building of walls and wagons and wheels and machines. This school offers a three years' course of study after eight primary years; a hundred and twenty black boys are training here to be mechanics. Next is a normal school with a hundred good-looking young black men; then there is a hospital near by in the quiet old town with pre-medical students and nurses. Some day a great university of West Africa may rise here. It is a fine, a tickling dream.

37-10-205

In a sense there is no racial problem in French West Africa; but there are germs of one. Most of the rulers and the large merchants, most of the rich, are white. All the servants and laborers, all the poor, are black. On the other hand, the Deputy who represents Senegal and, in a sense, all black French Africa, in the Parliament at Paris, is black. The Mayor of St. Louis and the Vice Mayor of Dakar

are black. The overwhelming majority of the voters in the four small enfranchised communes, Dakar, St. Louis, Rufisque and Goree, are black; but the overwhelming mass of 10,000,000 black French West Africans have no vote. There are black and white and yellow children in the same schools and black and white and brown folk in the Civil Service. Most of the clerks in all the stores and all the small stores are black. A few of the large merchants are black; most of them are white.

The relations between the blacks and the whites seem pleasant; one sees individuals of different races talking together much more often than in Freetown. In social circles, cafés and hotels one usually sees only white people; yet now and then a mulatto or a black man appears and this causes no comment. The white Portuguese Consul gave me a dinner in the centre of the leading restaurant. Some, I presume, asked who the brown stranger was, otherwise there was no ripple of excitement at an occurrence which would have caused a flurry in New York, a riot in New Orleans and a murder in Johannesburg. As our great ship drew up to the dock in Dakar, a mulatto health officer, followed by a white assisting customs clerk, boarded us. There was no comment on the fact; no one seemed to notice it. In other words, there is nothing here in French West Africa like the open race repulsion, the studied separation that one sees in British West Africa. The French are careful even of their illegitimate colored offspring. There are special schools for them, if they are abandoned; and there are cases like that of the West African white official who married a Frenchwoman and brought his mulatto baby into the family with the wife's consent. On the other hand, there is no large number of mulattoes and those there range almost entirely with the whites; but here again for tribal, not for racial reasons.

37-10-206

From all this one might conclude that racial difficulties have no place in French West Africa. This is not true. Today the French feel an unusual sense of gratitude to the blacks. These great black

masses unselfishly rescued France. Today they protect her; in a sense they are a vast life insurance for her national future. Two beautiful war memorials to the black soldiers have been dedicated, one at Dakar on the coast and another 700 miles upland on the Niger at Bamako. The statue to a former Governor at Conakry is a magnificent memorial of a kind that one sees nowhere else in the world where black and white folk mingle. All this astonishes the American Negro.

On the other hand, a modern African colony is, first of all, an economic development. The French are pushing the cultural and semtimental element in the colony to the fore more thamm other nations, but their ability and to some extent their will to do this is dominated by economic motives. French colonies, in the long run, must pay as investments; and though at present France is willing to take part of this pay in protection and military preparedness, yet sooner or later the amount of money which the thrifty French peasant and the shrewd French business man can make out of Africa seems bound to be set up as the criterion of the success of this African empire. This means, as the Negro writer René Maran has shown us in his sensational novel, "Batouala", which won the Goncourt Prize, that in some parts of French Africa the exploitation of the natives has already rivaled that of Belgium, and though Maran's novel is a picture of equatorial Africa, 1,200 miles from the outposts of Dakar, yet even in French West Africa, in Senegal and Guinea and the ivory coast, profit is the raison d'être of this little world. French Africa must be made to pay. Do not British Africa and Belgian Africa pay? Is notthis the ultimate meaning of colonial imperialism?

There is, however, in French Africa, one important development to counteract the very materialistic ideal of economic profit, namely, the birth of a system of native education. Today black French West Africa stands out from the other European colonies of Africa chiefly because of its educational program. This educational system is not complete;

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it is not even well-established; but it has been begun and it is a system. There is here a population of between ten and twelve million; and of these perhaps 1,200,000 are of school age. Only one in every fifty-seven of these youth, not counting the mission and Koranic schools, is in school. And yet there is growth; in 1902 there were only seventy schools in the State system; in 1920 there were 500.

The whole educational system is capped by the schools of the Government at Dakar and on the Island of Goree. Here are five superior schools whose students are selected from the superior primary schools of the whole colony. These schools train teachers, higher artisans and medical assistants. Two high schools in St. Louis and Dakar fit for higher training. Two secondary schools, with 100 students, have courses of study similar to schools in France leading to the French university and professional courses. There are several small technical schools. Schools of agriculture and forestry are planned.

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Over this system is an instructor-general holding a French license as university professor and assisted by an inspector of primary education. There are also at least two inspectors in each colony chosen by competitive examination. There are sixty-six white men and fifty-four white women in the system. Native teachers trained at the normal school at Goree are, in the case of the most promising, granted scholarships to enter the normal school at Aix-en-Provence, France, where they study for diplomas which make them eligible on the general list for appointments on the same basis as Europeans.

It must be remembered, however, that though French Africa has an educational program, it has as yet very few educated Negroes. British Africa has almost no educational program, but it has educated Negroes; and they are the source of protest, trouble and revolt. Belgian Africa has in practice almost no educational program and very few educated natives. South Africa has a carefully restricted educational program

and a small educated class of blacks. These trained blacks are beginning to writhe and protest.

What will happen in black France when its educationa program begins to pour black university men into Dakar and St. Louis? We do not know. But we do know that the crisis and test will come then; for this class will make itself felt first by obstructing the golden stream of profit flowing from Africa to France. Afterward, if Negroes are modern men and education educates, France may face the world with a new black democracy in industry and politics, as an integral part of a great French empire. But in this case France herself must tend to become mulatto; certainly in thought, to some extent in blood.

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At the present time the blacks have no educated leadership. There is no racial feeling agginst them; they have no real racial consciousness, no esprit de corps, no ideals of advancement. Mohammedan fatalism holds most of them apart from modern progress. In British West Africa the black man is born a black man in a black country, where whites are usurping the power and using him and the land for their own profit; and where he is more and more determined to win back control over himself and his country. But in French West Africa the colored man is born French. The educated Frenchmen there consist of numbers of whites, a few mulattoes and West Indians and a very few natives and blacks. They meet and mix according to their education and interests; and those interests are French. The attitude of these educated people toward the black millions beneath is the ordinary European attitude of the classes toward the masses. They lead them in the sense that they employ them and care in certain ways for their well-being. They care for their health, for instance, with sanitary laws and hospitals, and they draw no color line.

When Mr. Curtis, a colored United States Minister to Liberia was stricken fatally and rushed from Monrovia to Freetown, he was not allowed

a bed in the perfectly equipped nursing home; and only after prolonged negotiations was he brought in from the native sheds in the yard and laid in the general hospital, where he died soon after. In French West Africa such an occurrence would be unthinkable. If a colored man or native enters the French Colonial Civil Service his treatment and chance of promotion are usually quite independent of color. Very few natives, however, have the slightest chance to enter the civil service.

All this means that the raising and civilizing of the natives is being left to the chance of modern economic development, assisted and somewhat hastened by French public opinion, by military considerations and by some education. This is a dangerously slow set of forces and liable to fatal haltings; and especially is this true when the public opinion of the world—and, above all, the public opinion of the white voters of Europe—tend wholly to the view that an African colony is merely a means of enriching an European mother country.

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The best solution would be enlightened leadership of the Negroes. This is not only lacking in French Africa, but, if mentioned, the reaction is instant; and one can sympathize with this point of view. A young black editor in Dakar discussed this subject with me. Speaking as a Frenchman, he said that there was no organization of black Frenchmen, because black Frenchmen were just as much French as white Frenchmen; and yet, he said, something was needed. Modern economic forces in colonial lands do not tend to raise the masses. With grudging bits of education the mass raises itself, fighting against the politically powerful bourgeoisie in the home land. Any such fight in French Africa would be, in the main, a color-line fight.

How can this raising of the issue of color by colored folk be avoided? It can be avoided only by a social uplift that outruns consideration of profits and this today seems scarcely probable. French Africa is organized

for profit. Great corporations, great banks, great shipping agencies, great railroads, all unite in well-known and stereotyped ways to overthrow native industry, to prostitute native art, to make economic development in French West Africa mechanical and methodical, and, above all, profitable. The great excesses of the past in "land grabbing" and serfdom are guarded against, but the retail profiteer and the wholesale price-manipulator is here in his glory. This modern Assyrian "has come down like a wolf on the fold," and he is underbidding and displacing the native merchants by methods which the natives cannot meet. The native, to live, must raise what the world makes him raise and raise it at the world's price; and white world business too determines the native's share of the profit.

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Black France, that conscious, educated Black France living in Paris, the provinces, the islands, and elsewhere, is curiously unconscious of all this; and apathetic. As yet France has no political solution for West Africa. Colonial representation in Paris is confusing and contradicto Devolution of power to the colonies is a serious step and weakens military concentration and economic profit.

Yet Black France is the most hopeful meeting place of black and white in the world. If education quickly supplies black leadership; if that leadership, unseduced by the present economic organization of Europe and in close union with white French idealism, reorganizes Black Africa along the magnificent vista of ancient African lines; if political power commensurate with this task comes down from Paris and checks that domination of the vote by moneyed interests which is common in France and a byword in the tiny enfranchised communes of Senegal—if all this happens, the salvation of Black Africa will yet be the gift of France.

§ 5 - French West Africa

The situation in French West Africa today is one of surpassing interest as one phase of the vast colonial enterprise which has divided Africa up among a half dozen white powers of greater or lesser magnitude. France, following her ~~special~~ usual policy, has drawn no color line and, in refreshing contrast with the other powers, has admitted a few of her black colonials to citizenship, and has laid the foundation at least of an educational system which may yet prove the nucleus of a great mulatto empire in the heart of Africa. Remember the germs of race conflict are here as they are elsewhere in Africa; and only enlightened policy and educated Negro leadership can ultimately solve the problem for both sides.

37-10-216

The world at large scarcely realizes the loveliness and dreamy charm of this part of Africa, ~~which I recently visited.~~ French Guinea contains cities that hold the memory of the wayfarer from beyond the seas. Conakry, the capital, is French, which means that it is beautiful, quiet, complete. The streets are shaded by mighty mango trees planted regularly; in one avenue they stand four abreast and the shade there at tropical noontide is sweet and thick and cool. I passed a school with a fine large yard and heard the low hum of busy black and white teachers and black pupils. I saw the Bellay monument, a fine and noble thing in its sculpturization of different Negro types; a French Governor stands with his hand on a straight, naked, black boy; a Sudanese chief sits proudly below, looking toward the rising sun; a black mother lies at ease nursing her baby with dreaming eyes. Conakry is a young settlement, only twenty-five years old; and yet it already possesses [redacted] roads, a railroad and commerce. It is the gateway to ancient Timbuktu, which lies a thousand miles deep in the interior. The best hospital of all the black West Coast is here and open to all; the native quarter of the city looks neat and not unattractive. The city lies low along the sea—mango and palm

and yellow Government House—encompassed by beautiful guardian islands.

Five hundred miles northward, in French Senegal, Dakar is impressive from the sea, a modern port with its public buildings, its shipping and its coal-loading machinery. One descries the stately palace of the Governor, the well-built City Hall, the business blocks and homes. On land, however, there is disappointment; the city is hardly beautiful, for Dakar fights with the desert sands. It is a dusty place, busy, but with little real charm. It has an artificial made-to-order air, which is dispersed only when one penetrates the miles of native suburbs with their mass of huts and compounds, and beholds strange clothing, dark, jeweled hands and burdened heads.

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St. Louis, on the other hand, a hundred miles north, is far more charming and individual. The journey there from Dakar is fascinating. I went on a cool, sunshiny morning, when fleecy clouds hung over low, flat, sandy land covered with palm trees and huts. The depot swarmed with natives; there was a group of beautiful mulattoes; the husband, evidently a civil servant was departing; a tall black nurse held a pretty, red-haired baby. A black man came down to speed the going; he was tall and finely dressed and wore a white helmet and the ribbon of an order in his buttonhole. An old black man, adorned with the croix-de-guerre and chevrons, hobbled by. The black natives, gaily kerchiefed, with burdens on their heads, paraded past; brown Moors stalked on and little black boys scurried about as porters.

The women of Senegal, I found, were quite different from those further south. I did not see here the lovely brown nakedness and perfect physique of Liberia and Sierra Leone; these Senegal women were clothed from neck to instep with white flowing overdress and embroidered chemisette; nearly all wore a concealed ceinture which tended to bulk and deform their figure, though the African beauty of body often made itself perceptible despite this handicap. Their

hair was usually twisted about quills and strings and hung in clicking ringlets. One passed Moorish women, veiled in one long blue or black garment, and looking like dusky ghosts. Usually they carried no burdens and their faces, veiled and unveiled, were high-bred, black, brown or yellow. One sensed in this passing north a mingling of races and racial traditions going back hundreds of years; an assembling of many kinds of people, who seemed to be alike in that their skin was dark, but who were fundamentally as different as the white peoples of Europe. One saw superior and inferior classes; men slouching and dirty; men clothed in flowing white, taller than usual and striding finely. They were not laborers and they had traditions. I walked by a mosque in St. Louis: the sun was setting; the wild chant was rising and swinging within. In the street a mass of men kneeled and cried, facing Mecca.

St. Louis sits on the broad, swift flood of Senegal. It is old French and Spanish, with blank walled streets, tiny shops and courtyards; it is Moorish and North African in its customs. Across the broad river and in Mauritania one finds daily the great native market along the Avenue Dodds, named after the mulatto General of France. All day long the market is full of natives trading meat and bread and cloth, matting and shoes, fish and jewelry. To trade effectively one would best speak Woloff, for knowledge of French is rare.

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~~The Old Town of Goree~~

There lies a little island in the seas, yellow, old; with rocky shore and ancient frowning forts above. There are palms and old buildings, with here and there a new white wall. Opposite is new Dakar; beyond, Rufisque, and far northward St. Louis. But Goree is the oldest of them all: Goree, isle of the slave trade, once centre of teeming marts of stolen black men. There are narrow, winding

streets in Goree and its edge is threaded by the winding, changing shore. On the site of the slave mart was built the ancient Spanish-like town, yellow and cream and red, with the palace of the Governor and the great stone and moss-covered fortification. All about lies the beautiful blue sea.

In the former palace of the Governor-General is the Government printing office, fitted up electrically, with two linotypes, great presses and apprentices and other typesetters. In the left wing is the black Mayor; an old man, simple, dignified, but without assumption, probably possessing only elementary training, but courteous and kindly; and a methodical black secretary.

Goree today is an island of schools, providing for some two or three hundred students, young black men dressed in overalls of blue and buff khaki, and wearing coats and cloth caps. In the great square beneath the forts, facing the sea and backing Dakar—in the curve of the inlet where the slave ships stood and sailed—are schools; an industrial school working in copper tin, iron, steel and wood; a school conducted with French completeness and precision, where the students learn some mathematics and the art of careful writing; the planning of roads and ditches; the building of walls and wagons and wheels and machines. This school offers a three years' course of study after eight primary years; a hundred and twenty black boys are training here to be mechanics. Next is a normal school with a hundred good-looking young black men; then there is a hospital near by in the quiet old town, with pre-medical students and nurses. Some day a great university of West Africa may rise here. It is a fine, a tickling dream.

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In a sense there is no racial problem in French West Africa; but there are germs of one. Most of the rulers and the large merchants, most of the rich, are white. All the servants and laborers, all the poor, are black. On the other hand, the Deputy who represents

Senegal and, in a sense, all black French Africa, in the Parliament at Paris, is black. The Mayor of St. Louis and the Vice Mayor of Dakar are black. The overwhelming majority of the voters in the four small enfranchised communes, Dakar, St. Louis, Rufisque and Goree, are black; but the overwhelming mass of 10,000,000 black French West Africans have no vote. There are black and white and yellow children in the same schools and black and white and brown folk in the Civil Service. Most of the clerks in all the stores and all the small stores are black. A few of the large merchants are black; most of them are white.

~~Race Prejudice Not Apparent~~

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The relations between the blacks and the whites seem pleasant; one sees individuals of different races talking together much more often than in Freetown. In social circles, cafés and hotels one usually sees only white people; yet now and then a mulatto or a black man appears and this causes no comment. The white Portuguese Consul gave me a dinner in the centre of the leading restaurant. Some, I presume, asked who the brown stranger was, otherwise there was no ripple of excitement at an occurence which would have caused a flurry in New York, a riot in New Orleans and a murder in Johannesburg. As our great ship drew up to the dock in Dakar, a mulatto health officer, followed by a white assisting customs clerk, boarded us. There was no comment on the fact; no one seemed to notice it. In other words, there is nothing here in French West Africa like the open race repulsion, the studied separation that one sees in British West Africa. The French are careful even of their illegitimate colored offspring. There are special schools for them, if they are abandoned; and there are cases like that of the West African white official who married a Frenchwoman and brought his mulatto baby into the family with the wife's consent. On the other hand, there is no large number of

mulattoes and those there range almost entirely with the whites; but here again for tribal, not for racial reasons.

From all this one might conclude that racial difficulties have no place in French West Africa. This is not true. Today the French feel an unusual sense of gratitude to the blacks. These great black masses unselfishly rescued France. Today they protect her; in a sense they are a vast life insurance for her national future. Two beautiful war memorials to the black soldiers have been dedicated, one at Dakar on the coast and another 700 miles upland on the Niger at Bamako. The statue to a former Governor at Conakry is a magnificent memorial of a kind that one sees nowhere else in the world where black and white folk mingle. All this astonishes the American Negro.

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On the other hand, a modern African colony is, first of all, an economic development. The French are pushing the cultural and sentimental element in the colony to the fore more than other nations, but their ability and to some extent their will to do this is dominated by economic motives. French colonies, in the long run, must pay; and though at present France is willing to take part of this pay in protection and military preparedness, yet sooner or later the amount of money which the thrifty French peasant and the shrewd French business man can make out of Africa seems bound to be set up as the criterion of the success of this African empire. This means, as the Negro writer René Maran has shown us in his sensational novel, "Batouala", which won the Goncourt Prize, that in some parts of French Africa the exploitation of the natives has already rivaled that of Belgium, and though Maran's novel is a picture of equatorial Africa, 1,200 miles from the outposts of Dakar, yet even in French West Africa, in Senegal and Guinea and the ivory coast, profit is the raison d'être of this little world. French Africa must be made to pay. Do not British Africa and Belgian Africa pay? Is not

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this the ultimate meaning of colonial imperialism?

~~French Educating the Negroes~~

There is, however, in French Africa, one important development to counteract the very materialistic ideal of economic profit, namely, the birth of a system of native education. Today black French West Africa stands out from the other European colonies of Africa chiefly because of its educational program. This educational system is not complete; it is not even well-established; but it has been begun and it is a system. There is here a population of between ten and twelve million; and of these perhaps 1,200,000 are of school age. Only one in every fifty-seven of these youth, not counting the mission and Koranic schools, is in school. And yet there is growth; in 1902 there were only seventy schools in the State system; in 1920 there were 500. There are 225 village schools with about 10,000 pupils, ranging from 6 to 12 years of age. The teachers are natives and give instruction in reading, writing and speaking French, in arithmetic and other elementary subjects. Among the nomad tribes there are camping or nomad schools which follow the tribes about.

From these primary schools the most intelligent and progressive of the pupils are directed to the regional schools. Each of the six divisions composing French West Africa is subdivided into regions; and in each region there is planned a school with a white European instructor and native assistants. About fifty of these schools have been established so far and they have 1,500 pupils. At the end of two years' study these students, by examination, may pass to the superior primary town school, while those who do not pass are sent back to their parents. There are ten primary town schools with about 300 students.

In important centres where there is a demand there are also

schools for adults; of these there were in 1922, 186, with 7,400 pupils, and with classes held three times a week. There are superior primary schools in the towns, with students recruited from the regional schools; their expenses are paid by the colony if they come from a distance. There are some 400 students in schools like this. These schools train students for the Government higher schools, for the lower ranks of the Civil Service and for commerce and industry.

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The whole educational system is capped by the schools of the Government at Dakar and on the Island of Goree. Here are five superior schools whose students are selected from the superior primary schools of the whole colony. These schools train teachers, higher artisans and medical assistants. Two high schools in St. Louis and Dakar fit for higher training. Two secondary schools, with 100 students, have courses of study similar to schools in France leading to the French university and professional courses. There are several small technical schools. Schools of agriculture and forestry are planned.

Over this system is an instructor-general holding a French license as university professor and assisted by an inspector of primary education. There are also at least two inspectors in each colony chosen by competitive examination. There are sixty-six white men and fifty-four white women in the system. Native teachers trained at the normal school at Goree are, in the case of the most promising, granted scholarships to enter the normal school at Aix-en-Provence, France, where they study for diplomas which make them eligible on the general list for appointments on the same basis as Europeans.

Nearly all the schools mentioned are attended by boys. There are, however, 10 special schools for girls, with a registration of

300 in 1922; and 4 prphanages caring for about 200 children. To sum up, there are 314 schools for young people in French West Africa with 21,000 pupils and 186 schools for adults.

In addition to this there is some work by Catholic missions, social rather than educational in nature, on account of French legal restrictions. There are, however, a large number of Koranic schools conducted by the Mohammedans. In all there are some 600 of these schools with 40,000 pupils. They are under State control, and the teachers must be licensed, but they do little besides teaching the Koran by heart and studying a little Arabic. Some 200 students are enrolled in Mohammedan high schools; for the most part these are sons of chiefs. They are trained to serve as interpreters, Judges and secretaries in the Mohammedan courts. The professors in these schools must hold diplomas from the High School of Letters in Algiers.

It must be remembered, however, that though French Africa has an educational program, it has as yet very few educated Negroes. British Africa has almost no educational program, but it has educated Negroes; and they are the source of protest, trouble and revolt. Belgian Africa has in practice almost no educational program and very few educated natives. South Africa has a carefully restricted educational program and a small educated class of blacks. These trained blacks are beginning to writhe and protest.

What will happen in black France when its educational program begins to pour black university men into Dakar and St. Louis? We do not know. But we do know that the crisis and test will come then; for this class will make itself felt first by obstructing the golden stream of profit flowing from Africa to France. Afterward, if Negroes are modern men and education educates, France may face the world with a new black democracy in industry and politics, as an

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integral part of a great French empire. But in this case France herself must tend to become mulatto; certainly in thought, to some extent in blood.

~~Hopeless Without Educated Leaders~~

At the present time the blacks have no educated leadership. There is no racial feeling against them; they have no real racial consciousness, no esprit de corps, no ideals of advancement. Mohammedan fatalism holds most of them apart from modern progress. In British West Africa the black man is born a black man in a black country, where whites are usurping the power and using him and the land for their own profit; and where he is more and more determined to win back control over himself and his country. But in French West Africa the colored man is born French. The educated Frenchmen there consist of numbers of whites, a few mulattoes and West Indians and very few natives and blacks. They meet and mix according to their education and interests; and those interests are French. The attitude of these educated people toward the black millions beneath is the ordinary European attitude of the classes toward the masses. They lead them in the sense that they employ them and care in certain ways for their well-being. They care for their health, for instance, with sanitary laws and hospitals, and they draw no color line. When Mr. Curtis a colored United States Minister to Liberia was stricken fatally and rushed from Monrovia to Freetown, he was not allowed a bed in the perfectly equipped nursing home; and only after prolonged negotiations was he brought in from the native sheds in the yard and laid in the general hospital, where he died soon after. In French West Africa such an occurrence would be unthinkable. If a colored man or native enters the French Colonial Civil Service his treatment and chance of promotion are usually quite independent of color. Very few natives, however, have the slightest chance to enter the civil service.

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All this means that the raising and civilizing of the natives is being left to the chance of modern economic development, assisted and somewhat hastened by French public opinion, by military considerations and by some education. This is a dangerously slow set of forces and liable to fatal haltings; and especially is this true when the public opinion of the world—and, above all, the public opinion of the white voters of Europe—tend wholly to the view that an African colony is merely a means of enriching a European mother country.

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~~Big Business Runs Negro's Rise~~

The best solution would be enlightened leadership of the Negroes. This is not only lacking in French Africa, but, if mentioned, the reaction is instant; and one can sympathize with this point of view. A young black editor in Dakar discussed this subject with me. Speaking as a Frenchman, he said that there was no organization of black Frenchmen, because black Frenchmen were just as much French as white Frenchmen; and yet, he said, something was needed. Modern economic forces in colonial lands do not tend to raise the masses. With grudging bits of education the mass raises itself, fighting against the politically powerful bourgeoisie in the home land. Any such fight in French Africa would be, in the main, a color-line fight.

How can this raising of the issue of color by colored folk be avoided? It can be avoided only by a social uplift that outruns consideration of profits and this today seems scarcely probable. French Africa is organized for profit. Great corporations, great banks, great shipping agencies, great railroads, all unite in well-known and stereotyped ways to overthrow native industry, to prostitute native art, to make economic development in French West Africa mechanical and methodical, and, above all, profitable. The great excesses of the past in "land grabbing" and serfdom are guarded against, but the retail profiteer and the wholesale price-manipulator is here in his

glory. This modern Assyrian ~~also~~ "has come down like a wolf on the fold," and he is underbidding and displacing the native merchants by methods which the natives cannot meet. The native, to live, must raise what the world makes him raise and raise it at the world's price; and white world business, too, determines the native's share of the profit.

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Black France, that conscious, educated Black France living in Paris, the provinces, the islands, and elsewhere, is curiously unconscious of all this; and apathetic. As yet France has no political solution for West Africa. Colonial representation in Paris is confusing and contradictory. Devolution of power to the colonies is a serious step and weakens military concentration and economic profit.

Yet Black France is the most hopeful meeting place of black and white in the world. If education quickly supplies black leadership; if that leadership, unseduced by the present economic organization of Europe and in close union with white French idealism, reorganizes Black Africa along the magnificent vista of ancient African lines; if political power commensurate with this task comes down from Paris and checks that domination of the vote by moneyed interests which is common in France and a byword in the tiny enfranchised communes of Senegal—if all this happens, the salvation of Black Africa will yet be the gift of France.

RESEARCH MATERIALS

RESEARCH NOTES - AFRICA

A HISTORY OF THE BANTU

Pheal thought that the Bantu came from the West Coast of Africa, migrating across the South Central tribes on their journey down the Central Plateau. In the 15th century there was a great eruption from the Northwest into the lower valley of the Zambesi, the largest of the invading bands were the Amazimba, and they drove before them remnants of many tribes destroyed on the way from the Atlantic Ocean and known as the Ovambo. The Ovambo first appeared on the lower Zambesi in 1570. By 1600 many of these Ovambo had come to Natal. The Zulus may have descended from the Ovambo.

About A.D. 900 the Southern Bantu had become separated into three Branches in Central Africa: the Nguni, the Karanga, and the Thonga. The Thonga moved down the East coast, the Karanga down the center into Rhodesia, while the Nguni worked west. They crossed the Zambesi near its sources, dropping off a section who became the Herero. From here they swung round into the area between Lake Ngami and the upper Zambesi. They came to rest on the head Limpopo. The Nguni went southeast, stopping awhile in the Transvaal, and from them the Zulu are descended.

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The Karanga came from the north and mixed somewhat with the Nguni. One section of the Nguni drove south, and settled for a time south of Delagoa Bay. Here they became known as the Azambo and the Portugese met them at the end of the 16th century.

The Xosa moved after the Tembu, and into Kaffraria. In 1589 the Vamba lived south of Delagoa Bay. About 1700 Natal was occupied by the three great branches of the Nguni fa mily. The Zulus were related in blood and customs to the other inhabitants of Natal. At the close of the 18th century somewhere between 1785 and 1795 a quarrel broke out as a result of which Dingiswayo in 1806 occupied the throne and opened trade with Delagoa Bay. He invented the Zulu regimental system and set out to build an empire overcoming the chieftains around him, 1806-1808. Chaka, son of a neighboring Zulu king by the mother Nandi, became the

favorite of Dingiswayo. Chaka came to the throne in 1816 and became the most powerful and ingenious of the Zulu kings. His army was a tremendous organization. He defeated the neighboring tribes and broke their power. Umzilikazi submitted to Chaka for a while and then fled into the Transvaal, founding the Matabele kingdom. From the Transvaal this tribe scattered all other tribes as far south as the Orange River, until in 1836 being defeated by the Boers, they emigrated to Rhodesia, where they founded the Matabele kingdom. Others of the fleeing tribes went north and by 1840 had reached Lake Nyasa; and still others the shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza.

Chaka threw Natal, and between 1820 and 1823 swept over Natal. Some of the tribes fleeing before Chaka went westward across the Drakansburg mountains. Umzilikazi, raiding down from the north, drove numbers of tribes into Basutoland where Moshesh became their king. Nandi, his mother, died in 1827. Chaka himself died soon after and was succeeded by his brother Dingaan.

40-8R-5

Dingaan, in 1837 murdered Reties, a Boer leader who was asking permission for the Boers to settle in Natal. Dingaan tried to destroy the Boers in their camp, but at the battle of Blood River he was defeated. He turned north and established a capital on the Ivuma River. His brother, Umpanda, made alliance with the Boers and defeated Dingarn, whom he succeeded. He was a weaker man than Dingarn, and in 1856 was overthrown by Cetewayo, His son, Umpandi died in 1872 and Cetewayo became king in name as well as in fact. He was the last of the independent Zulu kings, and in 1879 under him the Zulu was withthe English broke out. The British ..... were routed at the Battle of Isandlewana. But finally Cetewayo was defeated at Ulundi. For some time he remained hidden and no Zulu would tell where. Finally he was taken prisoner and was sent to Capetown where he was imprisoned. Zulu was divided into 13 districts under chiefs appointed by the British. Cetewayo went to England to put his case before the Queen, who restored him, but he could not hold his position and finally died in 1884. H is son, Dinizulu, became his successor and was helped by the Boers, to whom he gave a portion of Zululand. In 1886 the British interfered and established a protectorate over Zululand. Dinizulu was banished to St. Helena in 1889. He returned in 1898 to become a local chief, and in 1906 thelast Zulu rebellion took place. Dinizulu was banished to the Transvaal where he died in 1913.

40-8-8-6

The Bechuana crossed the Zambesi in the 14th or 15th century. They used stone in building and were traders. They seemed to echo the builders of the Zymbabwe. These tribes coming southward occupied the east central part of South Africa. Apparently they had started from the central lake country and by the middle of the 18th century one of their great chiefs, Tao, met the Hottentots.

A newer and fiercer element of the Bantu tribes, the Xosa, also called the Kaffirs, were descended from Zuide, a chief of the 15th century in the lake country.

They laid waste to the coast regions, and in 1779 came in contact with the Dutch. Between 1779 and 1795 Dutch Kaffir wars ensued in which the Dutch were hard pressed.

In the latter part of the 18th century there were three main groups of Bantu in the interond of Cape Colony. To the north were the Herero and the Damars. Behind them the Ovamba and other tribes, the Bekuana. To the northeast were the highlanders, the Beraksi and Bazenda, and to the east were the coast tribes in contact with the Europeans at Fishura? The Ovamba, known as the Xosa, the Tembu and the Pando and other names, pushed down the coast toward Cape Colony. The Xosa crossed the Kei River in 1702. In 1775 they crossed the Fish River. The question of land ownership became a problem of frontiers between white and black cattle farmers.

40-8R-7

War broke out in 1779 and the Xosas were driven back across the Fish River. Another Kaffir war broke out in 1791 and in 1795 at the beginning of the Napoleonic wars British warships landed in South Africa. In 1795 there were 16,000Europeans, 17,000 slaves in South Africa. In 1805 there were 25,000 Boers, 25,000 Hottentots, pure and mixed, and 25,000 slaves. British settlers began to come in.

Between 1811 and 1877 there were six Kaffir-Englishwars. There was a terrible war between 1834 and 1835 which ended in annexation of all the country as far as the Kei River. The English parliament voted money and 5,000 British came in between 1820 and 1821. From 1823 to 1837 Great Britain took more interest in the colony. There forme d the in 1832 and slave emancipation decreed in 1833. Meantime, between 1824 and 1834 there was internal trouble among the Bantu. Chaka, succeeded Dingaswae and with his new army fell on tribe after tribe. He drove some northward through the eastern coastland as far as Lake Nyassa. He then rushed southward through Natal, and Umzelekasi, leader of one of his regiments, laid waste to the southwestern Transvaal. The Bekuanas fled to the Kalihara desert. By the time the English came to Natal, Chaka was ruling over the whole southeastern seaboard from the Limpopo to Cape Colony, including the Orange and Transvaal states and the whole of Natal. He was killed in 1828 and succeeded by his brother Dingarn who reigned 12 years.

The Xosa became restless because of the pressure of Zulus. Some moved into Cape Colon y and were driven back. War ensued in 1834, leaving 7,000 white farmers destitute. The loss was put at 300,000 pounds sterling.

Dissatisfaction ensued, and finally in 1837 the Boers sold their farms and 2,000 of them crossed the Orange River on the great trek. Dingarn, alarmed

40-8R-8

at this invasion, killed the main Dutch leader, Retief in 1838. He was attacked in December of that year and 3000 dead were left on the field, since known as Blood River. The Boers, now established in Natal, began to push northward to Zululand. This ended in fighting among the Zulus and the death of Dingarn in 1840. In 1846 the War of the Axe broke out on the eastern frontier between English and Kaffirs, lasted three months and cost a million pounds. In 1856 the Amazola were in despair and followed their prophets to suicide. A third of a nation perished.

In that year demands of labor in Natal brought in Indian labor. By 1865 there were 6,500 Indians in Natal. In 1858 the Boers declared war on the Basutos and seized much of their territory and cattle. The next year the British interfered and the Boundaries of Basutoland were defined.

40-8R-9

British aggression led to the Gun War in 1880, and the British again withdrew while the Boers and Basutos fought, but by 1884 the Boers were driven away and Basuto became a British protectorate.

The famous diamond, the Star of Ethiopia, was found in Grequaland in 1869 and sold first for $55,000 and then for $125,000.

Dingarn was succeeded by Panda. There was peace for 16 years but in 1856 Civil war broke out between his sons, one of whom, Cetewayo, succeeded his father in 1868. He fell into border disputes with the English, with the result was one of the fiercest clashes in modern days between Europe and Africa. The Zulus fought desperately, annihilating a whole detachment and killing the young prince Napoleon. But the Zulus were finally defeated at Ulundi, July 4th 1879. Zululand was divided among 13 sem-independent chiefs and became a British protectorate.

North
~~East~~ of the Zambesi, a British territory, the Bekuana ..... the Bantu to return ~~in~~ northward after the South African migration, played the

chief role. Today there rules directly and indirectly over 50,000 square miles between one and 2½ million people. In the north part of Bekuana land are the Bamangwato and the Batwana. The former long ruled by Kahma.

Umsilikatsi, driven north by Chaka in 1828 and defeated by the Duthh in 1837, established his headquarters in Rhodesia in 1838. Lobengula succeeded Umsilikatsi in 1870 and began to retreat toward the Zambesi.

40-8R-10

Insert 6

The European scramble for Africa was now on. In the ..... and in the valley of the Nile were Italy, France and Britain. Isolated in the highlands of the Northeast were the Ethiopians. In the center of the continent Henry M. Stanley, an American had explored the great valley of the Congo and engineered its annexation to Belgium. In the South center lay Portugese Africa split in two pieces and practically belonging to GReat Britain. In South Africa stood three giants: the Dutchman, Paul Kruger, president of the Republic of South Africa, the Englishman, Cecil Rhodes, and the black chief of the Zulus, Lobengula.

40-812-15

Dingaan, great chief of the Zulus, who had fought the Boers, died in 1840. He was succeeded eventually by Cetewayo and then the Matebele chieftain, Lobengula ruled over black South Africa. Lobengula was a tall, black giant, the last great king of the Matebele, who came to the throne in 1868. Rhodes was outflanking the Boers who held the gold fields and he hastened to make treaty with Lobengula for the mineral wealth of Matabeleland.

Date 4,

The movement of the African peoples from the region of the Great Lakes to the south began in prehistoric times, but was accelerated a thousand years after Christ by the development in North Africa of a new civilization in the Sudan, started by the Arabic Mohammedans and carried on by the Negroes of the West Coast. It was this push which in the 11th and 12th centuries formed a succession of kingdoms: the kingdom of Congo, the realm of Muata Yanzo, and finally the empire of the Monomopapa which the Portugese found. Of this we have the cultural remains Zimbabwe, and over the ruin of these marched the Bechuana people who crossed the Zambes i River before the end of the 15th century and as people we know how as Zulus came into Central South Africa late in the 16th century.

40-8R-16

The Dutch had settled at the Cape in the middle of this century, and soon were fighting with the Hottentots who had entered the Cape region in prehistoric times. The Dutch and the Hottentots mingled partially into the group now known as "colored people", and this group began to move north. Meantime, from the northeast had come the Zulus, who crossed the Fish River 500 miles east of Capetown at the beginning of the 18th century.

Soon the Dutch and the Zulus were at war over cattle and territory. and between 1779 and 1791 they were fighting intermittently with the Mulattos and the Hottentots often on the side of the Dutch. And the Dutch, hard-pressed by this spearhead of the great Bantu peoples coming down the east coast.

Then came the English, in 1805, and intervened between the Dutch and the Zulus so that between 1811 and 1877 there were six wars between the English and the Zulus, until finally after the costly war of 1834-5 the English succeeded in pushing the Zulus back beyond the Fish River, although later they surged again 200 miles west.

A period of between black and white occurred from 1823 to 34 and the colored peoples began to gain civil rights and finally the

slaves were emancipated. Incensed, the Dutch began their great trek across the Orgnge River, marching a thousand miles to the northeast, circling the English and coming into new contact with the Zulu about Natal. Meantime the various Zulu tribes had broken into war. The great Dsyudingiswayo was ruler in ~~1802~~ 1806 and succeeded in 1816 by the terrible Chaka, the military genius of the Zulu. Chaka drove the Matabele west where they attacked the oncoming Boers who defeated them at the Battle of Blood River, and they re-treated and founded the Matabele Kingdom in what is now Rhodesia. Chaka, on the other hand, set south over Natal and drove the Basutu south. Dingaan in 1937

40-8R-17

A deputation was sent to England and the verdict of the cabinet was reversed.

There followed a Loyal Commission in 1924, but this was dissolved the following year without action. That year a Commission under Ormsby-Gore was sent to report. This report reiterated the policy of the government as to the natives, ~~but at the same time refused to hear natives who had been chosen and sent at great cost and sacrifice by the Africans themselves.~~

In 1927 a new commission under Hilton Young was sent out which made an exhaustive report, again the Kenya white settlers did not like. Finally, under a Labor Government and under the Colonial Secretary Sidney Webb, other reports were issued, but the delegations of Africans, ~~Indians and Europeans~~ brought from Africa were refused hearing.

In 1930 there was a government White Paper, which tried to redress

	Dutch	England	Kaffirs
1820		4000 Colonists	
22		English Congress	
26		C. Colony N. & Orange	
34		abol Slavery	revolt Dutch
35			
37	Great Trek		Chaka dep Zulus & Natal
	10000 Settle Transvaal (Potgieter) Pass Drakensberg & Natal		Dingaan defeats Retief & Boers
	Blood river settle Natal		
42		Eng & Boers fight in Natal	
43		Natal Brit Boers move to Vaal	
43		13 annexations Brit Griqualand	
44		Brit & Cape	Great Kaffir war
50-53	Transvaal Independent		
52	Orange F.S. Rep.		
54	S.A. Republics		Sweden
56	SAR & T.		
59			

65-66 War vs Mashed

67 Diamonds

68 Basutoland Brit

71 Kimberley

Boers
Orange Free State
West

72 Burgers, Pres

75 London C.
gunpowder
bought

77 SAR
used by B.

Wolfish Boers

Korean War

Zulu War

79 Diamond work
80 organized
81 WA

83 B. on Basutoland

84 Gold

86 Moffat

88 BSA

89 Rhodes PM

90

Negro Art

Music

Stephen Foster

Higginson and McKims Collection, 1867.

George L. White and 11 Fisk Students, 1871.

National Council of Congregational Churches at Oberlin.

Beecher's "Nigger Ministrels".

The Jubilee Singers.

Seven Years Singing. Reception in England. $150,000 Cash and Jubilee Hall.

Ragtime, Blues and Jazz.

Dett, Coleridge Tayler and Burleigh.

Poetry

Nosseyeb, One of the Five Poets of Damascus.

Antar and the Arabian Knights.

Pushkin.

Music and Literature

New Orleans, 1812-1850.

"Listen to the Mocking Birds".

"Carry Me Back to Ole Virginny".

The Black Swan, Hayes, Robeson and Anderson.

The Negro in Literature

Uncle Tom and Uncle Remus.

Wheatley, 1773.

Walker's Appeal, 1829.

Douglass, 1845.

Williams, 1882.

Dunbar and Chestnut, 1890

46-32-54

Up from Slavery, 1901.

Today; Fauset, Cullen, Hughes, McKay.

Stage

Aldridge, Williams and Walker, Gilpin, Robeson.

Painter and Sculptor

Bannister, Tanner, Warwick, Prophet.

"It is quite the contrary with regard to small sculptures in stone, wood, ivory, or modeling in wax, clay or metals. In these arts, often called minor ones, the Negroes have shown themselves and still show themselves to be ingenious workers, powerfully helped by a high inspiration, a sharp sense of detail and a very profound conception of the form to be given to their ideas. It is to be remarked that their productions in this domain are generally so much the more original and of surer taste the more we have to do with populations that have been little influenced by exterior forces, whether of Oriental or European origin. In this category, Negro art appears the more perfect in the measure that it is more purely Negro. Indeed it cannot be contested that the funeral statuettes, the sacred masks, the carved seats, the vases, the knick-knacks of bronze or copper, the gold and silver jewelry made in the northern region of the Sudan and in the Europeanized centers are very inferior to the productions of the same order of the tribes of Guinea, of Dahomey, of the Congo and of the Great Lakes.

"On the other hand, it is sufficient to examine a collection of the bronzes of Benin in order to be convinced that the inspiration of the artists was frankly Negro: in the manner of arranging the characters, in designing or modeling the contours and the proportions, as well as in the whole of the composition and the choice of the most ordinary motifs of decoration, one finds the same technique, the same conventional stylization, the same conceptions of the picture, the same ornamental processes as in the whole of the productions of Negro art of all times and all parts of tropical Africa. The metal coverings of the doors of the old city of Benin present to us, with more

taste and finish, the same scenes as the coffin tops of the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast and the high-reliefs on the walls of the royal palace of Abomey; the bronze statuettes and masks coming from early Benin are exactly in the same style, although of markedly superior execution, as the majority of wooden statuettes and masks of the Sudan, Guinea, the Congo, and especially the region of the Great Lakes. The four-petaled rose and the disk of turning flames, which ornaments the spaces having no figures in relief, on the door-plates and the metal vases incollections from Benin are found again in identical form in the objects made at different epochs in the various countries of Negro Africa. The ancient art of Benin is only an episode, to be sure the most remarkable, in the history of Negro art.

"At the side of religious art or art for art's sake, there is another domain in which the Negroes are past-masters: it is that of the industrial arts, represented by work in clay, wood, iron, copper, gold, leather, and textiles. Ornamented and glazed pottery of all forms and dimensions, finely carved spoons, gongs, staffs of command, low or high stools each one of which is a masterpiece of patience and elegant execution; harmoniously slender paddles, straight or curved knives having handles of wood incrusted with metal, lances with multiple blades of graceful contours, axes for war or parade, small objects in molded or hammered copper; golden jewelry of filigree or made in a mold, rings and bracelets with delicately wrought openwork, cushions, saddles, boots and sheaths in supple leather diversely colored; curious boxes of oryx skin, trays and mats of colored reeds, fabrics of cotton, wool or raffia that are veritable tapestries with motifs as sober as they are varied and of a very sure taste in coloring; silk or cotton embroideries of a singular richness and happy design.

"The same observation can be made with regard to architecture. It is very certain that this art, which is almost unknown to the populations of the Gulf of Guinea or Equatorial Africa, except in its ornamental branch, has reached a remarkable development in the Sudanese zone. Nevertheless, it does not show its full richness except among Islamized populations and, as we have seen above, the architectural style of the Sudan, although in the course of time it has taken on a distinctly local

49-32-56

character, is of Arabo-Berber origin. It does not on this account furnish a less striking proof of the artistic faculties of the Negroes, since they have been able to produce such brilliant results after seeing only a few models in a field for which their traditions had in nowise prepared them.

"In this brief review of the arts having a place of honor among the Negroes we must not forget music.

"The real instruments of African Negro music are the xylophone, called 'balafon' by the French, sometimes with, sometimes without resonance boxes made of calabashes, a whole series of violins, guitars, zithers and harps, and various sorts of flutes and flageolets. The most universally used is the xylophone, giving two or three octaves of sounds which are not at all disagreeable. Many xylophone players are real virtuosos. Sometimes they are associated in groups, one of them improvising the recitative and the others taking up the refrain or the leit-motif, each doing his own part. The harpists, too, obtain very harmonious effects.

"It would not be rigorously exact to say that the Negroes possess only an oral literature and that this literature is necessarily of the so-called popular type. Without doubt it is the popular oral literature that has the dominating place in Negro Africa, but we also find there a learned oral literature and a written literature.

"I have spoken above of the intellectual flowering that distinguished Timbuktu in the sixteenth century, but this epoch and this city did not have the monopoly of such literature. Even in our days, the 'marabouts,' as the educated Mussulmans are commonly called in Africa, edit. chronicles of local history that are often highly interesting, treatises on exegesis and learned works that constitute a veritable literature, some examples of which would not detract from Arabic literature as a whole.

"Finally, there is another category of written literature, most interesting perhaps from the point of view of the information it can furnish regarding the congenital aptitudes of the Negroes, because it is native in its expression. In certain regions of Africa, the signs of the Arabic alphabet, adapted sometimes, by means of

49-32-57

added diacritical marks and new conventions, to the representation of vowel or consonant sounds that do not exist in Arabic, are employed for writing such and such an African Negro language.

"Far more widespread and representative of the native civilisation is the unwritten learned literature. Perhaps the epithet of 'professional' would be a more suitable designation than 'learned.' It is, in fact, the appanage of the people belonging to one of the castes or corporations of intellectual workers that we generally include under the term of 'griots'. There are all categories of griots: some are musicians, singers, poets, story-tellers, mimes, dancers, mountebanks; others have the task of learning by memory the genealogies of noble families, the important facts relating to great personages, the annals of States or of tribes, political, juridical or social customs, religious beliefs, and their transmission to the next generation. This is the oral literature in its learned form."
(Negroes of Africa, Maurice Delafosse, pp. 254, 255, 260, 261, 263, 265, 266, 267 and 268.

"African sculptures, no longer considered as hideous idols, have taken their place with Assyrian, Roman and Indian Art, and competent critics have not hesitated to declare the finest examples so rich in artistic qualities as to make them worthy to be placed beside the capital achievements of the greatest schools. African influence on Modern Art has been far reaching and the recognition of its value has given an impetus to the work of distinguished contemporaries in Europe and America that is well-nigh incalculable." (p. 5, Arthur Spingarn...Introduction, The African Saga, Blaise Cendrars.)

"And so in this anthology we have not only a record of the wit and wisdom of Africa but the soul of a people, which may be judged by the criteria of pure letters. In this translation, which has attempted throughout to capture the spirit of Cendrars' book rather than to present an erudite rendition oforiginal sources, English readers have their first opportunity to appriase Africa's contribution to the literature of the world. I venture to believe that they will find it not unworthy to stand beside American Negro Spirituals and African Sculpture. (p. 6, Arthur Spingarn...Introduction, The African Saga, Blaise Cendrars.)

419-32-58

"Appleyard, Krapf and Steere are unanimous in praising the beauty and the plastic power of these languages, and Wilson observes in particular that 'they are soft, supple, fexible to an almost limitless degree; their grammatical principles are founded on a systematic and philosophic basis, and the number of their words can be augmented to infinity; they can express the most delicate shades of thought and sentiment, and there are perhaps no other languages in the world that have more definite character or greater precision in expression." (p. 8. Blaise Cendrars, Foreword, The African Saga.)

The Zulu war came in 1879. The Boer war in 1880. The Matabele war and Boer war in 1900. The Herero rebellion in 1903. The Boer war 1899-1902.

Chaka was born 1787

Sara, the Boer woman, was Lobengula's foster mother. Moselikatze, father of Lobengula, died in 1868. His body was sewn in the hides of two black bulls, guarded by 12 of his widows, placed on a tented wagon, and dragged to the heart of the mountains of the Matapos Hills and into a cave. Six of the warriors and witch doctors followed the wagon which was drawn by 16 black oxen, a second wagon with all of his property. Thousands of mourners and a herd of 50 black oxen to be sacrificed The dead king was seated on a thrown of rocks, his possessions placed in an adjourning cave, and the caves walled up. Then the feast and slaughter of the oxen began.

40-7E-1

In the Rhodes family there were 12 children. Cecil John Rhodes was born July 5, 1853. At 18 Rhodes was in the diamond mines at Kimberley. ....the scum of all races who had gathered here, of the colored prostitutes; of the gambling, the lawlessness, the drinking, the occasional shootings. How could he tell his mother that girls here auctioned themselves off for the night?

Rhodes bought anything he wanted. He bought the Irish members of the English parliament. He bought Boer families and Zulu kings.

Diamonds were discovered in Griqualand West, which belonged to the Bastaards. When diamonds were discovered, England took the land despite the claim of the Boers.

Under the "Ridge of White Waters" on the wide high veld of Africa, 6,000 feet above the sea level, gold was found.

In 1888 Rhodes amalgamated the Kimberley mines and obtained the concession from Lobengula. In 1893 Rhodes took Matabele land. In 1896 Jameson raided the Transvaal and in 1902, a month before the Boer war ended, Rhodes died.

~~For the thieves had arrived. Not just smart businessmen and con-cession-seekers, but real criminals, cutthroats, Australian bush rangers, the scum of London~~

Cont'd

5. FOOD FIRST

SIR JOHN BOYD ORR

The campaign could have no abler spearhead than Sir [illegible] believes that facts speak louder than words. His work, ten years ago, on food, health and income, made Great Britain nutrition-minded and the author a powerful social force.

As a member of the General Committee of the African Research Survey Sir John has always been interested in West Africa. He says: "There are great possibilities of developing West Africa as a food production centre. The first problem to be faced there is proper feeding of the native population.

West Africa 4th Aug 42

42-8c-5

West Africa

Colonialism

ad, we do not disown our past, and the proud achievements of by-gone

but a nation must be strong enough to make a new beginning." We

days

~~be strong enough." This was said by~~ Queen Wilhelmina of Holland.

22-26-27

7--WEST AFRICAN ART

42-9C-4

West African art is being exhibited in Europe and West Africa on occasions far more numerous than ever before, the need for an introduction to the subject will be appreciated. This need is met, so far as wood figures are concerned, by Leon Underwood's FIGURES IN WOOD OF WEST AFRICA (John Tiranti Ltd., 6/-) Published with both French and English texts, this book also includes some fifty illustrations of West African figures which have been preserved in museums or private collections.

42-9C-1

4. In his reply, Mr. Rees-Williams said: "at the moment, it is out of the question to think of a United States of Africa even if, which is not the case, most of the African territory were British territory. The difficulty in the economic and political development of Africa is that the Colonies of the west grew out of very small trading stations. These particular stations became Crown Colonies and, finally, mainly for reasons of protection, the vast hinterlands behind them put themselves under the protection of the little Crown Colonies. That is the case in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, for examply. In East Africa, their origin was the pursuit of the slave traders. So in both areas there is nothing which is really an economic whole. They are part of a vast area of Africa, some of which is under British control, some under French, Portuguese or Belgian, as the case may be. There is no hope--and I believe thereis no desire for it by the Africans themselves--of anything in the nature of a political United States of Africa."

42-9c-2

4. NO HOPE OF UNITED STATES OF AFRICA

"The United States of Africa" was the title of a short debate initiated by Squadron-Leader Kinghorn in the House of Commons on February 25. He hoped "that our great plans for this country include further exploitation of these territories and planned emigration, sending people there who will produce goods there which can be sold by this country and earn dollars." He hoped that the Colonial Under-Secretary could "give us a reply which will fit into the steps we have taken on t is side of the House already---with the Groundnuts Scheme, the Overseas Food Corporation and so on, and show that the birth of the Labour Party as a Parliamentary Government was also the birth of a third Empire."

4. We want to say, at the very beginning, that we are not going to create, in other parts of Africa, any more South Africas; that if there is to be a United States of Africa, then black and white must live on terms of greater equality than are prevalent in South Africa at the moment. When we think also of a United States of Africa we are not going to think of it in terms of the United States of America where, again, political equality is denied to the black peoples in the Southern States.

May 15, 1948 WEST AFRICA

42-9c-6

5. FOCUS ON NIGERIA

Mr. Hughes argues that the transfer to Cocoa Marketing Boards in the Gold Coast and Nigeria of surplus funds acquired by the West African Produce Control Board, marks the end of "one form of economic abuse;" he clearly favours the diversion, for local use, of surpluses arising from the difference between world prices and prices paid to producers over the whole field of commodity trade.

42-9c-8

With the aid of a grant of £15,250 under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, a rice station has been established at Genoi, where experiments in merchanized cultivation are being carried out with the aim of making the territory self-supporting in rice. The Report emphasizes the importance of substituting machinery for the primitive and uneconomical African hoe, if improved yields are to be obtained and already over £-44,000 has been granted under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts for the purchase of machinery to be used in experiments in mechanized cultivation.

42-9c-3 8

LIFE AND DEATH

A series of tables in the Report on the Gold Coast Medical Department for 1946 give interesting and vital statistics of the local population. Of a total estimated population of 3,962,692 it is estimated that 335,780 live in Registration areas. Of 14,454 registered, a birth rate is computed of 39.7 per 1,000 persons living. Of 9,294 registered, a death rate is computed of 25.5 per 1,000 persons. Infant mortality rate has decreased by nine, since 1945, and is computed to be 110 for 1,589 registered persons.

In May, ~~xx~~ unprecedented efforts were reported from London to increase Colonial productivity and a record sum equivalent to more than one billion dollars was ear-marked for a long term program of colonial developments by Great Britain. ~~(copy--2--3)~~

West Africa said : ~~(Paste--4)~~

42-9c-24

42-9c-7

5. THE STAGE IS SET

There seems to be a new note of emphasis since Sir Stafford t the African Governors, last November: "it is to your contribution to the righting of the world unbalance, that we must look; and in order give you the chance of success, we must put behind you all that we can in the way of capital goods supplies."

To many Europeans and Africans, these words of Sir Stafford seemed at the time to be placing too much reliance on Africa as a solution for what was, in effect, a European problem. To-day, in view of the European Recovery Programme under the Marshall Plan, the axis, has changed and the emphasis is once more on Europe.

The Colonies had been used during and since the war to increase the imports from all sources and to England, they were asked to limit ~~xxxrx~~ their demands for goods to t ose which could be sold for dollars of hard currancy, or which are made wholly or largely of dollar materials. In other words, the colonies already are ~~x~~ being used to boost the recovery of Great Britain. Criticism of this policy has come from Africa and as relaxation from austerity has become common, Africa has asked to be relieved of this policy of "calamitous restriction".

42-9c-23

colonialism provided for in the present set-up of the United Nations.

Today the dependent areas of the world center overwhelmingly in Africa. Africa is therefore the center of colonial imperialism. As Franklin D. Roosevelt said: "The colonial system means war." When therefore the Atlantic Charter was first published saying that the representatives of Great Britain and the United States "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they live " the colonial peoples throughout the world became excited . When a few days after its publication Mr. Attlee spoke at a meeting of the West African Students Union in London a member asked if the Atlantic Charter would in reality apply to the coloured peoples of the Empire --Mr. Churchill's Deputy replied that there was not to be found " in the declaration which have been made on behalf of the government in this country on the war, any suggestion that the freedom and social security for which we are fighting should be denied to any of the races of mankind. We are fighting this war not for ourselves but for all peoples." That was specific, but it was too specific for Mr. Churchill. Almost immediately, on his return from the Atlantic Meeting , he pointed out in the House of Commons, September 9, that "at the Atlantic meeting we had in mind primarily the restoration of the Soverignty self-government in national life of the states and nations of Europe now under the Nazi yoke. So that it is quite a separate problem from the progressive evolution of self-governing institutions in the regions and among the people which owe alligance to the British Crown.

At San Francisco, effort was made to get a strong plank on Trusteeship (paste 48)

The resultant parts of the Charter ~~x~~ referring to the Trusteeship council were unfortunate and the fact stands out in reviewing the decisions on colonial matters at the first and second regular meeting of the United Nations General Assembly was that the colonial powers were able to dictate most of the decisions. The fifty-seven members of the Trusteeship Committee which is not to be confused with the smaller Trusteeship Council

2. AFRICA AND MIGRATION

Migration within the British Commonwealth and Empire has been mainly considered in terms of the export of individuals from Great Britain to the great Commonwealth countries of Canada, Auatralia, New Zealand and South Africa. "I believe," said Lord Tweedsmuir in the House of Lords recently, "that upon the successful redistribution of the British race depends the whole future of the British Commonwealth."

Inevitably, the potentialities of Africa come under scrutiny. The subject is approached with apologetic hesitation and there is much vagueness of expression. The reason for hesitation, so far as West Africa is concerned, is obvious. Those West Africans who are already suspicious of British intentions in those territories do not welcome any suggestion for European settlers who live at a standard far in excess of the general standard prevalent throughout West Africa.

Amongst the educated classes, however, fear of European colonization would be almost univeraal if colonization were ever put forward as a serious proposal.

If a redistribution of the British race is considered necessary for the future of the British Commonwealth, we must be told what part is to be played by the more than sixty million Colonials who are, in varying degrees, individual members of the British Commonwealth and Empire. The continuation of Pakistan and India in membership of the Commonwealth and Empire inevitably will depend on the satisfactory solution which Great Britain and the white self-governing communities of the Empire make of this vital problem. A Great Britain which decided, like South Africa, in favour of a policy of racial privilege and segregation could not hope to retain any single self-governing non-white unit within the Commonwealth for long.

42-9c-10

To most Englishmen this development has brought hope. But to some it spells warning. The London Times says:in a leading editorial:

> The principle which inspired colonial government during the nineteenth century was that, in return for the real blessings of internal peace and impartial justice, colonial peoples should settle down to the steady work of producing foodstuffs or raw materials for the European, and particularly the British market. This principle served the needs of an age that was opening up the world's dark places and familiarizing undeveloped or savage peoples with the circumstances of civilized life. But it carried with it the corollary that, in the process of adapting itself to the new conditions, a colony should live of its own. Two consequences followed. The first was that colonial advances in civilization had to conform to the pace of economic development; the second that commercial enterprise, accepting or slightly ameliorating native standards of life, distributed its profits to its European shareholders. The Colonial Development and Welfare Act with its promise of substantial grants for general betterment, was framed to meet the first of these drawbacks. The second led to charges of capitalistic exploitation which, in some notorious cases at least, were well enough founded to make the whole system of unrestricted commercial development of colonial territories obnoxious to modern thought. The new corporation will work on commercial principles and will rightly seek a return on its capital, but its operations are to be brought within the framework of the general welfare.

42-9c-11

The Fabian planners for the Labor Government blue print their ideas:

> "One of the most far-reaching effects of Western European co-operation, which may be anticipated in the 1950/55 period, is the extension of our own work in colonial development, so well begun since 1945, to a joint British-French-Belgian-South African-Egyptian planning and development of the greater part of Africa, the first steps having already been agreed between the French and ourselves. Such joint action could, in twenty years, change the face of Africa, and its place in world economy, as the Russians have changed the face of Soviet Asia; and such joint action could reproduce T.V.A.s in the valleys of the Nile, the Congo, the Niger and the Zambesi.
>
> "A twenty-year development programme would create simultaneously an enormous source of supply of primary products and a large new market for manufactured goods. The first requirement is the provision of basic services: power supplies, ports, roads, railways, river transport installations, and homes and communal services for the workers transferred to the new areas of development. . . .
>
> Second Five Years, we can replace the former higgledy-piggledy capitalist exploitation of the colonies by a planned development of their resources based on sharply-rising living-standards for their peoples and the effective participation of these peoples in the organization and administration of these developments.
>
> "That participation is vital: if Africa is to be re-created, we must stop doing things *for* the Africans and start doing things *with* them."
>
> * The Second Five Years: A Labour Programme for 1950, by Ian Mikardo, M.P. (Fabian Publications Ltd. Price 6d.)

In all this discussion and planning, some overtones appear. A member of Parliament from Leominster said in June, 1948,

, that one-third of the agricultural land in Great Britain is still classed as rough grazing. "If," he said, "we tackled a few million acres of that marginal land and rough grazing land and brought it into production, we should be doing a great deal more good for this country than by the millions of pounds which we are now pouring into Central Africa on what is a very problematical venture."

5. ~~Said Mr.~~ George Brown, Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture, ~~during his reply:~~ ~~The hon. gentleman... rather suggested that we were putting money into Colonial food production schemes rather than the development of marginal land at home. But~~ "this country depends more than any other on imported supplies of oils and fats; we depend on imports for 95 per cent of our supplies. The groundnut scheme will make a contribution, when it is really going, of about 250,000 tons a year to our great need for oils and fats. It is not being done, as he so lightly said, to help Africa or Australia, but to get much needed additional supplies of these things for this country."

one, two and three hundred per cent and the employers were disposed to pay no attention to the demands of the laborers.

They were forgetting what Palmerston said to his Tiverton constituants in 1848: "The crimes committed in regard to African slavery and the African slave trade, if they could be put together, are I am sure were greater in amount than all of the crimes that ever were committed by the human race from the beginning of the world to the present time." On the other hand,

In the meantime it was pointed out that the taxable capacity of most colonials is very low, that they have limited production and comparatively poor revenue and that their resources for maintaining considerable social, and economic services are restricted. During the war they had a certain prosperity, their actual revenues showed a large expansion, although this was due in part, to the fall in the value of money. In Nigeria for instance the total public revenue for 1939 was six million pounds, and for 1948 thirteen million.

42-90-15

Even off-setting the fall in the value of money, these changes indicated a real improvement in the financial position of colonial governments on account of sustained demands for colonial products and also on account of war time, military activities including remittances of black men serving in the British army. The increase of revenue was accompanied by an increase in expenditure, partly due to inflation, but reflecting also increased services and increased costs of existing services. Many colonies had to incur considerable expenditure in subsidizing the costs of living.

In spite of the growth of expenditure, Colonial Government revenue has enabled most governments to accumulate increase surplus blaances and with these they are planning programs of development; including health and education. That the colonial peoples are suspicious of some of these plans goes without saying. A member of Parliament, Mr. Rankin of Glasgow said January 20, 1948, that the government ought to be reminded that for every twelve pounds of wealth created in Africa in the past, we took out eleven pounds and left one pound. A great deal of the present psychological difficulty has its origin in the savage maltreatment which

American Capital is increasing in Africa , our State Department says that Britains overseas dependencys will be the primary source from which the United States can make good for stock piling raw materials and deficiencys in other resources. United States capital in South Africa has doubled since 1939.

Sir Arthur Salter ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ points out that America must encourage productive foreign investment on a large scale, and that the greatest countries offering opportunities--China, India and Russia- do not fulfil the political condition of foreign investment, which is assurance against confiscation.

42-9c-16

Where, then, can American investment (in the form of capital equipment) go? Sir Arthur suggests the Colonial Empires of Great Britain France , Belgium and Holland.

From the Congo the United States bought three thousand six hundred and fifty tons of Uranium in 1946, for which it paid over five million dollars . Two thousand, six hundred tons went to Britain for four and a quarter million dollars . Up until 1946, the United States had been the only buyer. The total Uranium export from the Congo in 1945 was nearly ten thousand tons as compared with fifteen hundred tons in 1939.

Diamond Mines aredeveloping in Tanganyika, Phosphate in Uganda. The Sinclair Oil Company is prospecting in Somaliland; Italian factorys are to be transferred bodily to South Africa to make machine tools, feuls bricks, electrical apparatus and textiles. French and Swiss bankers are behind the scheme.

The United African Company has large plans--(paste 34)

~~Great Britain~~ - On 29 Nov., 1946, Mr. Geoffrey Heyworth announced that the United Africa Co. has development plans of over ~~£ million~~, covering projects in Nigeria, the Gold Coast, the Congo, French Equatorial Africa, French Ivory Coast, Uganda, Egypt, Natal, and the Cape. 55% of the sum will go for opening up natural resources, 10% for commerce, 3% for transport, and 31% for industry. In addition the Company will manage the Government's East African Groundnut Scheme for 18 months, until the Government has formed and trained its Public Corporation to take over. Timber products, reforestration , palm oil, rubber and cocoa plantations, road building, training schools, motor agencies, hardware and clothing merchandizing, mechanical and electrical engineering, trade bulletins cargo hauling facilities and piers, a brewery, soap and margarine factories, water boring, and similar activities are already approved, showing the very wide spread and inclusive scope of the Company's interests. T[illegible]

-$36,000,000

(paste 74)

42-26-17

It is especially to be noted that there is a rise in the union activity and organization in Africa. In the great majority of colonial territories there is satisfactory lagislation and a good many efforts have been made to bring this legislation up to the modern legislation of England. But this is not always true.

No African, in Northern Rhodesia are at present members of trade unions and in the Union of South Africa, although not officially recognized , there are about 120 native trade unions claiming 160,000 members. The West African labor movement is growing in stature and power . In French West Africathe labor movement has taken on strength and force . There was a world federation of trade unions which met in Dakar, French West Africa in April 1947. Eighteen delegations of Negroes attended. Recommendations were made to be considered in Prague in June.

The Nigerian labor movement is young, dating from the general strike in 1945 but is growing and developing. It secured a harrigan commission report and also that of the Tudor-Davis commission making a basis for further argument for the increase of wages and better conditions of living.

The most significent occurence in the African labor world was a representative character of the African at the World Trade Union Conference in February 1945. Colonial delegates came from Nigeria, The Gold Coast, Serre-Leone , and Gambia in West Africa; beside from various parts of America.

4. Sir Ralph Furse (Director of Recruitment at the Colonial Office since 1919) said in London last week that he had firm confidence in the capacity of the Colonial Service to tackle the extremely difficult job that it has got ahead of it provided its tail is kept up. "The first and most important thing, if we want to get a first class Colonial Service," he said, "is that the country should recover confidence in itself as a Colonial Power.

"The Service had been exposed to a great deal of attack and there was so much defeatism and cynicism spread around that it needed help urgently in dealing with the criticism that it gets from the outside. If there was a backwash," he said, "the effect on recruitment would be so bad that it would take us years to recover the standard we have got."

4. TWO TYPES OF ASSURANCES

Candidates for the Service today asked for two types of assurances: that the progress of self-government would not mean that they were likely to be put into the street half-way through their career; and that they would have an adequate chance of working for the ideals which led them to go into the Service.

4. YEAR'S SUPPLY IN FOUR MONTHS

The first thing to remember, said Sir Raplh, with regard to the department of recruitment, was that it was dealing with the tremendous concentration of demand arising out of the war. This demand was not much shorter than the to-tal demand of the inter-war period of 1919/38. Post-war recruitment, which began in June, 1945, was not over yet. It had now reached a point where the boom of the "demobilization kennel" had been followed by lean periods due to the inability of the Universities to turn out their normal peace-time complement. The position should improve by the summer of 1949.

4. (Continued)

Comparative figures of applications for the Service were 9,150 from June, 1945 to June, 1946; and 4, 576 from June, 1946 to June, 1947. But in the last four months (excluding engineers(the Service had taken in very little short of an average year's supply. The first tow years of recruitment since June, 1945, had doubled the Crown Agents' average rate of recruitment for the last five pre-war years.

In these two years, the Medical Service had got the equivalent of five years' recruitment; the Legal Service, the equivalent of nine years ; Education, the equivalent of ten years; Administration (including appointments on contract), the equivalent of eleven years. The overall intake of two years was roughly equivalent to seven years or more. Considerable progress had been made in face of a very heavy demand.

42-9c-18 42-9c-24

4.FROM SHIP'S COOK TO DISTRICT OFFICER

Nearly all professional and technical appointments went to people from the Universities. But for administrative appointments, "we deliberately never tie ourselves down even to the degree." So elastic was the wualification for administrative appointments that, on one occasion, a man who had been a ship's cook and had travelled widely was given a job as District Officer.

8. At Westminster

Statement on Gold Coast Riots

Five questions were asked in the House of Commons last week about the Gold Coast riots. A statement was made by Mr. Rees-Williams, at the end of question time. After stating that a satisfactory measure of law and order had been restored, he continued: "I am very glad to say that the attitude of the Chiefs and Native Authorities in the Gold Coast has throughout been most helpful. They have publicly expressed their authority to urge restraint on their people and co-operation with the Government in the measures which it has taken to restore order. The senior unofficial member of the Legislative Council, on behalf of his colleagues on that body, and several Native Authorities have telegraphed to me pledging their support to the Gold Coast Government."

8. The total casualties reported, on March 8, were 26 Africans dead and 227 injured. Fifteen non-Africans were injured.

8. "The Governor," he said, "has asked for the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry from outside the Gold Coast."

-5- LABOR (6)

Dar-es-Salaam dock strike arbitration awards 40% wage increases. The strike was illegal, without warning in midst of negotiations; it disrupted urgently needed deliveries to groundnut area, was spread up the railway by agitators and intimidators, and for a time threatened to be ugly. Basic causes remain - shortage of consumer goods, squalid living conditions, Black Market, and exorbitant prices.

Uganda reports short strike at Kakira sugar factory, with stone throwing.

Juba, Southern Sudan, had widespread strike of Government workers when false rumor circulated that grain prices were to be raised 40%; it took over a week to return to normal. Special committees are examining grievances and possible pay increases.

Domestic Servants Union claims 4000 members, and drafts Resolution calling for increased pay, minimum wage, 8 hr. day, "bicycle allowance", house rent and payment by officials rather than by individual employers.

Gold Coast gold miners struck for a month, demanding more pay, shorter hours, vacation with pay, etc. Arbitration granted most demands.

Government Railway Workers struck and tied up all rail transport for nearly a month.

French West African Government railways tied up over a month by strike of 12,000 African employees, who claim their strike is biggest and best since Nigeria's general strike of 1945. According to the last report, Government had not yet been successful in attempts to arbitrate.

Jan. 1948

02-Pb-24

(1) the claim that the Legislative Council has an African majority whilst true, is misleading, since Chiefs and Native Authorities comprise majority membership and they are appointees of and subject to removal from office by the Governor
(2) the classification of Chiefs and Native Authorities as Unofficial Members is inconsistent with Government policy because they are officially recognised as "an integral part of the machinery of Government";
(3) the vesting of power in the Governor to nominate Unofficial Members to represent the interests of tax-payers is autocratic;
(4) the new Constitution discriminates against tax-payers on the grounds of sex, economic status, and residence;

The statement that the new Constitution has an African majority is true, but definitely misleading. Chiefs and Native Authorities constitute the bulk of the unofficial membership of the Legislative Council. Under the Appointment and Deposition of Chiefs Ordinance, the appointment and deposition of Chiefs rest upon the discretion of the Governor, who can appoint, recognise, or remove them from office. Under the Native Authority Ordinance, the Governor has the power to appoint Native Authorities and to remove them from office. According to His Majesty's Order-in-Council, the Governor has absolute power to unseat any Nominated Official Member and any Nominated Unofficial Member, if, in his absolute opinion, such a person is unfit to discharge his functions as a member of the legislature.

It is, therefore, obvious that the 18 Chiefs and Native Authorities who are Nominated Unofficial Members(Africans) can be removed at the sole pleasure of a Governor, in whose appointment and tenure of office, the tax-payers of Nigeria and the Cameroons have no voice. The NCNC submits that it is impossible for these official nominees to exercise freedom of speech in the interest of the tax-payers, especially in matters in which the Government is interested. Moreover, of the remaining seven Unofficial Members, three non-Africans also hold office and can be removed therefrom, at the pleasure of the Governor. The remaining four Unofficial Members are elected. Thus, all the Nominated Unofficial Members can be Government puppets and "yes-men."

The classification of Chiefs and Native Authorities as "Unofficial Members" is inconsistent with Government policy. According to a Government memorandum elucidating the principles and practice of the "Indirect Rule", Chiefs and Native Authorities are said to "form an integral part of the machinery of Government." In the opinion of the NCNC, this view is correct. They are officials in the governi of Nigeria and the Cameroons, being the elected and appointed rul In his Dual Mandate, Lord Lugard said that "they are the trusted delegates of the Governor... andrecognising the King's representa ives as their acknowledged suzerain." Elsewhere, he said that although they are "an integral part of the machinery of the admin istration," yet there are not two sets of rulers, British and nat working either seperately or in cooperation, but a single Governm in which the native Chiefs have well-defined duties and an acknow ledged status equally with British officials. Their duties shou never conflict, and should overlap as little as possible. They should be complementary to each other...."

Any political system which encourages one man to nominate pe who are expected to exercise law-making powers, and to remove the at will is absolutely autocratic, because it is an arbitrary weap for manacling public opinion, which is the means for expressing t will of the people at legislative assemblies. The fact that the are 40 Nominated Members in a legislature of 44, and that these official nominees hold office at the pleasure of the Governor.,a that they are neither amenable nor answerable to the tax-payers f their legislative expressions and actions, makes this aspect of new Constitution a mockery of democracy. As far back as 1868, Buckingham, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, propounded doctrine to the effect that, whilst Nominated Unofficial Members could exercise freedom of conscience, yet they are expected to support measures in which the Crown is interested, in order to vindicate the confidence reposed in them by their nomination. Chief Secretary of Nigeria made a statement in support of this

It has been repeatedly said by the British that Nigeria now has a Negro majority in its Legislative Council — is there for self-government What can it teach? The N.C. of N.C Boys!

Mailed Jan. 19.

Jan. 16, 1948

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY THE DELEGATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NIGERIA AND THE CAMEROONS TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES ON THE 11TH. AUGUST, 1947.

The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons is a federation of 183 political parties, trade unions, professional and business associations, farmers' and peasants' organisations, tribal unions, youth leagues, students' and other cultural organisations scattered all over Nigeria and the British Cameroons.

The NCNC Delegation has been authorised and commissioned by the various communities referred to in Appendix 1 to make certain representations to the Colonial Office in order to promote better relations thereby cementing ties of friendship to the mutual advantage of the peoples of Great Britain and Nigeria and the Cameroons. Our people feel that there is no need for making the future relations of Great Britain and Nigeria a subject of conflict. Rather, it is a question of adjustment of the political and administrative organisation.

Contrary to opinions generally expressed in official and other circles, neither the communities of our country nor the officers and members of the NCNC are victims of chauvinism or xenophobia. However, we are convinced that after many years of Anglo-Nigerian relations, we have had no opportunity in the effective management of the government of our country because the Crown Colony system is despotic and obsolete; being opposed to democracy, it should be abrogated.

It is the desire of our people that we should be granted more political responsibility because the country is ready and prepared for it. The administration of Nigeria and the Cameroons under a Crown Colony system is static, unprogressive, and not in accordance with the democratic ideals for which our country contributed her share in man-power, money, and materials in World War II. By granting this request, Great Britain has the privilege and honour of helping our people to make a contribution to the larger life of mankind.

The representations which we have been authorised to make are based on the following categories:

(1) Richards' Constitution. To object to the principle involved in the new Constitution which subverts the democratic condition of the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria and the Cameroons and derogates the status of the Paramount Rulers of the country.

(2) Four Legislations. To demand the repeal of certain sections of (a) Public Lands Acquisition Ordinance and amendment (1945), (b) Crown Lands Ordinance and Amendment (1945), (c) Minerals Ordinance, 1945, (d) Appointment and Deposition of Chiefs Ordinance and Amendment (1945).

(3) Basic Human Rights. To request the repeal of certain laws or sections of laws which deny the people of Nigeria and the Cameroons basic human rights.

(4) Acts of Maladministration. To spotlight certain acts of maladministration with a view to their immediate amelioration.

(5) Protectorate Status. To protest against the present official policy of governing Nigeria and the Cameroons (which, in parts, are a Crown Colony, a Protectorate, and Trust Territory) as if they are an exclusive colonial possession of Great Britain; and to ask for a clarification of Anglo-Nigerian relations (a) in the light of treaty obligations, and (b) in accordance with Protectorate status.

(6) Self-Government. To demand that immediate steps be taken now towards self-government for Nigeria and the Cameroons.

THE RICHARDS CONSTITUTION

The new Constitution which was imposed upon the people of Nigeria and the Cameroons without their knowledge andconsent, provides for a Legislative Council of 44 members, as follows: 16 nominated Official Members, 24 Nominated Unofficial Members, and 4 Elected Unofficial Members. The Nominated Members are official nominees and hold office at the pleasure of the Governor; they are not answerable to the taxpayers. The NCNC is opposed to this legislative set up ~~because~~

strongly against it they may send representations to the Colonial Office. Although it has been passed into law the Governor will not operate it as yet, and so what you might call "a constitutional crisis" arises.

N :—How are representations made to the Colonial Office ?

P :—They cannot be sent direct ; and although the conflict is with the Governor they have to be sent through the Governor. It is a good thing to forward a copy to an English M.P. at the same time. The Governor adds his own marginal notes, and the Secretary of State, on receiving the grievance, takes the advice of the Under-Secretary of the department concerned (a permanent official qualified as an expert), and a reply is drafted. This comes to the Governor, who reports it back to the Legislative Council. That is the way it works. Like appealing from Caesar to Caesar.

So once more you see that if the Legislature were in the hands of the people's epresentatives and controlled by them such legislation would not come up. The fundamental question is, therefore, control of legislation.

N :—One of the arguments against this is that in many Colonies "the natives are not yet ripe for it."

P :—It is quite true that in the Colonial Empire as a whole there are sections which are much more advanced than others. The West Indies have reached a higher degree of civilisation because of their longer contact with Western culture and its assimilation. The people there, as a whole, are Christians, their mother tongue to-day is English ; ways and customs, virtues and vices of Europe have become their own. These people are Westernised Africans.

On the African continent the process of assimilation has not reached the same stage. However, in certain parts, especially in Sierra Leone, and in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Gambia, there are Europeanised African communities. What applies in general to the West Indies is also applicable to Ceylon, Mauritius, British Guiana, British Honduras, the Bahamas. In all of these exists an intellectual elite, the native bourgeoisie, which is the class constituting the vanguard of the progressive political movements. It is nonsense to say that such people are incapable of managing the affairs of their respective countries. For they and their sons have studied at American and European Universities and represent, in the main, several generations of culture and political consciousness.

In the less advanced areas, such as the hinterland territories of Africa, generally known as Protectorates, in the Fiji Islands, Malaya, and other parts where tribal or semi-feudal social institutions still persist, thanks to Imperialism, which does everything to foster and maintain them, there are not such large Europeanised communities. However, despite all the obstacles and difficulties put in their way, the inexorable laws of human progress are taking shape, and from the younger elements emerges a class of natives which is dissatisfied with the *status quo* and which is demanding access to wider and fuller social conditions. The advent of these could be hastened by democratising the political institutions which exist there—a policy which British Imperialism shows no desire to follow, war or no war.

N :—The policy of keeping people backward, and without educati
is a conscious one. For the last 150 years Im
Colonie

were schools in every Indian village; in sweeping away the village system we have simultaneously swept away the schools. John Bright complained, in 1853, that while our Government had almost wholly overthrown the universally existing native education, it had done nothing to supply the deficiency. Ten years ago only one penny per head was spent on education in British-ruled India, whereas Russia was spending between sevenpence and eightpence." He then quotes G. T. Garratt's *An Indian Commentary*. "One cannot fail to deplore the rapid decadence, probably more rapid than the official figures show of independent educational institutions."

This book was published first in 1928, so the "ten years ago" was 1918—yet even then Russia in her first year of liberation from the Tsarist regime and in the midst of the struggle was spending seven and eight times as much on education as British-ruled India ! ! ! Imperialism is nothing if not well thought-out ! Incidentally, as we are on the subject of India—I have just re-read two admirable books : Leonard Woolf's *The Village in the Jungle*, about Ceylon, published in 1913, and E. M. Forster's *A Passage to India*, which appeared in 1924, both of which have gone into innumerable editions. When you have read these you feel you have learned a good deal, that is, you have a start on the whole Indian question. I have never been to India, but knowing the West Indian Colonies and something of the poor Indians of Trinidad I can see it all well. Both these authors were in the administration for years, so they know what they are writing about, and as each is very honest besides being a fine artist the reader is confronted with a whole new world of truth.

One puts down Woolf's beautiful tragic book with a feeling not short of abysmal despair—that is, if things are to go on like this for ever. And Forster's remarkable ironic tragedy one ends with a sense of the utter futility, sadness, and ridicule, too, of race relations as here depicted. I mean, once more, if none of this is ever to change.

I should like to know just how the difficulties the Russians encountered at first in the adjustment of their great new social system among their so-numerous race groups compare with the monumental scale of the racial complexities of India. Or are these not really so inherently great, but built up by us ? I would bet on the latter. And I am sure the Russians would tackle all this very well. Don't imagine for a moment that I think the British *incapable* of that. Oh, no. I have a great belief in the British. But *which* British ? Let me tell you. The kind I have in mind are like the young engineer I know, and his fiancee, who is a schoolmistress ; both are about twenty-four years old : studious, thoughtful, constructive, specialised in their own vocations, hating all race complexes, full of initiative—and also full of fun. We cannot do much that is good without putting a bit of love into things (as the French say), and a bit of humour. You will notice that these are qualities one may call those of "human values." There are many people like these, mainly but not only young people, in Great Britain, the Dominions and the Colonies—everywhere. They don't get much of a hearing as yet. But what is "After the War" for if not for people like this ? People like this are very concerned indeed about our Colonies ; they want, [illegible] to go and study there, some of them to work there [illegible] All of them say that we

Jan 1948[10]

3 50

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Trusteeships

The Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations shows a disquieting tendency to re-write the Charter (2,3) at the expense of the Colonial Powers, saysthe correspondent and editor of the London Times. The Indian resolution advocating trusteeship for all the world's colonies passed (4) the Committee, though by only a scanty majority. The General Assembly, acting on another Indian resolution (5,6)(modified) has again (7) called on the Union of South Africa to submit South West Africa for trusteeship, "hoping" that the draft agreement will be ready for consideration at the next session. The Union's delegate reiterated the Union's stand that the United Nations have no jurisdiction over South West Africa, and that the Union will continue to administer the territory as a mandate, with representation in the Union Parliament, and will submit periodically (8,3) to the United Nations for its information the usual reports of its mandate.

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THE CRISIS

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A Record of the Darker Races

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EDITORIAL ROUNDUP

COVER—Beauteous Joan Adams, an avid student of history, is a recent graduate of the International Finishing School in San Francisco. She plans to enter San Francisco State College next semester to continue her studies in her favorite subject.

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THEODORE H. HAAS is chief counsel of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C. It might be remarked here that the present Indian population of the United States according to the 1940 census is 329,478, divided into 96 tribes and 41 linguistic stocks. Only about 45 percent of them are estimated to be full-blood Indians.

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WILLIAM C. (BILL) LANE though born in Rosedale, Miss., prefers to say he is from New Orleans—for a number of reasons which he refuses to divulgé. He was trained in journalism at the University of Iowa and has written stories and articles for a number of national magazines including *Cornet*, *The Woman*, and *Pageant*. He lives in Detroit, Mich.

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CHESTER HIMES is already well known to our readers. He has authored two novels and his third, *Immortal Mammy*, is scheduled for fall publication.

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GEORGE PADMORE, whose articles have already given testimony to his broad knowledge of foreign affairs, is an old contributor. He lives in London dividing his time between writing and editing the *Colonial Parliamentary Bulletin*, a monthly record of the colonies in Westminster.

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LAYLE SILBERT recently spent eight months in Shanghai. She was formerly an editorial assistant at the American Council on Race Relations but now lives in Chicago, Ill.

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CEDRIC DOVER, formerly of London, now teaches at Fisk university, Nashville, Tenn. He is best known in this country as author of the provocatively brilliant *Half-Caste*. His autobiography, *One Khaki*, is now in the hands of his publisher.

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ARTHUR B. SPINGARN (who reviews *Negro Voices in American Fiction*, page 216) is president of the NAACP. For thirty-five years Mr. Spingarn made a systematic collection of Negro books. This library of more than 5,000 items and related curios was recently sold to Howard university.

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British Africa Colony Asks Self-Rule

LONDON, March 4 (AP) — Two West African groups demanded today that Britain's Gold Coast colony be granted immediate self government. During the past few days the colony has been swept by riots in which 25 persons were reported killed.

A joint statement issued to a news conference by the West African Student's Union and the West African National Secretariat contained the demand for self government. The secretariat is made up of West African nationals in London.

Referring to the disorders which began last Saturday the statement accused police of firing on "unarmed and defenseless men."

"In view of these circumstances," the statement continued, "the people of the Gold Coast rightly demand immediate self government, convening of a constituent assembly to formulate plans for effecting transfer of power and the recall of the Governor."

The British sloops Actaeon and Nereide are steaming toward Accra, the Gold Coast capital, from Simonstown, South Africa.

A British government statement in the House of Commons Monday attributed the rioting to Communist incitement.

According to the Colonial Office, the disorders were touched off when the Ex-Servicemen's Union, a minority group of veterans, left a prescribed route of march in Accra and converged on the residence of the Governor, Sir Gerald Creasy, to present a petition. The nature of the petition has not been disclosed.

(United Press said the demonstrations were against the high cost of living and unemployment and that British authorities at Accra imposed censorship on news dispatches. An announcement said the territorial Governor henceforth will "supervise the press." Private sources in Accra said that a form of censorship had been going on for several days, causing an undue delay in press messages.)

Shots were fired, the Colonial Office here in London said, after police attempted to divert or stop the rioters.

C. of C. Delegation to Tour Philippines

A delegation from the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce will make a trade survey of the Philippines this summer.

Chamber President W. P. Fuller Brawner announced also

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AFRICANS HELD PRO-SOVIET

Report Suggests British Build Confidence Between Races

WASHINGTON, June 27 (UP)—The Foreign Policy Association said today in a report on British rule in West Africa that "more and more" Africans would show increasing interest in Russia as they became better educated.

The report was prepared by Dr. Vernon McKay, who visited West Africa under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. He found many natives complaining that British progress toward Africanization of the colonies was too slow.

"Africans are likely to show growing interest in the methods by which the Soviet Union has developed its backward areas," he said. "In Freetown, capital of Sierra Leone, a number of newspaper editors are pro-Russian in their attitude toward the present Soviet-American world conflict."

Dr. McKay concluded that what British West Africa needed was faster Africanization of the civil service, more vigorous efforts to improve industry and agriculture "and great emphasis of the psychological problem of building mutual confidence between races."

Velebit Gets Welfare Post

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, June

institutions in their respective countries. There are glaring contradictions in so many of the statements made.

For instance: Mr. Eden talks of ameliorating the conditions of the subject peoples. The Foreign Secretary, however, envisages a post-war world still in the terms of Empire and Imperialism. This constitutes the fundamental conflict with our point of view. We want not only the end of Nazism and of Fascism, but also the end of Empire and "democratic" Imperialism. The Colonial peoples have clearly demonstrated their antagonism and their resentment against the Empire by their attitude in Burma, Malaya, etc. Furthermore, we consider that there can be no solution of the economic and social problems of the world, nor any permanent and lasting peace, while the system of Imperialism continues to function—even within the most democratic political structure.

N :—This is the very thing I have come to hear you talk about. Could you formulate some of the reforms that you think the different native peoples would themselves choose ?

P :—What we envisage as an ideal solution of post-war reconstruction is the *application of Clause* 3 *of the Atlantic Charter to all peoples, regardless of the stage of their social development. The organisation of the economies of all Colonial territories should be made for the benefit of the peoples there under their own direction and control.* Furthermore, we would like to see the collaboration and co-operation of all the lands which now comprise the British Empire put on a Federal basis, evolving towards a Socialist Commonwealth. Such a Federation should have as one of its aims co-operation with the peoples of Europe, of the Americas, and other countries of the world.

N :—Give me a concrete example of how this should work in one of the Colonial territories.

P :—We'll take the West Indies first. There is no fundamental racial or religious antagonism which stands in the way of any immediate advance there. *Politically* the West Indies have reached the stage where reforms could be instituted at once. Democratic institutions, based upon universal adult suffrage, including fully representative institutions and *responsible* administration should be set up. This is the form of administration which should be the basis for local self-government in the different islands. The islands should then be federated to form the United West Indies. The Federal administration would assume responsibility for governmental services applicable to all the territories concerned. *Economically* the natural resources of all the various territories should be nationalised so as to provide a basis for carrying out needed social reforms to be evolved by the respective self-governing units. Such a programme can be applied during the course of the war without impeding the war effort. Rather would it serve as a stimulus to the population by giving them something concrete to fight for as the first step towards the realisation of the New Order in their territories.

N :—Anyone who has been to the West Indies realises at once that the coloured people, who form an overwhelming "national majority" over the whites there, are indeed "Europeanised" or "Westernised Africans" as they have been called. How could it be otherwise after the three centuries of their transplantation from Africa, and because of their constant contact and mingling with the white Antillians ? But what of Africa ? Would you institute the same kind of reforms there immediately ?

P :—With respect to West Africa, a similar approach could be made. The various political institutions should be democratised as speedily as possible. The principle of self-government, territorially as well as municipally and in the villages, should be based on elected councils reflecting the interests of the people in place of so-called Indirect Rule, which is a form of administration imposed upon the African communities from *above*. As soon as this foundation had been consolidated, the four units—Sierra Leone, Gambia, the Gold Coast,

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Nigeria, which now constitute West Africa—should be federated along the lines suggested for the West Indies.

The apparatus of government, both locally and at the centre, should be transferred to Africans, because they can learn the art of government only by practising it. As it is, while the executive and directive authority in the Colonies is in the hands of white men, as heads of government departments, the actual performing of the routine work of administration and the running of daily life are already done by native Africans. This applies to all branches : judiciary, constabulary, civil service, post office and communications, press, transport, education, church, food-distribution, medical service and nursing, health and municipal services, and all the learned professions. In every walk of life Africans constitute the representative elements.

N :—As do coloured West Indians in the British Antilles. Now I should like to hear about the opposition to these reforms.

P :—I would say, briefly, that it is this : The ruling class in Britain, especially those with Colonial interests, is afraid that if the political machinery of government is transferred to the natives, even to the middle-class section of the indigenous population, the way will be open for the more progressive political elements, who are the champions and defenders of the working class, to get control and introduce legislation furthering its economic and social interests. It is this fear which is at the base of Crown Colony government.

N :—I have seen some of that fear myself, a very ugly thing besides causing at times quite ridiculous situations. How does the Crown Colony system operate.

P :—It reserves to itself the right to a majority in the legislature. This majority preserves the economic and imperial interests of the rulers and can hamstring legislation to which they object. In the words of Lord Moyne : "The supreme authority of the Governor must be preserved, and it is essential that he should have the necessary powers of 'certification' and 'veto'. . . . It is an essential feature of non-self-governing Colonies that the Executive Committee is purely advisory to the Governor and that matters which come before the Governor in Council are not settled by vote, and that the Governor is not bound to accept the Council's advice." Here, then, is the reason for all opposition to reforms, and particularly to any reform leading to *responsible* self-government.

N :—What is the feeling in the Colonies about the present forms of Government ?

P :—At the present moment there is widespread agitation throughout the Empire, or, to use a Whitehall expression, "the non-self-governing sections of the Empire," for constitutional reforms. This should be welcomed, for it indicates political maturity on the part of the subject peoples. You see, *political* self-government is the necessary pre-requisite for bringing about *social* and *economic* amelioration.

N :—That is very interesting. Many people hold that the first reforms should be along economic lines. They lay emphasis on the progressive economic measures symbolised by the new Colonial Welfare Development Scheme put forward by the Colonial Office, which has the support of those concerned with the welfare of Colonial peoples.

P :—*No; we want constitutional, that is, political, reforms first.* Because unless we have control of the machinery of government in our own hands we shall never be able to institute the necessary new social and economic measures, and, what is more, see that they are carried out. Just so long as the carrying out of such reforms as are promulgated is left in the hands of others there is no guarantee that they will be implemented.

In our next talk I will make some comparisons between the government of Ceylon, which has the most advanced form of Colonial government, and that of the other Colonies.

Leone and *The West African Pilot* of Nigeria have made representations to the authorities through their columns and the intermediary of their editors. Over here, Negro organisations like the International African Service Bureau, and others, have held well-attended protest meetings, and from reports and enquiries I have had from the large Negro population in Cardiff, I understand that they are most resentful and indignant over the business and besides calling protest meetings, are raising questions with the local parliamentary member.

N :—I am glad you have raised this matter in some detail, because it goes down to the very foundations of the whole Colonial system. But where did we leave off last ?

P :—I was saying that I am in favour of full self-government and complete autonomy for the Colonies in their internal administration This would take the form of fully elected representative Councils based upon universal adult suffrage free from any restrictions by way of income or property qualifications. Candidates for Membership should likewise not be subject to property qualifications. The veto powers of Government should be completely abolished. The elected members of the Councils should be not only *representatives of* the people, but also *responsible to* them. This is what I am advocating for all the Colonies. But all are not yet themselves asking for this ; they have not all reached this stage as yet.

N :—What about Ceylon, the most advanced form of Colonial government ?

P :—There the form of government is fully *representative*, but it is not yet *responsible*. Ceylon is now asking for the latter form, and that the veto powers of the Governor be abolished.

Jamaica, which we may call "the second type of Colony," has been asking for both *representative* and *responsible* government. The Colonial Office is prepared to grant one form only—*representative*. It says it will give Jamaica what Ceylon has. But Ceylon and also Jamaica, to my mind, should be granted both forms. Looking back—the Donoughmore Commission, which was sent out to Ceylon in 1927, made certain recommendations in connection with the new Constitution ; these were watered down by the Labour Government, that is, by Lord Passfield, when it was promulgated in 1929.

N :—And how does West Africa, which is the most advanced section of the British Colonies in Africa, compare with Ceylon and Jamaica ?

P :—What West Africa is asking for is not even representative government. All that is asked for is universal adult suffrage, a majority of elected members on the Councils ; the introduction of municipal government, and the abolition of Indirect Rule. Let me quote a recent discussion in the House of Commons in which Mr. Reginald Sorensen embodied the demands and aspirations of West Africa :

> Mr. Sorensen asked : "Whether the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies will, in view of the relevant clauses in the Atlantic Charter, announce plans for the more rapid democratisation of West African institutions including the native authorities ; whether he will frame proposals to establish adult franchise, to eliminate official majorities on legislative councils, to appoint at least six Africans to the Governor's Executive Council in each Colony and ensure that a majority on municipal councils should be Africans ; and whether African democratic organisations and personalities will be consulted to this end ?"

This is the answer that Mr. Harold Macmillan, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, gave him :

> "It continues to be the policy to introduce representative institutions in West Africa as the local populations become ready for them. But His Majesty's Government could not lend themselves to the pretence of framing proposals for establishing adult franchise in communities where that system can have no reality." There were already nominated

African members representing local communities on the Legislative Councils "well qualified to advise the Governors on constitutional questions."

Mr Sorensen then said "Does the right Hon. Gentleman appreciate that his reply will not give satisfaction to West Africans ?" The proposals which had been put forward for West Africa had the support of representative Africans, and was it not necessary that the Government "make some great endeavour to impress West Africans with our determination to assist their political progress ?"

But Mr. Macmillan replied that it was "very difficult to deal with the matter by question and answer," and "it requires much more general discussion of the large number of important problems which arise from the question."

This is the kind of thing that goes on in the supreme forum of the British Empire ! West Africans are denied adult suffrage because it is felt that this would have *no reality* in their communities ! However, Lord Moyne, whom I have already quoted, is less ambiguous : "*The supreme authority of the Governor must be preserved, and it is essential that he should have the necessary powers of 'certificate' and 'veto'* "—these are his words.

N :—What is the difference between the Governments of Ceylon and of Jamaica—the two most advanced Colonial methods of administration ?

P :—The Legislature of Ceylon is called the State Council and is composed of 53 members. Forty-three are elected by universal adult suffrage and the other 10 are nominated by the Governor and are either government officials or representatives of vested interests.

Jamaica has at present a Council of 14 elected members and 14 nominated by the Governor ; some are officials, some unofficial, or business men. The proposed reforms would increase the 14 elected members to 28 ; the nominated ones would be reduced from 14 to 1 .*

Other Colonies such as Trinidad, Gold Coast, Nigeria, etc., have constitutions which provide for three types of members :—

(1) Councils composed of official members nominated by the Governor as heads of various Government departments, known as "nominated official members."

(2) Nominated unofficial members.

(3) Elected members.

N :—What sort of people are they generally ?

P :—Club associates of the Governor. You see, the Governor comprises in his person a kind of trinity. As representative of the King, he is Viceroy ; as head of the Executive, he is Prime Minister ; when he sits in the Legislature, he is the Speaker. He is, as it were, omnipotent, and his right to nominate members is unquestioned. So in the Legislature you will find the Planters' Association, the Bankers' Association, the Merchants' Association, and the Shipping Association. If, within the territory, there is a minority of any importance, its representatives are also there. Now, in the Council the members sit round a horseshoe-shaped table. The official members face the Governor ; on his right sit the unofficial members, and on his left are the elected members, mandated on a restricted franchise.

In Africa a certain number of native chiefs sits among the Europeanised African members. However, of the four West African Colonies, Gambia has no elected members. In the East African Colonies there are neither elected or nominated Africans in the Legislatures. The Governor usually nominates some missionary or retired official to represent the Africans.†

In Malaya, until the British were "run out," as General Stillwell put it, the British ruled through native Sultans. This was a form of Indirect Rule, a

* See *Chapter IV—West Indian Constitutions*

† See *Chapter V—Political Reforms in Africa*

In 1900, the Royal Niger Company, an organisation of merchant adventurers, relinquished the charter it had been granted in 1885. The Foreign Office took over and sent Colonel Lugard to develop British power in the hinterland as a means of stopping French and German encroachments on the northern parts of Nigeria. With a native army recruited from the Hausa people, Lugard marched northward and completed the conquest of the Mohammedan sultanates of Kano and Sokoto. This was at the beginning of the century, when the Home Government was busy with the Boer War and in no position to send him reinforcements to quell hostile tribes and guerilla bands. Faced with the immediate problem of establishing some form of administration to maintain "law and order," Lugard was obliged to improvise. It had been the British custom to banish chiefs once they had surrendered, but Lugard was forced to make use of them. He invested them with administrative powers, promised to respect their religion and customs, but made it clear that they were responsible to their British over-lords—who, in the words of Margery Perham (lecturer at Oxford on Colonial administration), were now "over all."

So, making a virtue of necessity, Lugard introduced "Indirect Rule" which, with many amendments, has become the favoured means of British rule in Colonial territories. In practice, a diffuse native bureaucracy has been superimposed upon the old feudal and tribal systems. The chiefs are no longer subject to the democratic control of their people, but derive their powers direct from the Government by whom they are controlled and supervised.

Indirect Rule was soon discovered by British officials in Nigeria to be a cheap method of governing wide stretches inhabited by primitive peoples. The experience and views of the earlier political officers were collected and later rationalised into a new philosophy of Colonial government. The present complex machinery of administration has been elaborated out of the first crude makeshift. Native administration has political powers of a most limited kind, but powers of function which make it the catspaw of the Imperialist rulers, and the scapegoat for all forms of mis-rule and despotism. To "maintain law and order," administer "justice," collect taxes, and supply forced labour, are its principal functions. The native administration is presided over by a Paramount Chief, who is assisted by a Council of sub-chiefs and headmen whose composition is subject to the approval of the Central Government. Connecting-links between African administration and Central Government are the British officials, the Residents, Provincial and District Commissioners. Directed by the advice of these men, the chief is in a position to exercise the greatest despotism.

N :—Would it be correct to think that, of the two, Crown Colony and Indirect Rule, the former system contains more scope for Democracy ?

exactly describes the growing attitude towards [illegible]

N :—Then, obviously, a change of governmental form is necessary ?

P :—Most certainly. But apart from the necessity of having a Council and responsible government in order to institute plans for the amelioration of the conditions of the peoples generally, *constitutional* control of the apparatus of government would enable us to revoke and rescind all obnoxious legislation of a semi-Fascist kind, such as : Colour Bar, Pass Laws, Forced Labour Regulations, Child Labour, Direct Taxation in the form of Hut and Poll Levies, etc. All of these have come into being as legal forms following legislation. Quite lately there has been introduced into Kenya the regulation making forced labour compulsory for all males from 16 to 65. This has been provided by enactment of the Governor-in-Council, in order to afford a plentiful supply of the cheapest kind of labour for the planters of the Colony.

N :—There are Colonies, Protectorates, and Mandated Territories—What is the difference between Colony and Protectorate ?

P :—The names are arbitrary divisions only.

N :—And what about Mandates ?

P :—They are the same as Colonies ; they have Governors and Councils. The only difference is that when the Governor writes his annual report for the Colonial Office, he makes an extra copy which is sent to a Committee sitting in Geneva. That is all it amounts to in the way of difference. For instance, for government purposes the Cameroons is incorporated in Nigeria and subject to exactly the same legislation.

N :—Are Governors subject to revision from London ?

P :—In theory, the Governor and his Council can legislate for the territory under his jurisdiction. Legally-enacted legislation may be rejected by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London, who has over-riding powers to throw out any Bill which the Colonial Legislature may pass.

N :—Have all measures to be submitted to Whitehall ?

P —No. Only when opposition in the Colony is reflected through the Council and they appeal to the Colonial Secretary, who is called in to arbitrate the issue. Let us presume that a quarrel has arisen between some of the Council and the Governor. The Secretary of State may then say : "Your Excellency, I think this measure should not be passed." But normally, when the Governor intends to introduce a new law, it is usually discussed in the Executive (not the Legislative) Council ; all Bills must be proposed by the Governor. The Executive Council is the Governor's Cabinet, as it were, but is advisory only and he need not accept its advice. When the Bill has been agreed upon in the Executive, the Governor has the text of it drawn up by the Attorney-General, who then reads it in the Legislative Council ; there may be three meetings to discuss it there, but members have no power to throw it out. If they feel

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POLITICS

A Program for NCNC

It will be remembered that Dr. Azikiwe and his delegation from the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons ("NCNC" - see Transcripts, No. 12, p. 192) in the course of their journies abroad, were received by the Secretary of State for Colonies. They presented their 15-year plan (African Transcripts, No. 12, p. 193), and were advised by Mr. Creech Jones to return home and help to give the "Richards Constitution" a fair trial.

In connection with this incident, the "News Letter", which is published in London by the League of Colored Peoples, interviewed Mr. George Padmore, and published his remarks in its issue of October (1947, pp. 190-192). Mr. Padmore is quoted by the "News Letter" are saying that this rebuff is no more than could be expected, as Mr. Creech Jones was one of the fathers of the Richard's Constitution. "Freedom" observes Mr. Padmore, "is not a gift to be handed out by those who deny you freedom. It must be fought for and dearly won...The important thing is that the Delegation has not been ignored in politics".

After these reassurances, Mr. Padmore outlined the procedure that should be followed: "The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons", he advises, "should convene a National Convention... to ratify the Delegation's draft Constitution", and "adopt, as the Nation's Programme of Action, the 15-year transitional plan..... In this situation the country should be called upon to support all boycott measures adopted by the NCNC to make ineffective the working of the Richard's Constitution and the British Government-sponsored economic plans, and at the same time adopt ways and means to implement the NCNC's Constitution and positive economic programme!"

It will be interesting to see how much of this advice "Zik" and his followers will accept. If "Zik's" daily articles in the West African Pilot are any criterion, he is prepared to give it a try.

I Politics

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Politics S.A.

Discussing the future of "settlement colonies" on a recent BBC broadcast, Sir Philip Mitchell warned against "the interpretation of democracy which says that two fat heads have a right to prevail over one long one". In African settlement colonies he says, exclusively Negro or British or Indian states or societies are impossible, and "all are committed to a joint enterprise, an entirely new society and polity,... which stretch, in the broadest sense, from Cape Town to the borders of Ethiopia". The standards and values are to be those of Britain, and everyone, whatever his origins, has an interest and a part. Its working out, he says, is a long range purpose, requiring adjustment, modification and unlimited patience, within the framework of the law. Mr. Graham Hough, writing in the "New Statesman and Nation", says the only Colonial policy that Britain can pursue is "simply the old trusteeship slightly gingered up"; but it must be put in force energetically and quickly, and with stern determination to brook no sabotage from Right or Left.

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POLITICS

Headline Summary

1. Empire Politics, affecting Africa

(a) General: - So much of Africa is ruled by the Colonial Ministries at "home" and the Colonial Empires are so wide-spread, that the political vicissitudes of a homeland may be expected to be reflected all over Africa to some degree. Every colonial territory, however, has enough local representation or articulate public opinion to keep local administration very fully occupied with local problems. It is the exceptional Colonial Minister that has the energy and drive effectively to bridge the distance between his office and the remote dependencies. Rarer still is the one who can or dares spare the time to go and see and learn for himself. Thus new homeland philosophies are often quite attenuated by the time they have percolated to the levels of application in the field - where they are sometimes found impracticable anyway.

Under such circumstances "politics" in all dependencies conform to a pattern which varies from territory to territory only as to the relative importance of the following factors: (White settlers work for self-rule with White supremacy, economic as well as political; (2) Big business works for monopolistic concessions, complete with labor; (3) other alien racial groups demand equality in all ways with the Whites; (4) a handful of Native "intelligentsia", smoldering, frustrated, resentful and vociferous, agitate for "Africa for the Africans", "Down with the color bar", etc., at the same time demanding increased free services while (5) Government, with its indirect rule, its co-operative schemes, its marketing boards, its Durbars etc., tries to hold down the lid.

One more factor must not be overlooked - the vast mass of the people, the "ignorant man and his wife with a hoe". Protected from their neighbors and themselves with modern medical aids, education, sanitation, machinery, cash crops, world markets, etc. these people have multiplied, and will perhaps double in 30 years. So far they pay little attention in general to the agitators, wanting only to be left undisturbed to plod their accustomed way. But some how, some day, some fire brand will touch them off.

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Nigeria's NCNC has internal strife, said to arise from traditional antagonism between Yoruba and Ibo peoples. Acting President, Magnus Williams, expelled, but refuses to resign until NCNC accounts for the £13,000 collected for "Zik's" delegation. A section of the Press professes to see great political implications in case of Mr. W.T. Fox, (ex-chief censor given 18 months at hard labor for stealing money orders), since he publically supports the self-government movement.

Jan 1948

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3/48 March - 1948

Nigeria's Political Triangle

Nigerian politics shape up as a three-way contest between "Zik" nationalism, the anti "Zik" nationalists, and the Nigerian Government. "West African Review" in its February (1948, pp. 146-6) issue carries an article by "Scrutator", who is a Nigerian resident and well known commentator on the ramifications of Nigeria's politics and prospects for the future.

"Zik" embodies the extremely aggressive, near-violent, explosive type of nationalism, ruthless, and intolerant of any opposition. He is idolized, almost deified by a great body of young Nigerians. Through his chain of the "West African Pilot" and four other newspapers he is in constant contact with his followers all over the country, and keeps his propaganda continuously before the public. The Government and, in-

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March 1948

Western Africa

Nigerian National Democratic Party calls off boycott of Legislative Council and Lagos' three elected representatives (one being "Zik" himself) will take their seats. 33

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In spite of NCNC denials of internal dissention, Africans are publically opposing NCNC, and Zik Press states Magnus Williams has been expelled and will be "tried and punished" for disagreeing with Council. A National Yoruba Organization is forming under Sir Adeyemo Alikija, to counter political dominance of the Ibo tribe, of which Zik is a member. 34

March 1948

POLITICS

All West African National Congress

In his New Year message from London to all colonial peoples of West Africa and "freedom lovers the world over", Mr. Bankole Awooner-Renner, Chairman of the West African National Secretariat, called for the support of a planned conference to be held on African soil in 1948.

Mr. Awooner-Renner opened his message with a reminder that the West African National Secretariat had been formed in London a little over two years ago by representatives of West Africa in answer to a long-felt need for unity, freedom, and independence for West Africa.

> Speaking specifically of the proposed 1948 Congress, Mr. Awooner-Renner said:
> This Congress is not the first of its kind to be called by the West African people; it is a continuation, however, in a wider sphere and activity, of a similar congress called some twenty years ago.
>
> ...We are determined in our task of National liberation, and your support financially and morally, will aid the struggle further than it is today. We will welcome your donations, large or small. (West African Pilot, Jan. 13, 1948)

The news of the All-West African National Congress was greeted with enthusiasm in some sections; and some organisations such as the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, the Gold Coast United Convention, the Sierra Leone Youth League, and certain national leaders of Gambia indicate an intention of giving active co-operation to the West African National Secretariat in making this 1948 Congress a reality.

In an editorial referring to the West African National Congress, the West African Pilot states:

> In the realms of politics, economics, education, and other social services, there is certainly enough similarity, and in some cases identity, among the problems facing British West Africa as a whole-and enough fully to engage an All-West African Congress in its primary task of tightening the strands of destiny that bind the West African peoples together. The impassioned appeal from London is therefore, more than worthy of the spirited response of all West Africans. (West African Pilot, Jan. 14, 1948)

According to present plan, the All-West African National Congress will be held at Lagos, Nigeria, from October tenth to twentieth, 1948. The main objective will be the formulation of a plan for the unity and National independence of all West African peoples, leading eventually to the Democratic Federation of All West African Territories, and the furtherance of immediate political economic and social demands. The peoples of West Africa will be represented at this Congress by their political, cultural, or educational organisations, Trades Unions, co-operatives or Farmers' organisations, by their natural rulers, and any group of individuals who desire to attend.

In Gambia, the people are being encouraged to "get-together" with every organisation and Native Authority in their territories to discuss their own demands and

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the objects of the coming Congress. Also, it is being suggested that Congress Committees be formed in Gambia as in Senegal, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, Portuguese Guinea, French Sudan, Liberia, Equatorial Africa, Belgian Congo, Cameroons, Gold Coast, Nigeria, Togoland, and Dahomey with the purpose of drawing together all the organisations and Native Authorities to discuss the aims and organisation of the Congress, to give it publicity, and to solicit and collect money needed for its organisation.

In preparation for October 10th to 20th, a Congress Reception Committee is being set up in Lagos, Nigeria to organise accommodations, technical arrangements, and social activities for the Congress.

The first actions to be taken by the Congress are as follows:

> Immediately before the first Congress the Reception Committee will call a meeting of at least one delegate from each territory to decide the arrangements and to form a Praesidium for the Congress.
>
> The first Congress will consist of delegates from all organisations, from Native Authorities and of individuals. But it will aim to set up immediately National Councils. These will be asked to elect a Supreme Council consisting of representatives from each National Council. This will be mandated to guide the work between Congresses to take any necessary decisions and to call an emergency Congress if necessary. The Supreme Council will elect a Secretary General and and also a Secretariat consisting of such Officers as may be needed, to carry on the day to day administration. The Supreme Council may delegate such of its powers as it may choose to the Secretariat which may not, however, take decisions affecting the policy of the Congress. In all these bodies delegates must be democratically elected by the members of their organisations. (The Gamiba Echo, Feb. 2, 1948)

The above is considered a suggested framework for the West African National Congress to accept, alter, or reject. The people's task is to be prepared for long and careful discussions and to take a responsible part in the Congress.

West Africa and the World will probably be hearing more of the West African National Congress in the fairly near future.

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deed, the Nigerian peoples in general do not yet seem to realize what power Zik can wield.

The anti-"Zik"ists are somewhat scattered, individuals and organizations who see in Zik nationalism a danger - and an obstacle to t. their own ambitions. The foremost of this group is the Nigerian Youth Movement, once active and progressive, but now seemingly lacking any plan except opposition to Zik, through the pages of its organ, "The Daily Service". If the waning Youth Movement were to cooperate with the Government, it might make considerable headway among the moderates and stable elements of the country, but its leader, Dr. Maja, a respected, successful business man, is by himself no political match for Zik.

The Government was slow in awakening to Zik's potentialities, and handled the situation so ineptly that Zik's press could hold him up as a martyr. The Governments own newspaper, "The Nigerian Review", took up the cudgels, the Law Courts prosecuted Zik's publications for libel and sedition, and the Government withdrew its advertisements from his papers. The (former) Governor himself referred to Zik publically as "the Apostle of Disunity", the "Oracle of Onitsha", etc., - all of which direct opposition gave Zik's Press the golden opportunities by which they quickly profited. Thus Zik and his NCNC continue their work of spreading confusion and discrediting the Government at every turn, making political hay in their nationalist sunshine.

Actually the large majority of the Nigerian peoples of varied races and cultures have no political awareness at all. They remain outisde the political arena, generally unconcerned, usually co-operative with the Government, properly critical on occasion, but interested in Development Plans and such which seem worthwhile to them. Most of all, they are genuinely interested in the welfare of their country..

This amenable body of the people is so much in the majority that the Government, it is feared, grossly underrates the situation. Zik is a firebrand, his nationalsim is dynamite, and Nigerian youth can be the fuse. The Government must somehow win Zik's cooperation; must present to the people plans of action, acceptable to them , that are patently realistic, practicable and constructively far-reaching. The future depends on mutual goodwill, confidence and cooperation amongst all races, cultures and creeds.

(2) recommends that the Administering Authorities concerned foster association and co-operation of the Ewe people, and assist them to develop their capacity for self-government through free discussion among themselves and through progressively increasing opportunities for primary and secondary education;

(3) invites the Administering Authorities concerned to present to the Council a more precise statement of the proposed measures to be undertaken with regard to the problem of co-ordination in political, economic, social and educational fields, and to submit to the Trusteeship Council at appropriate times special reports on progress made....

(4) Invites the Administering Authorities concerned to consult with each other and whenever appropriate with the Ewe leaders with a view toward evolving further measures for fulfilling the wishes of the Ewe people as expressed in the petitions, and to include in the reports to the Council the developments in this regard;

(5) decides that the first visiting mission to the Trust Territories ...shall devote special attention to the problem set forth in the petitions and to implement measures designed to cope with the problem;

(6) agrees to re-examine the problem stated in the Ewe petitions at the session at which the report of the visiting mission to the Trust Territories of Togoland under British administration and Togoland under French administration shall be considered.... (United Nations Trusteeship Council, T/19, December 12, 1947)

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On the threshold of her second century, Liberia faces a brighter economic future, and politically and socially a more progressive one. Education has, in recent years, been made compulsory, but lack of funds and personnel has precluded a determined enforcement of this regulation. Nevertheless, the number of schools is gradually growing, and it is hoped that with an increase in teachers and school buildings that obligatory attendance will be gradually implemented. Adult suffrage has been introduced, and the vote has now been extended also to women.

Fortunately, too, for Liberia at this turning point in her fortunes, she enjoys the leadership of a progressive President, in the person of William V. S. Tubman, who, anxious to give the 3,000,000 indigenous inhabitants an honest Government, is making every attempt to weed out corruption, even from the highest ranks of Americo-Liberian officials who administrate the country.

Small in importance, Liberia's centenary has not been overlooked by the larger Powers. The British Government sent H.M.S. "NIGERIA" to Monrovia to greet the Republic and have also presented it with reproductions of Magna Carta and the Habeous Corpus Act of 1679, to commemmorate the occasion. As a token of the fraternity of Africans and people of African descent in London, the Pan-African Federation marked the occasion by a meeting of celebration at Friends House on July 31st, at which the Liberian Minister in London, **Baron de Linden,** gave an outline of the country's history. **Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe,** who is the author of a recognised work on Liberia, also addressed the meeting. Other members of the Pan-Nigerian delegation were present, as well as members of the diplomatic corps of several States. The meeting sent greetings to the Republic of Liberia.

BRITAIN'S PROBLEM CHILDREN.

(Copied from "Mother and Child," November 1947).

Among the many problems to be faced in Britain as a result of the second world war, is that of illegitimacy among its population. Most pressing, however, is that of the illegitimate child whose mother is white and whose father is coloured—especially so in cases where the fathers are among the coloured American troops stationed in Britain during the war.

The present trend of public opinion in countries predominately inhabited by white people is definitely against coloured peoples, and the somewhat large increase in Britain's coloured population creates a problem which is bound to tax the patience and genius of sociologists, educationists

and social workers. The main consideration is, of course, that so many people are disinclined to face the question of intermarriage squarely and they show a definite objection to association between Negro and White peoples; more than ever they resent marriages between the two peoples.

This article does not set out to present a case for or against intermarriage but it accepts that it is a question which is always discussed in an atmosphere of prejudice and ignorance. In any event the supporters of intermarriage and those against intermarriage—particularly Negro-White marriages—appear to have numerous instances to prove their own case, even though they may be adequately informed on the material and urgent aspects. Too little is of course known to enable the presentation of a strong case on either side and therefore the antagonists should seek for some extensive research on this increasingly important social aspect, especially with a view to finding out how far results of these racial inter-breedings have proved the case either way.

The general view is that mixed marriages can and do hold a great risk when considerations are given to personal happiness and it is even suggested that race-mixture is biologically harmful. It will be well to bear in mind, however, that every marriage is a risk and that many risks are worth taking. The most important consideration is that of the children which result from the relationships, and in this matter attention should be given to the type produced. The general remark is that the children of mixed marriages are never of the best type; but this observation is made without having regard to the circumstances of the parents themselves. Intelligence tests conducted in South Africa and in Australia have indicated that there is little difference between the intelligence of black and white children. Quick sight and hearing helps intelligence in children no matter what their colour. On the other hand stupidity is often the result of disease, insufficient food and poor upbringing. Consequently to find the cause for inferior development of coloured children—or in fact of coloured peoples—one should rather look at the conditions under which they live. The probability is that these children may then be found to be more gifted as well as more unstable; but the instability may be more the result of social environment than a matter of heredity. There are many well known instances of great ability among the offsprings of mixed marriages and of mixed peoples and the offsprings constitute a somewhat considerable portion of the world's inhabitants.

Children of Negro Troops.

The problem now engaging attention is that of the children born of white mothers and the American Negro troops

who were stationed in England during the war. No conclusive figure can be given but it is reassuring to find that the figure is much lower than was first imagined. A report published by the League of Coloured Peoples, which does not by any means boast of being comprehensive, reveals that the total figure is in the region of 550. This report is the result of an enquiry made in a number of counties and country boroughs throughout England and Wales where coloured American troops were known to have been stationed. It was found that some 544 children were born to 536 mothers, 89 of whom were known to have been married, 95 unmarried and the marital status of the remaining 352 unrevealed. The great difficulty in obtaining authentic figures both of the number of children and the parents has been to get the women to supply the information, so that these figures represent only those women who reported to Welfare Workers and assistance boards because of straightened circumstances. The reticence of women, particularly of married women, whose husbands were at the time in the British Forces, to come forward and draw attention to any lapse on their part makes it difficult for the actual figures to be brought up-to-date. Further, a good many women who found it possible to do so changed the districts in which they were known because they feared the publicity about the time of the delivery of the child, hence the figures representing certain areas appears small compared with the number of cases which are known to exist.

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The main point, however, is what is to be done to assist these mothers to look after their children and what methods should be adopted to integrate this new coloured population into the community in such a way as would remove from the minds of the children the handicap of illegitimacy which is sure to act as a hindrance to their progress.

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We are already convinced that so far as school life is concerned, little difficulty is ever experienced because children mix quite freely. The problem arises when they leave school and have to enter industry. Colour is already a recognised hindrance to most of the educated people in Britain so we can well imagine what colour plus the unfortunate cloud of illegitimacy coupled with the conspicuous reflection of having been brought up in a home exclusively set up for such cases, would mean psychologically to the children themselves.

The present state of public opinion in the countries predominantly white is such that these children are subject to social disadvantages which illegitimate children of pure white parents will never experience. The child of mixed parents in any community is always in an ambiguous position for it is only the more kindly disposed and more liberal minded citizen who shows any unwillingness to ignore the minority characteristic and give such children a place in the com-

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munity which is parallel to that given to white children born in similar circumstances.

Alternative Suggestions.

What then is to be the future of the coloured illegitimate whose mother is English and whose father is among the coloured American servicemen now back in their homes in the United States? Some suggest that the child should be sent to its coloured parent others suggest that as far as possible the child should be adopted into the coloured communities in the West Indies and other parts. In any event, one point which must be faced is that these children are British and with Great Britain directing a strong eye to her population it would be easy to carry out a large programme of immigration. On the other hand, helpful as the American Authorities in Britain might be in granting visas and permits to these children, it is not easy to secure the necessary guardians to take the children to the United States and deliver them to foster parents. Again, the process of enquiry which is necessary to enable a willing foster-parent to take a child must be very stringent to ensure that the child is being accepted into a proper home. Whichever course is adopted a great deal of time and money would be required to develop such a plan.

The next course open would be to establish a home to house such children. The point arises, however, that since the patterns of colour segregation are so obvious, bringing up such a mixed population, with the misfortune of illegitimacy as a hindrance, under such plan would be against the best principles of later integration. It has already been the experience of many welfare workers and parents that recognised homes have refused to take coloured children because of "colour."

The only reasonable solution therefore is to develop a foster parent plan in Britain and subsidise those persons who are willing to adopt a coloured child into their homes. The subsidy should provide ample financial assistance to enable those children who show an aptitude for school work to proceed further, and there is no doubt that a good many of them would, with such opportunity, be a credit to the community in which they are brought up.

The problems which are to be faced in an effort to re-make home life among the mothers of some of these illegitimate children are threefold—(a) some married women have been able to bring about reciprocity with their husbands on the condition that the coloured child is taken away from the family circle, (b) some of the single women find Englishmen willing and ready to marry them on the condition that they get rid of the coloured child, (c) some of the single women are living in such poor conditions that it is impossible to bring up the child properly.

WEST AFRICA

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Points of View . . . . Question and Answer . . . . Mass-Education

"COLONIZATION has a bad Press in some quarters today; but I would ask those who criticize it, often in sharply worded phrases, what would have happened in Africa, for instance, had the European nations abstained from intervening? Ought the Natives to have been left in the condition in which we found them, and which your great LIVINGSTONE and STANLEY have so eloquently described? Could the improvement of their conditions have been achieved without the establishment of European rule, without the assistance and supervision of Europeans? The experiment of leaving the Natives to administer themselves has been made in two African countries; they are in many respects the most backward countries in Africa. Can any men of good faith, comparing the position in Africa only half a century ago with the position today, fail to admit that, while all is not yet perfect, at least an immense improvement has been obtained?"

Verdict of History

These questions were put to a London audience just over one year ago by the then-Belgian Minister for the Colonies, Monsieur ROBERT GODDING. He ventured to say: "there can be only one reply to these questions; and although a great and heavy task still awaits us in what used to be called the Dark Continent, yet that which has been achieved in most African Colonies, within less than a century—and in the Belgian Congo in little more than a quarter of a century—must command respect and may confidently await the verdict of history, even though we take into account all the shortcomings inherent in every human undertaking."

Almost one year later, last November, a West African organization at a meeting in London adopted among its resolutions: "that the continuation of the Colonial system is a menace to world peace; and that complete independence for Colonial peoples everywhere is the only approach to ensure world peace." This first resolution is somewhat weakened by the last that "if any decision is taken to establish a trusteeship over the former Italian colonies, the claim of the Soviet Union to trusteeship in this area be considered, since other nations, such as the United States of America and the United Kingdom, already attach claims to trust territories."

There are perhaps better instances of the confused "African-nationalist" approach to political realities than the two latter quotations, but they will serve well enough to illustrate the conflicting points of view which distinguish certain Africans and certain Europeans when these approaches are made. We may dismiss the little puff about the Soviet Union as an indication of from what direction certain self-styled West African nationalists are hoping for support, should their particular dreams come true. Since "trusteeship" is a lower rung on the ladder of political progress than "Colony" it is impossible to reconcile the sweeping generalization about the Colonial system being a menace to world peace with the expression of partisanship for yet another candidate in Colonial areas.

But we cannot so lightly dismiss the first resolution, because it is symptomatic of the "loose thinking" which must be cleared away if 1948 is to be a year of healthy colonial development. Overlooking the fact that the words: "Colonial system" cannot be applied without precise definition (for instance, it is historically accurate to say that Liberia was "colonized" by Coloured peoples of mixed African descent), it is wholly impossible to account for the splendid contribution made to the Allied victory by Colonial troops from all Allied countries, by suggesting that such a "system" was a menace to world peace. To say that the complete independence of Colonial peoples (who are by far a minority of the world's population) would solve the problems of war-shattered Europe is the veriest nonsense.

Indeed, we can understand the point of view of an impatient reader who asks: "why notice this kind of talk? Surely you don't take that sort of thing seriously!" We would reply that there is no question of taking these arguments seriously or not. We record these quotations because they are symptomatic of an African *malaise* which hinders healthy development.

* * *

The *malaise* lies in the fact that for every ten vocal individual Africans or organizations that disseminate extreme propaganda, there is less than one responsible African who feels either responsibility or inclination to counteract such propaganda by means of spoken or written truth. The importance of the year 1948 for British West Africa will depend largely on this unknown quantity. Will responsible West Africans, leaders of opinion, hereditary rulers, cultured and educated, realize that it is up to them to see that their interests are not damaged by half-truths and distortion of facts which may impress partially-educated Europeans, but which has no chance of convincing the hard core of well-informed Colonial opinion in the European countries.

African Initiative

However tempting it may be, for these Europeans, to subscribe to MR. GODDING'S frank expression, in the form of question and answer, it is not enough. If there is to be a continuation of development in West Africa, whether economic, social or in any other sphere, it can be done only by West Africans themselves taking the lead and insisting that on every possible occasion, where mis-representation of the facts is being practised it is their responsibility as good citizens to contribute to the dissemination of truth. There are, of course, many Africans who, to their credit, have so acted in the past and will do so in the future, but the voices have been disproportionate.

The question which we would borrow from Monsieur GODDING and ask Africans, particularly West Africans, to answer in this new year is: "Can any men of good faith, comparing the position in Africa only half a century ago with the position today, fail to admit that, while all is not yet perfect, at least an immense improvement has been obtained?" Because on the sincere answer to that question depends whether West Africans are prepared to accept the proferred European assistance on their road to development, or whether they want to return to the idyllic patriarchal Arcadian life which some West Africans would have us believe pre-European West Africa to have been.

* * *

The departure of a Mass Education Officer from the United Kingdom to the Gold Coast precisely at the end of 1947 is worthy of particular comment in the first issue of WEST AFRICA for 1948. It was nearly four years ago, in the

issue of January 22, 1944, that WEST AFRICA summarized a report on *Mass Education in African Society*. After listing all the varied duties of Mass Education Officers, attention is drawn to what would be the essential qualifications: "They should be genuinely interested in the welfare of the community they were selected to serve; they should be able, by tact and by their general bearing, to gain the community's confidence at the outset; and they should have a bent for teaching and for sociological and kindred studies." Since the publication of *Mass Education in African Society*, it is understood that the views of officialdom on the subject have been modified—understandably, since conditions change with the passage of years. But it is doubtful whether the qualifications of Mass Education Officers will be different in 1948 from what were considered to be necessary in 1943, the date of the report.

Agents for Africa

It is pleasant to record, therefore, that so far as personal observation in these matters can be taken into account, MR. A. G. DICKSON certainly appears to be possessed of the essential qualification—"a genuine interest in the welfare of the community" he has been selected to serve. Omitting the mention of his experience in Europe, MR. DICKSON'S work during the war in connexion with the education of East African soldiers has resulted in the fact that he is going to the Gold Coast, fully prepared to meet with obstacles. He does not expect to carry all before him and suddenly to produce, out of a hat as it were, the solutions to all the problems of mass-education. On the contrary, he has availed himself of every opportunity prior to his departure, of consultations, in order to begin his task with a mind open to suggestions.

Like many others before him, who are pioneers in an undertaking, he has been careful to point out that he must, by the very nature of the newness of his appointment, be a learner first of all. He realizes that he does not know all the answers, but he believes that the answers can be found. He is fully conscious of the development already made with education in West Africa; and he is prepared to cooperate at all stages with those who have, in spite of facile criticisms, prepared the very ground on which it is now possible for a Mass Education Officer to stand. There is always a danger of expecting too much from small beginnings. There might be a tendency for some of us to say: "After four years, the beginning. Let us hurry forward to the work of mass education."

It would be unfortunate if MR. DICKSON'S appointment should be associated with any such form of wishful thinking. Mass-education is in no way synonymous with mechanization. It is not an "open sesame" to a new Africa, where every village has its own schoolroom, playing-fields, hospital and social centre. It is only one stage on such a road. Nor can it be primarily concerned with the mass production of literates. Its first aim must be to work in with existing African ways of life in an effort to restore, where it has been lost, the higher meaning of citizenship, and to inspire in "less-developed" and "primitive" peoples an appreciation of what is perhaps best described as a "fuller life."

Because of the emphasis which is still popularly laid on "literacy," as a fundamental of "mass-education," the task of the Mass Education Officer is likely to undergo, in this respect, its greatest period of tension. As soon as any attempt is made to lay the emphasis on "education," rather than on literacy, someone is sure to raise the cry that "Africans are to be kept in their places. They are not fitted for the white man's education." It will be just here then that Africans will be able most to assist "Mass Education Officers." "Africans themselves must be the main agents in improving African life." The high reputation that Africans from the Gold Coast enjoy in the world today, should be an encouragement to MR. DICKSON. The rest of West Africa, and the larger world outside, will wish him every success in his important task, as his achievements will certainly be watched with expectancy and hope.

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NEW YEAR MESSAGES

From West African Governors and Governors-Designate

NIGERIA

I gladly accede to the Editor's request that I should send a message to WEST AFRICA for its New Year number. It would not be wise or prudent for one whose knowledge at first hand of West Africa is so slight, and so remote in time, to express at this stage any views about present conditions or future prospects. I will only say that my wife and I became so attached to Nigeria and its peoples, during our brief sojourn there from 1937 to 1939, that we were very reluctant to leave the country. And now we are very happy to be returning. We send to WEST AFRICA our best wishes for its continued success, and to its readers our friendly greetings and our good wishes for happiness and progress in the New Year.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

GOLD COAST

I am glad to send, through the New Year issue of WEST AFRICA, a short message of greetings to all its readers, and particularly to those in the Gold Coast. I am greatly looking forward to taking up my new duties in the Gold Coast early in the New Year. The responsibilities that will rest on me will be heavy, but the foundations of progress have been well laid by my predecessor, Sir Alan Burns, and I know that in building on them I can always rely on the help and support of all those who have the welfare of the Colony at heart.

GERALD CREASY.

SIERRA LEONE

1948 dawns on a world confused, a world which, so far from having recovered from the effects of the war, seems to have fallen still further into chaos. But it is an ill wind that blows nobody any good; and the war has served to show the people of the United Kingdom how closely their interests are joined with those of the Colonial peoples. Further, the great dislocations which have occurred in the markets for primary produce offer the Colonial territories an opportunity which they have never had before of establishing their economic position on a sound and progressive basis.

In conveying to the people of Sierra Leone my best wishes for the coming year, I do so in the sincere hope that 1948 will bring to them increasing prosperity and well-being.

G. BERESFORD STOOKE.

GAMBIA

The Gambia starts the New Year with a new Constitution. The Legislative Council now has its first elected member and an unofficial majority. The Executive Council will include, for the first time, an unofficial element. This notable reinforcement of representative government is matched by the problems with which the territory will be confronted.

In the economic sphere, the Colony has expectations, as yet unconfirmed, of the inception of measures designed to increase the productivity of the Protectorate by mechanical means. Such measures, if found practicable, are likely in the first place to be applied to the long-established cultivation of oil seeds on which the country so largely depends. If, however, outstanding problems of water control and salinity can be overcome, the richest hope of extending cutivation would seem to lie with the production of rice and other crops in the marsh lands of the middle and upper river belts.

1948 should thus be a year of investigation and experiment in the extension of agriculture; and it is with eager anticipation of promising developments, both in the economic and political fields, that the good wishes of the Gambia are addressed to WEST AFRICA.

VERNON CAMERON'S Page

BRITISH WEST AFRICA IN 1948

Retrospect and Prospect

THAT vast area of a Continent called British West Africa has in its long history known many episodes which to dim thousands and tens of thousands and perhaps millions of its people must have seemed enigmas to which they could guess no answer. But it may be that most of those enigmas did not present themselves to the whole community at one time. This is not to say that some of the enigmas were anything but piercing. Who, in our day, can begin to imagine what a slave-dealing raid must have meant to the people of the district selected as victim!

At this time, the position is different (mercifully so, as regards that central point). The people are now faced with problems the nature of which would have been outside the comprehension of those in that earlier time—as indeed it would have been to the people of most parts of Europe. The West Africans are now within the orbit of world commerce and world prices. There are probably 30 millions of West Africans. (The accent of slight doubt derives from the fact that most of the census-taking has been quite unreliable. In one area, as was shown by Mr. Kuczinsky, whose death is a sore loss to science, it became a farce which, in other circumstances, would have been exhilarating).

Old and New Struggles

My acquaintance with them goes back something more than a year for each of these possible millions. In that period, they have played in two terrible wars a part which won for them the warm admiration of British commanders. It would be difficult to mention one who, after working with them, omitted to praise and thank them. Now they are engaged in a fight which, though of a different kind and with another objective, is also stern and long. It is a struggle to produce the last ounce possible to contribute to the stock of raw material and food which will enable manufacturing communities outside Africa to make, and send to Africa, goods of the kinds which Africans greatly need.

There must be an end of that state of things which the Purcell report laid bare half a dozen years ago, with communities (in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast in that particular instance) living (or existing) on 500 to 600 calories, compared or contrasted with the 2,500 or 3,000 described today as much too little for people in Europe. It is to be hoped that leading members of the unofficial majorities now in parts of West Africa are alive to the need for presenting their views on this vital aspect.

Only those who prefer to pass through life with eyes shut can have failed to note the extent to which the success and the lasting usefulness of an enterprise, whatever its size, can be fined down, not perhaps wholly but decisively, to the work, character and personality of one man or (in an increasing number of cases) one woman. That holds good of West Africa as of every other human community. There are tribal individualities, to which insufficient attention has so far been paid. Such individualities are not peculiar to West Africa. The institution is found virtually everywhere.

Recognition of this local individuality has in West Africa scarcely begun. Some of the older readers of this paper, at all events African readers, will recollect that, until quite recently, the people of the four Colonies (like Africans in other parts of British Africa) were just lumped together by the Colonial Office and by the politicians speaking for it in Parliament, as "the Natives". The paper nagged at the Department until in course of years the word "African" began to be used, which is at least a little better; and the tendency to use the newer and more accurate style was greatly strengthened when Mr. Ormsby-Gore (now Lord Harlech) took up the matter and did much to drive home consciousness of the fact that these many races are all individual, and all different from one another.

Now, one believes that it is not merely desirable but, if the Colonial effort is to be a success, absolutely vital that this recognition of individual characteristics shall be carried further—a great deal further, and this without delay. In what way? By accepting the fact that the members of each great section prefer to work with their fellows of the same part of the family, and will not have the best drawn out of them except in so far as this principle is honoured. It is not the simplest thing in the world, for many of the races—the fine Yoruba stock, for example—fare further afield; but the main part of the stock is almost always found sticking fairly close together and, given real recognition of their idiosyncrasies and real conviction that, in official quarters, each section has something fine and honourable to contribute, there need be no hesitation whatever to believe that widespread benefit will result.

Five Informative Expressions

At any rate there is this to be added in reflection: It is high time, and more, that some new method of approach to the people be made; for the failure—over a century and a half in one part, over an average of about a century taking the area as a whole—of existing methods is plain to all who use their eyes and their intelligence. The other day, one read in the London Press the report of a presentation of books to the new Government of Burma, a pleasant gesture gracefully acknowledged by spokesmen of that Government. British West Africa's has been the opposite method. It has recently presented to Britain, by way of people very well qualified, several books the teaching of which Britain cannot ignore except to her great and continuing loss, moral and material.

First we had from Professor Daryll Forde, Dr. Richenda Scott and Miss Perham: *The Native Economies of Nigeria* (Faber & Faber), a careful, accurate, helpful account of conditions, revealing incidentally lowness of life and income since fully confirmed in a striking article in *The West African Review* (December, 1947) by Mr. Claude Barnett (Director of the Associated Negro Press of the U.S.A.) whose appreciation of the courtesies of the authorities in Nigeria has not inhibited him from making the blunt avowal that, dismal as he had found conditions in some of the U.S.A. back blocks, he had seen nothing anywhere which for dire poverty and low standard of life compared with what he saw in Nigeria.

Dr. Miller is Frank

Next we had the book: *Have we failed in Nigeria?* (Lutterworth Press) by Dr. Walter Miller, most of whose life has been passed in Nigeria; a book one of the saddest I have read, because of its evidence that it is pain and grief to the author to have to say "yes" to his own question. About the same time, came Lieut.-Colonel W. R. Crocker's *On Governing Colonies* (Allen & Unwin), with its memorable statement, by an author himself an ex-political officer of Nigeria, that from what he had learned first-hand, half the political (so-called administrative) men would leave tomorrow if they could get their pensions. Finally—for the present—came Mr. Awolowo's *Path to Nigerian Freedom* (Faber & Faber), which has evoked from the Governor of the country, Sir Bernard Bourdillon, a tribute so distinguished.

If anybody can study those five expressions of testimony, each the outcome of experience and none of them anti-British, his heart doesn't seem to be of the right make. If his sense of what they have to teach him isn't quickened by reflection on the part for which great African areas and their people will be cast by the contrivers of international mischief, his weakness of heart must be a slight matter compared with the weakness of that part of him supposed to contain brains.

WEST AFRICA AT WESTMINSTER

Transport Bottlenecks

WEST African groundnuts were again discussed in the House of Commons before Parliament adjourned on December 19; Mr. Dodds-Parker asking the Secretary of State for the Colonies how many tons of groundnuts were estimated to be stored up-country in West Africa? and what was the reason for the delay in bringing them to this country? The Secretary of State for the Colonies replied: "On December 4, there were 70,642 tons of groundnuts from the 1946/47 crop stored up-country in Nigeria; and a further 46,625 tons of the new crop, making a total of 117,267 tons. Difficulties on the Nigerian railways are responsible for the delay in clearing these crops and much attention has been given to the problem. In this connexion, I would refer the hon. Member to the reply given on December 10 to the hon. Member for Abingdon (Sir Ralph Glyn).

Mr. Dodds-Parker: May I ask the Secretary of State to point out, to those responsible for Colonial development, the need to concentrate on transport to move those commodities already produced before producing more of them?

Mr. Creech Jones: Transport bottlenecks are pretty common in many Colonial territories just now; but we are concentrating on that matter and trying to get all necessary material in order that these difficulties are removed.

Mrs. Jean Mann: Is there any truth in the statement that the crops are likely to be endangered by locusts?

Mr. Creech Jones: That hardly arises out of this Question.

Major Legge-Bourke: Is there likely to be, or has there already been, any deterioration of the 1946/47 crop?

Mr. Creech Jones: From my information, no!

Discipline Among African Troops

Mr. Sorensen asked the Secretary of State for War whether discipline has or has not deteriorated among African Colonial troops, since corporal punishment has been abolished? and what punishments are inflicted for offences, that formerly would have involved corporal punishment?

Mr. Shinwell: I have called for a report on this matter from the military authorities overseas and I will write to my hon. Friend when it has been received.

Mr. Sorensen: Does that include the latter part of the Question as well as the former part?

Mr. Shinwell: Certainly, Sir.

Harbour Facilities in Cameroons

Dr. Segal asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any improved harbour facilities are projected for the British Cameroons? and when these are likely to be completed?

Mr. Creech Jones: The existing harbour facilities in the British Cameroons, which comprise a deep water wharf at Tiko (the property of the Cameroons Development Corporation) and a deep sea anchorage at Victoria, are considered ample for the existing volume of trade. Consideration has been given to a proposal to extend a wharf at Bota (owned by the Cameroons Development Corporation) to permit coastal vessels to berth alongside, but I am advised that the present volume of trade would not justify expenditure on the scale which would be involved by such an extension.

Appointments in West Africa

Mr. Skinnard asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies how many administrative appointments have been made in West African Colonies during the past year? how many appointments have been made in the technical departments during the same period? and what steps are being taken to increase the numbers and improve the status of civil servants in the technical departments?

Mr. Creech Jones: Since January 1, 358 appointments have been made by the Colonial Office to the West African territories, of which 108 were to the Colonial administrative service. It is, of course, for the Colonial Governments to decide the relative numbers of officers required. The establishments of the technical departments have in most cases been considerably increased since the war. As regards the last part of the Question, my hon. Friend will be aware that the salaries of all officers in West Africa have recently been substantially improved, and the salary scales of engineering, educational, agricultural, forestry, veterinary and other technical departments are the same as those of the administrative services.

Gold Coast Students

Mr. Erroll asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies how many Gold Coast students are at present in this country? and how many are studying law or allied subjects?

Mr. Rees-Williams: According to records in the Colonial Office, there are at present 283 Gold Coast students in the United Kingdom, of whom 30 are following legal studies. It may also interest the hon. Member to know that, of these students, 180 hold scholarships and 103 are private students. Of the law students, three are scholars and the other 27 are being maintained from private sources.

French Colonial Difficulties

IN an article in the July/September number of *Economie Contemporaine* M. Paul Devinat discusses the economic problems of the *Union Française*. He says that the main failing of Governments of the Third Republic can be summed up in the inability to create, in the country, a conception of the Empire which would have roused public opinion; and to establish, on a wider basis, the development of French Overseas territories by attracting capital to Africa and Asia and by winning the enthusiasm of the young generation.

The *Union Française*, he writes, is not a formula. It is the only means left to France of preserving her place in the concert of nations, and to guarantee not only her own independence, but also the independence of the people for whom she has taken responsibility. If France abandoned her task, if she only carried it out imperfectly, other nations were ready to step in for her ruin and to the great chagrin of the populations whom she will have let down. Speaking of the disorder and slowness of the administration, M. Devinat says that lack of unity in the Government was not helpful in assisting the task of the high Colonial officials.

The immediate dispatch to the Colonies of consumer goods the buying of which can alone give incentive to the Native to increase his production, the setting up of decent but efficient labour rules, the awakening of an administration which seems to have fallen asleep, are cited as indispensable conditions for rebuilding French economy overseas. It had to be admitted, says M. Devinat, that, so far as simple technical skill was concerned, France had been left behind by the majority of other Colonial nations. She never lacked professors nor research workers, but these have never been given means by which any appreciable result could be expected.

Lack of Finance

Results would not only depend on the independence and goodwill of scientists, but on the importance and regularity of support that they would receive. Unfortunately, France was impoverished. It was only by borrowing that the money necessary for overseas development could be found. This borrowing could be subscribed by local Colonial enterprises. Foreign capital might also be attracted, provided precautions were taken to safeguard French sovereignty.

Finally, what was the will of France? "From the depth of the rice plantations of Indo-China or from the forests of Gabon," concludes M. Devinat, "one voice is heard above the lamentations and complaints. It is, what is the will of France?" France, or rather her successive Governments, has never answered, except in vague and generalized dissertations. It is time that she spoke clearly, concisely and to the point, and that she finds once more, among her children overseas, the treasure which she is in danger of losing—her authority. She will find it only by putting it to the test.

WEST AFRICA

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Another Minister for Colonial Office . . . . Cherchez "La France"

THE fact that a Minister of State for Colonial Affairs was appointed at the beginning of this week is primarily significant because of the strengthening it brings to the Government Department responsible for Colonies. The selection of LORD LISTOWEL to fill the post is noteworthy for another reason. Ever since he left the appointment of Postmaster-General to become Secretary of State for India and for Burma in April, 1947, LORD LISTOWEL has been associated with the arrival of hundreds of millions of peoples dependent on the British Government to a state of independence. For LORD LISTOWEL was connected with the negotiations which preceded the granting of Dominion status to India and Pakistan and he remained Secretary of State for Burma until the termination of that office.

More Power for Cinderella

When MR. CREECH JONES told a London audience, just over a year ago, that he had not been appointed Secretary of State to preside over the liquidation of the British Colonial Empire, he could hardly have envisaged how nearly that "liquidation" was in process of being carried out. It would be unkind to suggest to Colonials, as a whole, and to Africans in particular, that the new task of LORD LISTOWEL may well be to take part in the gradual severance of Colonial entities from the position of dependence on the Home Government. We might arouse hopes which are not likely of fulfilment during the term of office of that noble gentleman, although there will almost certainly be further grants of independence to Colonial territories during his lifetime. He is only forty-one.

We have preferred to comment on LORD LISTOWEL'S appointment in a rather whimsical way, because the significance of the office is the important factor of the news. As recently as our issue of December 13, we commented on the suggestion made in Parliament that the Prime Minister should appoint an Under-Secretary of State for Africa. We gave our reasons then for not approving departmentalization at the Colonial Office. It would be illogical, therefore, to do anything else but congratulate the responsible authorities for giving to the Colonial Office the means of greater bargaining power in British high-level deliberations, which are bound to have repercussions on Colonial inhabitants, so long as they are dependent on the United Kingdom for the conduct of their affairs.

The subsidiary result that the addition of one Minister will permit of greater contact between Colonies and Church House is also important. The growth of regionalism, in East and West Africa, in the Pacific and in the Caribbean (where it originated), will mean that one of the three Ministers at the Colonial Office will almost always have the opportunity of attending discussions in the areas for which they are to be responsible. Since it would seem that the evolution of British Colonial policy is directed to geographical decentralization through centralized regionalism, rather than towards metropolitan representation at home after the French pattern, it is well that Ministers of the Colonial Office who, for constitutional reasons, are responsible to the Home Parliament, should be frequently present at regional Colonial conferences. We are confident that the Colonial populations will welcome the innovation.

* * *

The creation of an Assembly of the Union Française will probably go unnoticed in British Colonial circles until its working is more clearly shown. It is certainly worth watching however. The French Colonial system is always worth watching, if only for the example of the late Governor-General FELIX EBOUE and the representation in Paris that has, for so many years, been accorded to deputies from French Colonial territories. The British have preferred their own approach to the Colonial question and it remains for events to prove whether or not their decisions have always been as wise or well-advised as they might have been. Recent events have, however, tended to modify Britain's traditional approach of governing by persuasion through individual local governments.

The development of regionalism in the Caribbean, the South Pacific and, to a lesser extent, in East and West Africa, was followed last year by the African Governors' Conference, when Governors of Colonies met together for the first time on a large scale, to discuss common problems with the Colonial Office. But the first indication of any approximation to the French system is the conference which will include Unofficial Members of the Legislative Councils of the ten British African territories, which is being planned for October this year. How far this conference will, in effect, give representative Colonial politicians an opportunity to voice their opinions on the home-ground, will of course largely depend on the manner in which the members are selected and the degrees of freedom of open discussion permitted by the Colonial Office.

The fact that France has not achieved complete success by her system of allowing Colonial delegates representation in the French Parliament, is indicative that we should approach any comparison between Britain's and France's Colonial policies with caution. We should certainly not overlook the psychological effect that Colonial representation on the banks of the Seine has meant to Africans in all parts of the world. For them, it has been a vindication of African potentiality. But the very reason that France should have created a new political experiment with the foundation of the Assembly of the Union Française shows that there was room for improvement on French progress in the past. The two main features of the new French Assembly are that representation to it is half-metropolitan and half-overseas; its powers are consultative.

New Political Experiment

In an editorial of July 26, we drew attention to the fact that, within the framework of the British Parliament, there existed what was, in fact, a miniature Colonial Parliament—consisting of the "relative small number of M.P.s who have that necessary knowledge of Colonial affairs which enables them to take part in discussions of vital interest to the Colonies." If the British do think of copying the French model, it would be from these Members of the Home Parliament that delegates to a Colonial Council would be mainly chosen. Similarly, the representatives from the British Colonies to a Colonial Council would naturally be elected by local Colonial governments. Simplified in this way, the new Assembly of the Union Française contains (although it also exceeds) the ideas suggested in our editorial: TALKING SHOP of July 26.

We wrote then: "Since the mere existence of Colonies postulates the responsibility of Parliament for Colonies, there would be no objection to such a Colonial Council being itself responsible to the Home Parliament. The important

thing would have been achieved. Colonials, impatient of delay, would have their 'safety-valve' within the 'talking-shop'. They would be free of the feeling that the shop is still virtually closed on their home-ground and in the distant capital. If they modified some of the feelings of frustration, that alone would be the most significant development which has occurred in Colonial affairs within a decade."

It looks as if the French, who have already earned high praise in Colonial circles for certain aspects of their Colonial policy, have forced the pace on a way which was already made. It will be interesting to see how far the new French development will succeed in arousing Colonial opinion to the extent where even the British realize that they are still out of phase, although they may be in step, with the constitutional development of Colonial territories. British traditional policy which has, in the past, been successful in many ways has also been mistaken on many occasions. It will be little satisfaction for those who champion the ideal of the preservation of the British Commonwealth if for every Ceylon there is one Burma.

THOUGHTS ON AFRICANIZATION

Privileged Minorities

By COLONIAL

BOTH Africans and Europeans are privately prepared to agree that one of the fundamental difficulties which must be removed if Afro-British cooperation is to continue, is the need for responsible Africans to speak freely on all subjects affecting themselves and their countries. From the European point of view, it is greatly desired that Africans should speak fearlessly and with authority on topics which are sometimes likely to bring unpopularity to those who ventilate them. From an African point of view it is more than the fear of unpopularity amongst Africans; it is the unfortunate position in which they find themselves in relation to their local Governments.

Having in a previous issue called for what virtually amounts to heroism on the part of those Africans who are prepared to risk unpopularity in the search for truth, let us try to impress on Europeans some of the difficulties facing Africans in Colonial territories generally and in West African Colonies in particular. The very fact that Africanization is being pursued (slowly, or not, matters little to the present argument) means that a large number of Africans, by virtue of their official position as British Civil Servants, are debarred from speaking on subjects affecting themselves as Africans.

It is this sense of frustration which has led so many Africans to give up all hope in British intentions. It is a very real sense of frustration, which is known only to Africans themselves and to the comparatively small number of Europeans to whom Africans are prepared to speak freely. In fairness to the British Government, it should be realized by Africans that the frustration is not confined to Africans. It is part of the British Colonial Service organization.

Military Organization

It was a distinguished British Colonial Civil Servant who, not long ago, likened the governing of the British Colonies to the organization of an army, with its corps and divisional commanders as Governors, and the Colonial Office as an Army Council. It was the man on the spot working through his lieutenants and heads of services who did the governing. The question of Africanization is not, therefore, as simple as its mere pronouncement would make it out to be. The African who becomes a part of the Colonial Civil Service, at the District Officer level and above, immediately becomes a part of the "military" organization; he owes allegiance to his superior officer all along the line. He is theoretically equal to the European and there is nothing, on paper, preventing him from rising to the position of Governor and even Under-Secretary of State.

In practical experience nothing of the kind occurs. African and other Colonials who have risen to high office in the Colonial Service have mainly begun with jobs far inferior to that of District Officer. This system has been praised, in Colonial Service circles, as an example of what can be done by men of good will, who are prepared to begin the hard way. Unfortunately it has led to great wastage of talent and, not infrequently, has engendered resentment among disappointed Colonials. It is small consolation to remember the comparatively few instances of those who have achieved success by a humble beginning, when we have to record a far greater number of those who have been lost by the wayside, because of the system.

Colonials are proud, sometimes exaggeratedly proud, of their fellow-countrymen who have succeeded in establishing themselves in professions and careers of high distinction in the United Kingdom, in Canada, the United States of America and in many other parts of the world. They have reason to be proud, since these successes prove, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the Colonial, given reasonable opportunities, is capable of holding his own on equal terms with any other product of modern civilization. In the same way, the Colonial Office has reason to be proud of the fact that the Colonial system has allowed certain Colonials the opportunity of proving their merits in their own countries.

Good Self-Government

But it would be shortsighted and unfair to leave the matter there in a small pæan of praise; because so long as this policy continues, it will continue to make nonsense of Colonial progress to good self-government. For every Colonial who succeeds in establishing a reputation for himself outside his own country, there are hundreds with equal potentialities but less opportunities.

Is there room for wonder then, that Colonials, who are always being asked to contribute to the development of their country, should not feel a sense of frustration, indifference or incapacity to combat forces which are too strong for them? Let us examine the case of West Africa in particular.

The reasons advanced by officialdom when surprise is expressed at the relatively small number of West African students recruited for "career" posts in the Colonial Service of the Colonies is that there are better qualified British applicants. The argument, although theoretically sound, is invalid if Africanization of the Service is to be pursued as a first objective. From a purely British point of view—from purely British criteria—Africans can only equal British candidates if they have themselves been born in the United Kingdom and enjoyed the same advantages.

Priority for Africans

The only sure way to ensure Africanization of the Service in the African territories is to give priority to Africans over Europeans. In other words, Africans in the schools should be given the opportunity of choosing their own Civil Service as a career in the same way that they choose professions of the law or medicine. Training could be largely carried out in local West African Universities in the future, but a beginning could be made now, with many hundreds of Africans who have acquitted themselves creditably at British Universities in the United Kingdom and elsewhere.

Since the Colonial Service of each African territory constitutes the machinery of local government, it is only when sufficient Africans are employed in a majority of all positions in the African Colonial Service that Africans and local government can be associated together as responsible parts of a whole. When that stage is reached, it will be worth investigating how far "Non-Governmental" and "Governmental" Africans will be able to contribute freely towards the discussion of their own problems. Any other policy is bound sooner or later, to lead to an increase of disunity amongst Africans and the growth of special privileged minorities who, willy-nilly, must be yes-men of the present administration.

LAND AND FORESTS

Increase in Use of Gold Coast Timbers

HOW the position of forestry in the Gold Coast was, and still is, largely affected by the prevailing conditions of land tenure is clearly stated in a recent Gold Coast publication *Empire Forests and The War* which says that the land belongs to the Stools representing the tribes; and that use of the land within the tribe is governed by Native customary law. Private ownership in land is not recognized in this, only rights to the usufruct. But at the time when Native customs in land tenure developed, since there existed only subsistence food farming for a small population with ample land available for long forest fallows, the tenure of land was of relatively little importance and no clear rules governing it are known.

Few Accepted Boundaries

The boundaries between the land owned by the various tribes are rarely known or fixed. Up till comparatively recent times, migration of tribes due to war, slave raiding and pestilence was common and, as the population was so low, unoccupied areas were available for these migrations. Only on stretches where a large or well-known river such as the Pra, Tano or Offin came between tribes and formed a natural boundary were there any accepted boundaries. Over the rest, the boundary was generally a wide belt of uninhabited forest, over which both parties claimed ownership and, as it was only entered by occasional hunters, the necessity for a settled boundary never arose.

That the land remains entirely in the hands of the people has always been the policy of the British and Colonial Governments; but so jealously has this been guarded by the Natives that the only Bill to determine boundaries and settle a land code ever proposed raised such an outcry that no legislative action has since been taken. All disputes are, therefore, only referable to the law courts and are appealable up to the Privy Council.

Frozen Forest Reserves

With the increase in population, the development of mining and the introduction of cocoa, a semi-permanent cash crop, land has come to have a value. The Stools extend their claims to land to the utmost as a potential source of mineral wealth and to satisfy the increasing numbers of their tribes, especially as the areas open to food farming have been greatly reduced by cocoa farms. Few intertribal boundaries are yet settled and disputes increased greatly in frequency in the pre-war years. As a great deal of the reservation of forest was in the uninhabited areas between the tribes, the Forest Reserves are specially affected; many large areas are "frozen" from all exploitation and development, as they are declared and protected as Forest Reserves under the Ordinance but, their ownership being in dispute, they cannot be settled, finally constituted and managed.

As ownership is not altered by reservation, all income derived from Reserves returns to the Stools though, in certain cases under the Forest Ordinance, where the Reserve is managed by the Forest Department, one-third of the revenue can be retained by the Colonial Government, to cover management costs. As there was no appreciable demand on the Reserves, and none were being exploited, this did not matter greatly at the time.

Dominance of Cocoa Crop

The introduction of cocoa as a crop in the Gold Coast has had a manifold effect on the forest, which was fully operative in the period 1934/38. The spread of cocoa farming greatly increased the rate at which the forest was being destroyed to give place to farming throughout the Closed Forest zone. The whole farming population planted this cash crop in their food farms. Food farming methods, however, based on shifting cultivation and a forest fallow, did not alter; but as the areas which formerly would have been fallow were now under cocoa, the primary or very old secondary forest was constantly being encroached upon where available.

Where it was not available, as in the more densely populated areas of the Eastern Province of the Colony, this led to shortening of the fallows, soil degradation, the invasion of grass and savannah conditions, and the deterioration of the cocoa accelerated by the appearance of the Swollen Shoot disease. It also led to migration of the population, mainly Krobos and Akwapims, to the less densely populated and more heavily forested areas of the country to the north and west. In these areas, they purchased land, thus upsetting the bases of land ownership within the tribe in the Akan system of land tenure as given above.

The dominance of the cocoa crop, which requires a high relative humidity, did lead, however, to more extensive reservation of forest to ensure climatic stability. In the Krobo and Akwapim lands, however, cocoa cultivation had reached such an extent that reservation of forest on a sufficient scale was impossible, whilst in the surrounding areas reservation was hotly opposed; and in certain reserves, constituted under the Ordinance, difficulties were met in settlement, as considerable areas were found to have been purchased for future cocoa farming by Natives foreign to the tribe holding the land.

Loss to Forests

The alienation of land under forest to farming, with the destruction of the existing crops by cutting and burning, was the most serious loss the forests had to face during the pre-war years. The general position was anomalous, in that a heavily forested country with a great variety of potentially useful trees had an extremely low *per capita* consumption of converted timber, restricted almost entirely to one species, odum (*Chlorophora excelsa*), a comparatively low *per capita* consumption of firewood, and an export trade restricted almost entirely to another single species, mahogany (*Khaya ivorensis*). The selective demand for these two species made practically no impression on the forest as a whole, and only in certain restricted areas round the mines was there any forest destruction through direct demand for firewood. All supplies were drawn from outside the Forest Reserves, which could not be developed through lack of effective demand.

Rise in Local Demands

The working of forest areas rendered accessible during the war is likely to be permanent, except in the event of a catastrophic fall in world timber values. A much larger area than before the war will always be exploited to meet local demands, which have risen considerably and are likely to rise still further in the future. Timbers for which there was only a restricted pre-war demand and which are almost certain to remain in general demand are cedar, kusia, baku, kaku, danta, scented guarea, avodire, nyankom, emeri, dahoma, African walnut and aprono.

Wawa is one of the woods which may be developed with the introduction of veneer mills, whilst esa which may form up to 30 per cent. of the forest crop has been tested for plywood at the Forest Products Research Laboratory, Princes Risborough, and found to be excellent. Of minor forest products, sibri mats and local twines are the most likely to remain on the local market. It is not known whether the rattan cane, now being exported, will be able in the future to compete with supplies from Singapore.

Wooden Houses will Increase

The standard of housing is improving, involving the use of much larger quantities of sawn timber. It is anticipated that when the extra sawmill production now under plan comes on to the market, prices will drop and wooden houses progressively increase in number. The partial use of wooden sleepers, to replace the former metal ones, by the Railway seems likely to be permanent, especially in view of a proposal to install a pressure treatment plant.

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One of the main features of wartime developments has been the use of a much wider variety of species; and it may be anticipated that a use will be found for other species, at present unmarketable, particularly in the plywood industry. This will have a profound effect upon silvicultural practice, inasmuch as regeneration of many species formerly regarded as "weeds" will be acceptable for incorporation in the main crop. Previous to the war, the Forest Department had very little experience of direct supply work, attention having been directed almost entirely to conservation and related work. At the outbreak of war, the production of pitsawn timber was largely uncoordinated and in the hands of very small units, with the exception of the recently organized cooperative society in Ashanti. The services of the Department were required to bring to the maximum and canalize this production.

Sawmill Development

Except towards the end of the war, millsawn lumber was of comparatively little importance. The emphasis has already changed; and sawmills are likely soon to make pitsawing of minor importance, especially as trees of the desirable species become less accessible, thus making pitsawing uneconomic through excessive carrying charges. The production and supply of sawn timber is thus passing more and more into commercial hands and the Department is not likely to be called on again to deal directly in this material.

The war is not said to have taught any lessons about the need for adequate reserves of forest produce. Production facilities and transport, and at times labour, were the only limiting factors; and at no time during the war was anything but a small fraction of the potential annual yield of any item of forest produce utilized with the possible exception of mahogany and wild rubber. Forestry in the Gold Coast has no direct connexion with any reconstruction programme, though the increasing mechanization of the timber industry is bound to absorb many trained ex-Servicemen.

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"FRANCE OVERSEAS"

To be Represented in French Government

M. P. O. LAPIE in *France* (December 5) writes:—"A new political Assembly opens its doors. They are imposing doors. They are those of the Palace of Versailles. This famous place, witness of so many memories, has been destined to welcome the Assembly of the Union Française. What is this institution? Must it not be considerable, in view of the fact that the most magnificent palace of the Kings of France should be provided for its purpose?

"This institution has been created by the new constitution of France; its appearance in the régime is a novelty. It marks a new chapter in the history of constitutional laws. It is the representation in the government of France of all the overseas possessions. It was, in fact, one of the characteristics of this Constitution to deal with the colonial problem. It sets out the principles which must exist between what was formerly called metropolis and colony; it anticipates the existence of a Council of the Union Française; it is this Council which today addresses itself to its tasks.

"France comprises, with the peoples of its overseas territories, a Union founded on equality of rights and duties, without distinction of race and religion." So expresses the preamble. It concludes with two paragraphs underlining the French wish to guide the peoples towards their own government, within the Union Française, and rejects every system of colonization founded on arbitrariness or force.

The organs of the Union, according to Clause 63, are: The President of the Republic, the High Council of the Union Française and the Assembly of the Union Française. With regard to the first two organizations, let us say in passing that the High Council is a Council of Government which assists the President of the Republic on colonial questions. Let us examine in greater detail particulars of the Assembly of the Union Française as it actually exists.

Composition of Assembly

This Assembly is composed half of members representing metropolitan France and half of representatives of departments and territories overseas. These overseas members will be elected by the regional assemblies of their territories. The metropolitan representation is guaranteed by delegates chosen, as to two-thirds, by the National Assembly; and as to one-third, by the Council of the Republic. By virtue of Article 71, its powers are consultative.

Power of legislation, in the matter of penal law, civil liberties, political and administrative organization, remains always in the hands of Parliament. As may be seen, it is a considerable innovation that has just been introduced in French institutions. And it will be judged precisely to the extent in which France succeeds in the future in associating with its political life its overseas territories. Once more, therefore, France is carrying out her mission of political experiment. But this experience is likely to prove this year particularly delicate. In fact, the foundation of the Assembly of the Union Française rests with the local assemblies. Now these local assemblies have hardly been formed. They are not yet mature enough to administer their own regions.

From now on, they must select men who will have to be in the spotlight of the general political world of the country, that is to say, of France and the whole of the Union Française. It is asking very much of men still new to public life and quite newcomers to international life. But France places confidence in these new men, in these new assemblies, in these young forces that it has liberated from slavery. It thinks that the apprenticeship of liberty will be difficult; that sometimes, perhaps, it will suffer therefrom; but that the hope of this liberty is the finest ideal that it can offer to men of all races and all colours who live throughout the territories of the Union.

COLONIAL "JIG-SAW" PUZZLE

Most "Colonies" Outside Africa

By a Special Correspondent.

THE appointment of a Minister of State for Colonial Affairs presents an opportunity for reviewing the present organization of the Colonial Office. The office of Secretary of State for the Colonies properly dates from 1854, less than one hundred years ago. It was not until 1925 that a new Secretaryship for Dominion Affairs was set up, thus leaving the office of Secretary of State for Colonies concerned with the dependent territories. So the present office of Secretary of State for the Colonies will have existed, as it is today, precisely 23 years in July of this year. The office of Minister of State for Colonial Affairs was inaugurated on January 4, 1948. The office of Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies is recorded in the Colonial Office List as far back as 1825; and Parliamentary Under-Secretaries can be traced, in the same publication, to the year 1830. A Deputy Under-Secretary of State is first recorded in 1931.

Assistant Under-Secretaries

These main offices today comprise the existing executive machinery for the ultimate conduct of British Colonial affairs. The Secretary of State also has principal advisers on most subjects such as development, education, medicine, etc.; and new advisers on special subjects are still being appointed at intervals. But responsibility for detailed administration rests mainly on the Assistant Under-Secretaries of State who are individually responsible for departments. The Colonial Office List for 1946 is again very helpful. One Under-Secretary is responsible for Appointments, Ceylon and Pacific, Colonial Service, Establistment. Another is responsible for Commercial Relations and Supplies, Communications, Marketing. Another had been seconded that year and his duties were not given. Another was responsible for Eastern, West African; one for Finance, Production, Research; one for Information, Mediterranean, Middle East; and another for East and Central African, General and West Indian.

The information is also given that the International Relations, Social Service and Welfare Departments are under the supervision of a Superintending Assistant-Secretary. There have been changes since the 1946 Colonial List was published. There are today two Deputy Under-Secretaries of State and there has been re-allocation of the responsibilities of Assistant Under-Secretaries. One is now responsible for Africa. Two are individually responsible for Economics and Production, but the functions overlap. One is responsible for the Mediterranean; one for the West Indies and the Far East; one for Social Services and International Relations; and there is a Superintending Assistant-Secretary for Colonial Service, Ceylon and Pacific.

Towards Regionalism

In recent years, therefore, there has been a noticeable direction towards regionalism as a basis for allotting the responsibilities of Assistant Under-Secretaries. There are also geographical heads of departments and principal officers responsible for one or more of the individual dependent territories. What of the territories themselves, which are administered by the Colonial Office? Mr. Oliver Stanley told a London audience recently that, when addressing his compatriots on the subject of Colonies, he always offered them an alternative. They could listen to him or they could spend the time writing on a piece of paper the names of all the British Colonies. It was not often that he got accurate lists, he said; although the latter offer had often been accepted by certain members of his audience.

How difficult it is to write a complete list of British Colonies is illustrated by a note in a recent document from official sources on dependent territories administered through the Colonial Office. The note says that the list "is not comprehensive, as there are a number of islands and rocks, throughout the world, which are British or British protected territories but are not included in any Colony or Protectorate. Many of such islands have no permanent inhabitants."

Using this list as reference, we find nine geographical groupings. Including Bermuda, British Honduras and British Guiana (none of which are, strictly-speaking, West Indian territories) we find that the oldest and most numerical of the British Colonies are in the American area. There are twelve individual Colonies in this area, with their own forms of government; none of them being exactly similar. The twelve Colonies have nine Governors between them. One Colony has four presidencies and small dependencies; one Colony has two dependencies; and four Colonies share one Governor.

Included in the American Hemisphere is the Colony of the Falkland Islands and its dependencies. In the Atlantic, St. Helena is a Colony and has two dependencies: Ascension and Tristan da Cunha. In the Far East, four Colonies are listed and one Protectorate. In the Indian Ocean, there are the Colonies of Mauritius and Seychelles; and the Colony and Protectorate of Aden. In the Mediterranean, there are three Colonies: Cyprus, Gibraltar and Malta; and the mandate of Palestine now in process of termination.

In the West Pacific, Pitcairn is a Colony (with an estimated population of 126 and a land area of two square miles!) and so are Fiji and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. There are two Protectorates in this area and an Anglo-French Condominium. In British West Africa, there is the Colony of Gold Coast, the Colonies and Protectorates of Gambia, Sierra Leone and Nigeria, and the two trusteeships of British Togoland and the British Cameroons. In East Africa, there is the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya. Tanganyika is a trusteeship. British Somaliland is a Protectorate under military administration since 1941. Uganda is a Protectorate, and so are Zanzibar and Pemba.

Five African Colonies

Speaking strictly, therefore, there are only five Colonies in the whole of Africa; and yet Africa is undoubtedly the major part of the Colonial Empire. The appointment of an Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Africa was a step in the right direction of straightening out the tangle of the Colonial Office loose threads. The mere classification of the thirty-two British Colonies is sufficient indication to show how much of a "jig-saw" puzzle the British Colonial Empire has been in relation to London and how far it still so remains.

Anyone who thinks that the Colonial Office has now reached the final stage where its organization has finally been arranged to meet the needs of the "Colonies" will be disappointed with the thought. Not until a thorough process of decentralization has been carried out, and a distinction made on the basis of individual stages on the road to self-government will that clarity of vision be realized without which the pace of progress of one Colony is likely to interfere with that of another. Palestine should have been taken from the Colonial Office long ago: Cyprus, Gibraltar and Malta are hardly concerned with the main activities of the Colonial Office now. They could be administered through the Commonwealth Relations Office and Gibraltar through the War Office, more profitably.

The West Indies, too, would be more wisely administered through the Commonwealth Relations Office. The argument could be pushed further; but enough has been said to show that the problems of Africa deserve special treatment by the Colonial Office and that the office should be reorganized to deal adequately with these problems. It is not so much an African Office that is wanted as a Colonial Office free to deal with Africa. Nor is Africa the only part of the dependent Empire to suffer. What is suitable for Africa has not always been suitable for the dependent territories. And yet certain Colonial Officials with previous African experience have not always appreciated this fact.

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PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT IN SIERRA LEONE

Is Planning Divorced from Realities?

By R. B. Wellesley Cole

A GRAVE situation is developing in Sierra Leone. There is every sign of an impending threat to friendly relations between people and government in this "ancient and loyal" Colony. Progressive Africans believe in cooperation between the races. We are not Anglophobes. We realize that our future largely depends on our own efforts—hard work, constructive thinking, unity, and broad enlightenment. Above all, we must be able, as a race, to produce a steady stream of well-equipped youth of sterling quality to man the various departments of government and public life.

But to do this, we must be guaranteed political, economic, and educational freedom of development. On the other hand, we have in the present Secretary of State a man who is generally acclaimed as a friend of Africans, who has made a special study of Colonial affairs, and who has surrounded himself with a band of keen and efficient young officials. How is it, then, that the present serious situation in Sierra Leone has developed? Have we here the spectre of Planning divorced from realities, namely the wishes, background and stage of development of the people concerned?

Whatever the views of a powerful section of opinion in London may be, on such subjects as ownership of land and minerals in the Colonies; whatever may be the economic and military position of the Empire now that Asia with its reservoir of cheap labour and supplies is gone, the fact remains that, in the present stage of West African development and world opinion, physical or political force is out of the question. Only cooperation, free and equal, between British and African can yield results.

Instance of Fourah Bay Fundamental

The particular instance of Fourah Bay College is fundamental to all that is happening in Sierra Leone. Readers of this paper hardly need be reminded that Fourah Bay is the oldest and perhaps the best example of cooperation between Missions and people in West Africa. It is not always realized that, in addition to student fees, West Africans have so far contributed in bequests endowments and scholarships some £30,000 to it. Today, Sierra Leoneans of both Colony and Protectorate have inaugurated an Endowment Fund with a first target of £100,000.

The Freetown Municipality has given £1,000 to this fund. The Paramount Chiefs in the Protectorate Assembly have moved that Fourah Bay be made a National College supported by public funds. They ask that a special tax or levy throughout the country be raised for the purpose, and that allocations to it be made out of the Protectorate Benevolent Fund from the pool contributed by the mining firms.

Government Reasons Seem Fair

What is the Government's reaction to this example of democratic self-help? Mr. Creech Jones was a member of the Elliot Commission on Higher Education in West Africa. As such he signed the Minority Report. In the event as Secretary of State, he abandoned both the Majority and Minority Reports and decreed for Sierra Leone a Regional College (a sort of super-technical school). His reasons sound fair enough: 1. Available funds for Sierra Leone are limited, and should preferably be spent on lower grades of education which will benefit the masses. This can best be done by a Regional College. 2. The actual and probable supply of university students from the secondary schools of Sierra Leone is too small to warrant support for a university college. 3. In any case, Fourah Bay is quite free to continue as an independent institution.

In actual fact, however, Fourah cannot so continue under present conditions, as the Government has requisitioned the college site and buildings for a deep water quay, and has neither offered an alternative permanent site nor helped in securing one. In the present stringency of post-war Sierra Leone, any available site is likely to be Government controlled.

Furthermore, in the memorable interview which a delegation of the Fourah Bay College Committee had with Acting Governor Ramage on December 9/10 last, and which I commend to the careful study of the leaders of the other West African territories, Mr. Ramage admitted that the Chiefs, the Native Administrations and Senior Civil Servants, were debarred from contributing to Fourah College Fund "because such action would be contrary to the declared policy of the Secretary of State." He went further to admit "that certain firms and combines, like the Seirra Leone Selection Trust, may not think it politic to subscribe to a fund of which the Sierra Leone Government did not approve because the aims of the fund conflicted with the Secretary of State's policy."

One School Per Million

On the other hand, not a single new secondary school in the whole Protectorate and Colony of Sierra Leone is proposed in the Development Plan for the country. Be it noted that at present in the Protectorate, with a population of about two million, there is only one secondary school for boys (at Bo) and one post primary school for girls which, under the development scheme, is to aim at the Cambridge Junior standard in ten years. Compare the Colony with nine secondary schools (four for girls and five for boys) for a population of 75,000. Note also that, although it was only three years ago that Bo school began to enter candidates for the Cambridge school certificate, already seventy-five per cent. of the successes are entered for university courses at Fourah Bay.

Unwise to Abandon Fourah Bay

My considered view is that Sierra Leoneans would be unwise to abandon Fourah Bay in the absence of positive measures to improve the quality and "quantum" of secondary education in that country. In any case, there have already been two technical schools there in the past: the first, an African endowment; the second, a para-governmental institution. They were not successful, the second one even less so. The reason is simple. *In Sierra Leone, unlike Nigeria and the Gold Coast, practical and technical training is not given in the schools.* This is an urgent need which should first be tackled.

Atmosphere of Complete Equality Real Need

The real trouble is that though in West Africa, and even in England, token appointments to various *Advisory* Committees are made from time to time, yet Policy still seems far removed from a free and full discussion at all levels with informed African opinion, in an atmosphere of complete equality and friendliness. Only thus can the problems of West Africa be solved.

The time has come when we must face facts on both sides. For a Colonial people, Sierra Leoneans have a long history of achievement and service; from which, in times of stress, they derive strength and cohesion. They cannot be bullied; but they will return ready warmth for a manly approach based on realities.

Colonial P.T. Experts

To give prominence to British physical educational developments in schools, colleges and among adults and to rehabilitation in the Services and Industry, the Government has invited physical educational experts of a hundred countries, including the Colonies and Dominions, to attend an International Congress in London on July 23/26, immediately before the Olympic Games. The countries have been asked to send three delegates, preferably a physical educationist of each sex and a doctor interested in the subject.

WEST AFRICA

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Hook or Crook . . . . Choice of Vans

THE most cynical comment on the Colonial Office and Ministry of Food battle for development in Colonial areas is that of a Gold Coast newspaper. "There is not much to choose," says a leader writer, "between the two Ministries; whatever either does, African opinion does not count." Later, he comments: "all that we want to see is that the job is well and effectively done with dispatch." It is unlikely that the Government was in any way influenced by the particular article under reference, although the writer might be encouraged to know that African opinion does in fact count very much in assessing policies. What has happened is that the Ministry of Food has got its way and intends to lend a hand in Colonial development, at least wherever the growing of food is concerned. MR. STRACHEY'S own remark that the Food Corporation will become a large organization with expert staff and a fund of expert knowledge should suggest much to those accustomed to think of Colonial development in terms of special reservations, for a select clique, with permanent season tickets.

What Price Victory?

Some Members of Parliament seem to think that every department of the British Government should be mixed up in Colonial development to counteract this latter tendency—the more the merrier—and, of course, the Colonial people are sick of seeing the Colonial Office representatives all the time. Opinion on these matters is free, but this form of argument needs careful examination. What is wrong with the Food Corporation? asks MR. STRACHEY. Why should it be selected for special discrimination and kept out of Colonial territories? when there is no such discrimination against private corporations.

Why? indeed, if that were all! But is it all? No! MR. STANLEY'S tale of asparagus illustrates the point. The Colonial Secretary may not want the Minister of Food to grow asparagus in Mauritius. But although the Minister of Food cannot grow asparagus in Mauritius without the consent of the Colonial Secretary, he need not be put off by the Colonial Secretary's refusal to grant that consent. He can take the matter to the Cabinet and, as MR. STANLEY puts it: "two Ministers will be disagreeing on a point which will have to be settled by the Cabinet, and not necessarily at all in accordance with the views of the Colonial Secretary."

The division of power, as DR. MORGAN stressed, is quite wrong, unless one department is subservient to the other; and the Colonial Secretary could hardly be under orders of the Ministry of Food. MR. STRACHEY was getting much warmer when he asked: "Do they pay good wages? Do they give good conditions? and are their medical services good?" "That," he said, "is how every inhabitant of the area will judge these schemes. That is the real issue;" and, of course, these remarks are substantiated by the Gold Coast writer who says: "all that we want to see is that the job is well and effectively done with dispatch."

But again, it will be worth while examining these remarks more closely. Could not the words of the African writer be applied just as well to an operation under private enterprise, African or otherwise? Could not MR. STRACHEY'S words no less be applied? But is that all that we can say about the relations of Europeans and Africans? after so many years of association. Is there, if MR. STRACHEY'S words be the only one's necessary, any real need for a Colonial Office?

African opinion does not count, says the Gold Coast leader writer, but does he really mean that? Would he really like to see the end of the Colonial Office tomorrow? before Africans have attained full self-government. Or was he speaking without realizing the full implication of what are the real functions of the Colonial Office—as a buffer in the interests of Colonial inhabitants.

"The Secretary of State," said MR. CREECH JONES, moving the third reading of the Bill, "answerable to Parliament, will still carry a general responsibility in regard to the whole of the economic development of the territories under his immediate control. It will be his duty and his responsibility to see that, whether it is the Colonial Development Corporation or the Overseas Food Corporation which is functioning in these territories, reasonable and proper standards are maintained, and that their activities fit in with the general economic plan of development of the territory concerned. It will be his special responsibility to see that reasonable standards are maintained and, also, that the Corporation only functions with the understanding and consent of the local government and of the people involved."

The buffer is still there apparently. But what of the tale of asparagus? And what of MR. STRACHEY? who said that "our national position is really too grave to warrant any indulgence in our particular opinions on the methods of overseas development?" Is that not the real approach to the question? By hook or by crook, said MR. STRACHEY, the development of primary production of all sorts, in the Colonial areas, Colonial territories and dependent areas in the Commonwealth, as well as generally throughout the world, in far more abundant quantities than exist today is, it is hardly too much to say, a life and death matter for the economy of this country.

Against such stark realism, what can any Colonial Secretary do? what can any African opinion do? Development is on!—unless this country and its dependent territories alike are to die of inanition. In which case, what price victory?

* * *

MR. BEVIN'S reference to the development of overseas territories in connexion with the organization of a Western Union is of far greater importance for West Africa than the third reading of the Overseas Resources Development Bill. As MR. STRACHEY told the House of Commons, this Bill cannot do more than make a contribution to the vitally important end of saving the economy of this country. MR. BEVIN'S conception of the overseas territories as an integral part of a Western Union raises the matter of Colonial development for beyond the narrow confines of the particular interests of one nation. The European nations with overseas territories comprise those nations which have inherited the legacies of Roman Law and Christian civilization. All were not included by MR. BEVIN but the exceptions should be temporary only, as invitations are still open.

The overseas territories, British, French, Dutch, Belgian and Portuguese, he said, are large primary producers, and their standard of life is evolving rapidly and is capable of great development. "They have raw materials, food and resources, which can be turned to very great common advantage, to the people of the territories them-

selves, to Europe and to the world as a whole. The other two great world Powers, the United States and Soviet Russia, have tremendous resources. There is no need of conflict with them in this matter at all. If Western Europe is to achieve its balance of payments and to get a world equilibrium, it is essential that those resources should be developed and made available, and the exchange between them carried out in a correct and proper manner. There is no conflict between the social and economic development of these overseas territories to the advantage of the people, and the development as a source of supplies for Western Europe, as a contribution, as I have indicated, so essential to the balance of payments."

For or Against?

MR. BEVIN is not thinking in terms of West Africa alone. He talks of tremendous resources which stretch through Europe, the Middle East and Africa to the Far East. But West Africa and undeveloped Africa generally will benefit if the plan for a Western Union goes through. It is quite impossible to consider this aspect of the development of overseas territories without reference to MR. BEVIN'S other statement that the object of the Cominform and the Soviet and Communist policy is to prevent the European recovery programme succeeding.

It may be tempting, for Africans, to see themselves only as helpless pawns in a game of Western survival. They will not be well advised to take this short term view. The collapse of Western civilization, the collapse of a Western Union, will not mean the triumph of African nationalism. It will not be the emergence of the African Utopia from the corpse of the European Overlord. It will be the collapse of African efforts towards democracy and the beginning of the police state.

"In the field of human rights today," said MR. ATTLEE, "Russia and Eastern Europe were at the back of the queue." Those who denied the recognition of human rights had no right to claim to be in the van of human progress. They were only in the police van. It is fitting that these words, and words like them, should have been spoken by the representatives of the great majority of British people, the same week that Parliament discussed the Overseas Development Bill; because African critics of British administration (and British critics no less on occasions) tend to talk of exploitation and imperialism in the happy consciousness of living protected by the settled order of government which has progressed steadily throughout the ages in the interests of human freedom and progress.

The cynic may say that Africans are pawns in power politics. The cynic is entitled to his opinion. But even cynics are not deprived entirely of human wisdom and should remember the adage: "Better the devil you know." The clear-cut statements which have been made last week at Westminister have now penetrated every inhabited portion of the globe. There is no room for personal isolation. There is no escape and one choice—Is it Western civilization? or the police van?

FORMER RESIDENT MINISTER ON COLOSSAL LOSS

Nigerian Government Forbidden to Make Agreement

DURING a debate on Civil Aviation in the House of Lords, last week, Viscount Swinton (former Resident Minister of West Africa) asked why the Nigerian Service of B.O.A.C. was forced upon the Government of Nigeria and why an additional loss was forced upon the taxpayer. The loss on the United Kingdom/West Africa service was, according to Lord Nathan (Minister of Civil Aviation), approximately £9,500 a week operational. Viscount Swinton said that Skyways, a Charter Company, made an offer to the Nigerian Government and to the Gold Coast (the Nigerian Government were the principals in the matter) that they would charter a weekly service in a Skymaster and the service could be started within a month.

That service would have flown once a week to Kano, on from Kano to Lagos and Accra; and back the same way. The aircraft could carry thirty-six passengers. The fares were to be similar to the fares which foreign lines were charging. The Nigerian Government was willing to guarantee this venture and was anxious to close with the offer. His Majesty's Government forbade it to to so and said: "Instead of this, we will put in a service run by Halton aircraft and we will run three of these a week."

Viscount Swinton said he was informed that the Halton aircraft can carry only ten passengers across the Sahara—if so many—and that therefore every trip involves a heavy loss. Lord Nathan, in his reply, said that at the time Skyways approached the Nigerian Government to operate a service between West Africa and the United Kingdom, B.O.A.C. was already operating a coastal service with Dakotas and was also planning to replace the service with Haltons. "We have always held the view," said Lord Nathan, "that it is uneconomic to duplicate services unnecessarily. The main responsibility for providing Imperial air services devolves on the United Kingdom, and it was an understanding with the Colonies, which has since been formally confirmed, that they would not normally seek to establish services competing with services provided by the Corporations. It was in pursuance of this policy and of the fact that B.O.A.C. was planning a trans-Saharan service, that the agreement with Nigeria and Skyways, as a long-term venture, was discouraged. Nevertheless, a contract was placed with Skyways during the interim period, until the Halton service came into operation."

Unavoidable Acquisition

When the war ended, B.O.A.C., in accordance with a policy of using British aircraft, had unavoidably to acquire Haltons, in order to obtain sufficient capacity to develop its network of services. There was a limited number of routes for which these aircraft were suitable, and it was was decided to use them on the United Kingdom/West African service, as well as to some extent on other routes.

Lord Nathan said he thought it would be clear, on reflection, that if the principle were admitted that for every private company which foresaw the possibilities of running a particular route more economically than the Corporation was able to do, the position of the Corporation, charged with the responsibility of developing all the Imperial communications, would have been undermined. The companies would skim off the cream and leave the Corporation with the inherently uneconomic services."

Taxpayer Pays

Lord Balfour of Inchrye said: "You cannot call a service requiring a journey of three or four days on a Dakota round the coast of West Africa a duplication in any sense of a direct service across Africa in eighteen hours. The real fact is that, in order to protect the Government's monopoly policy—I do not think I have put it unfairly—the Government felt it necessary to refuse facilities which would have brought many white men and women back from West Africa to this country for well-earned, much wanted leave."

Viscount Swinton said he regarded the explanation as unconvincing as the result was disastrous. "It was perfectly possible," he said, "within the Act, for the Governor of Nigeria to have made the very business-like arrangement which he wished to make to have this service, and it was the duty of the Minister to save this country £500,000. Today the taxpayer of this country is paying £500,000 more in this colossal loss, because the Minister of Civil Aviation decided that he would force one of his companies to run this unremunerative service."

COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING OF LOCAL PEOPLES

Regional Surveys Advocated

By W. Tudor Davies

COLONIAL development is certainly to the fore in the news these days; but there are major obstacles still to be overcome, and these will not be solved by the fact that the State has assumed many of the functions of that development, which fell to the lot of private enterprise in the earlier days. In both instances, it must be the investment of British capital effecting an adjustment between the old world, with its scarcity, and the new and expanding Colonial Empire. The stark fact must be remembered that you cannot get more out of a pint pot than has been put in it, and that, in like manner, we will get out of the Colonies only as much as we have, and will, put into them.

For example, higher production cannot be expected from the African, unless he, too, is properly fed and clothed and enjoys some of the amenities of life. The Colonial Office recently announced a let-up in the restriction of imports of consumer goods into the territories; but there is still lee-way to be made up. Sir Stafford Cripps recently gave the cue to the African Governors' Conference when he said: "We are to increase out of all recognition, the tempo of African development; we must be prepared to change our outlook and habits of Colonial development, and force the pace so that, within the next two to five years, we can get a really marked increase of production." Neither tempo nor pace can be forced, nor production increased, without the cooperation of the indigenous peoples.

Operation Production

Charles H. Beard (the eminent American historian) said that he has learnt a few lessons from history, one of which is that the bee fertilizes the flower it extracts from. This fundamental discovery is true of Colonial development; the tempo of this fertilization can be accentuated by Native cooperation—how that cooperation can best and quickly be obtained is the immediate root problem of Colonial development. The Native peoples are not able to say: "Give us the tools and we will do the job," because many of them are not yet trained. The first task, therefore, is to ascertain what jobs they can do without much training; the second, what quick training facilities can be instituted for "Operation Production" just as plans were made for D-Day in the days of the world war.

From my own observations in the workshops in Nigeria, I am quite well aware that sometimes the matrix for training is not of a high standard; and I talked to boys who were being trained as electricians in the Power House, about their difficulties. The real cause of the trouble, said a Director of Public Works to me in Lagos, is the same old story as in Great Britain—too much emphasis, in education, has been placed upon training for administrative and clerical work, to the detriment of technical training. Are we not trying to make up for lost time at home by the more rapid development of Modern Technical schools? Further, I would like to see more emphasis on the heuristic method of teaching in Native schools in the Colonies. Of course, I am well aware here of the difficulties, as is the Colonial Office, of shortage of men and women power in the teaching profession.

Jobs for Africans

The next step is a survey of what posts Natives can fill without training—these must, in the very nature of things, be posts of a labouring character. The most important aspect is the up-grading of Natives to more responsible posts in industry, and what scheme of training has been or is being devised to effect continuity of training for these higher grade posts. Is there a feed? and how is it being accomplished? I discussed this aspect of the matter with responsible officials of The United Africa Company, in West Africa and in London, particularly when I discovered that a few highly-paid administrative and responsible posts were being "held down" by Africans in West Africa. I heard of splendid success in that direction in French Dahomey.

I am not concerned just now with the wage structure, which is interlocked with such schemes of training, although I am perfectly aware of its importance. What it is desired to emphasize is that no scheme of development can be a success unless such regional surveys are carried out through every Colonial territory. I am not advocating this approach in any sense of criticism; but I do not hold the view, held by some Europeans, that the Native is incapable of being trained for posts of higher responsibility. Evidently, too, the Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board share my view because, in the Advertisement Columns of a leading London Newspaper, I find that "their Board is prepared to consider applications from Gold Coast Africans to undergo training in London in the marketing of cocoa; applicants are required to have a degree in Economics, or one of similar status, or extensive business experience. Age limits between 24 and 35 years. Salary to be paid will be at the rate of £525 per annum, plus a cost-of-living allowance of £150 per annum while resident in London."

New Attitude

This is proof positive of the new attitude. I am passing a copy of this advertisement to my friend, Claude Barnett (Director of the Associated Negro Press of America) who discussed this very problem with me last summer when he returned to London after his visit to Liberia, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast and Nigeria. In the Broadcast Discussion on "Colonial Development," in which I had the honour to occupy the Chair, Mr. Barnett emphasized this approach to the problem of training. In private conversation afterwards, Mr. Barnett wondered whether American negro technicians could be utilized in West Africa in order to speed up development—another attempt of the New World in assistance to redress the balance of the Old.

Who knows but that, one day, the development of Africa may have and need a Marshall Plan? My keenness for British Colonial development does not exclude cooperation of the United States—if we have such cooperation at home and in Western Europe, why not the Colonies? Naturally, through the eyes of an American, my friend Barnett had a wider sweep. Anyhow, the problem of the training of Natives is brought into high relief with Sir Stafford Cripps's desire to "increase out of all recognition, the tempo of African development." Horace Greeley, that great American journalist, told the early pioneers in the United States—"Young Man! Go West!" Hence the greatest self-sufficient entity of States the world has ever known. Why not a similar self-sufficient entity of the British Colonies? It can be done.

Go To It

I have just been reading a book, published in 1917, called "The Staple Trades of the Empire"—Oils and Fats, Sugar Supply, Cotton Resources, Metals, Wheat Supplies, and the importance of Imperial Wool. Such an examination, undertaken over thirty years ago, of the potentialities of the British Empire would stir the mind and heart of any young man. How true is the following quotation from that book, of the state of affairs today: "The purely economic historian, like the doctrinaire economist, has a tendency to take the view that, throughout the ages, material interests have held a preponderant place in the march of civilization. But the war has opened men's eyes to the partial nature of the view. We now realize that, though material interests set things running and are exceedingly potent owing to the continuous nature of their

action, yet when they tend to become predominant, they bring into play other and more deeply seated forces that are usually forgotten or minimized, because they are quiescent. At great crises, the more powerful spiritual motives of nationality are set free. They deflect the line of action of national interests with tremendous effect; men and nations cease to be swayed solely by the desire for gain, and the resultant action is in a profoundly different direction from what would have been anticipated if the economic forces alone had been taken into account. The surface appearance of things changes, but the great abiding facts of human nature remain. Today, as centuries ago, the great organized peoples employ their activity in the exploitation of regions that are abandoned or undeveloped, obeying their hereditary tendencies that urge on the human race to take possession in its entirety of the domain that nature has assigned to it."

Young Man! Go to it!—whether through State activity or private enterprise, for the potentialities of the British Empire are enormous for the development of ordinary peaceful trading, provided always that there is an understanding that cooperation between governors and governed must be accomplished and that this cooperation demands an ability to see welfare in terms of the group, rather than in terms of the individual, and an ability to see the other fellow's point of view. That is the spirit for a new world, which is moving so rapidly that it will not brook delay in its practical application.

SIR DONALD CAMERON

A FORMER Colonial Governor writes: The passing of Sir Donald Charles Cameron, G.C.M.G., K.B.E., on January 8, will be greatly regretted by all West Africans, and especially by those in Nigeria who realized his sincere interest in the African population and the stand he always took on their behalf whenever that was necessary. The career of Sir Donald should be an incentive to those in the Colonial Service, as it is an example of a man who rose from the lowest rank in the Service to be Governor of one of the most important of British Colonies.

Cameron was born in British Guiana in 1872 and was educated at Rathmines School, Dublin. He joined the Colonial Service of British Guiana in 1890. In 1902, he was seconded for duty as Private Secretary to Sir Cavendish Boyle (at that time Governor of Newfoundland) and from 1904 to 1907, he served in Mauritius. During this period, he acted at Colonial Secretary more than once, and his blunt speaking in the Legislature of the Island made him unpopular with the local politicians.

In 1908, he was transferred to Southern Nigeria, where his outstanding ability and capacity for hard work soon brought him to the front, in spite of some opposition from the 'Old Brigade.' He acted in several important posts, including those of Provincial Commissioner and Colonial Secretary of Southern Nigeria. In 1914, Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated under Sir Frederick Lugard into a single territory, and Cameron was appointed Secretary to the Central Government.

When Sir Hugh Clifford became Governor, he reorganized the machinery of administration; and Cameron was promoted Chief Secretary to the Government. In 1924, he went to Tanganyika, as Governor; and there he introduced the system of Indirect Rule of which he had had experience in Nigeria.

In 1931 Cameron returned to Nigeria, as Governor, one of the most popular appointments made to that Colony in recent times. His service there coincided with the world-wide depression, which reduced the price of Nigerian products and compelled him to adopt a policy of retrenchment and economy which cramped his administration.

He retired in 1935 and, thereafter, served on the Education Advisory Committee of the Colonial Office and as Vice-Chairman of the Governing Body of the Imperial College of Agriculture. He continued, until his death, to take the keenest interest in the fortunes of Tanganyika and Nigeria. His last years were saddened by the illness of his wife and the death of his only son.

It was inevitable that a man of Cameron's strong personality and uncompromising manner should have enemies; but the best tribute to his memory is the warm regard felt for him by those who knew him best, by his former subordinates of all races, and by Africans of all classes.

He was a great Civil Servant and a great Governor, who combined with remarkable intellectual qualities the ability to treat the people whom he governed as human beings and not as machines. As such, he will be remembered.

British Negro Theatre

LONDON audiences have recently had several opportunities of seeing American Negroes in their theatres. *Anna Lucasta* is still showing at His Majesty's and *Deep are the Roots* has only been taken off a short time ago. Black-and-white scenes were features of the musical *Finian's Rainbow;* and Miss Lena Horne appeared for a short season in London. The *Ballets Négres* made a reappearance in Brighton not long ago and, after a short Continental tour, were scheduled to open with four new ballets by Berto Pasuka early this year.

Next month Robert Adams (of British Guiana and star of *Men of Two Worlds*) will have fulfilled one of his long-cherished ambitions to appear with a large Negro cast in a London theatre. He and seven other coloured artists will appear at the Bolton's Theatre in South Kensington in *Native Son,* by Richard Wright. The opening performance will be February 12, and the play will be produced by Colin Chandler (a South African). Twelve members of the cast are white. Miss Vi Thompson (of West Africa) who played with Robert Adams in *Men of Two Worlds* is appearing in the new production.

Other coloured players are Miss Pearl Grant (Bahamas), Augustus Newton and Frank Sanguineau (Trinidad), Mrs. Carmen Manley (daughter-in-law of Mr. Norman Manley, K.C., of Jamaica), Sam Morris (former secretary of the League of Coloured Peoples, from Grenada) and Harry Scott (son of the well-known comedian of British music-hall fame).

WHAT IS BEING SAID In West Africa . . . .

. . . . ABOUT AFRICANIZATION

We know that, for a long time, we shall need the services of the European Civil Servants and others in private enterprise, more especially as experts in some branches of knowledge. It would be unreasonable not to admit that Nigeria is yet young in many respects. But what we do say and urge is that as many responsibilities as the local people can creditably discharge should not be denied them in favour of foreigners. Such denial, by itself, does serious violence to the economy of the country. Nigeria's revenue, like that of any country in the world, is not inexhaustible; and we would like to see that the running cost does not prejudice the actual development of which we stand in dire need.

Where is the evidence that Government is keen on Africanizing the service and, consequently, on giving Africans increased responsibility in the administration? Let us take one Department as an hypothetical case. We have in mind the Treasury, known in these days as the Accountant-General's Department. The importance of this Department cannot be too much emphasized in the governmental scheme. It is the financial clearing house, upon which a lot depends for the general financial position and administration. If there are departments that need be constantly equipped, it probably comes first. Surprisingly enough, in this very Department, we are given to understand that about six vacancies for accountants exist and that has been so for some time now. The impression is general that but for the accident of colour, the posts should have been filled.—*Daily Service* (Lagos).

FIFTY PIONEER YEARS

Only British Suzerainty Made Nigeria One

LORD MILVERTON told a London audience recently that he had no doubts of the great future which lay before Nigeria. "When the stresses and strains of economic readjustment have eased," he said, "when the new political consciousness and the clamant nationalism have turned from sterile assertion into productive effort, when the speed of desire has been modulated to the pace of possible performance, when growing responsibility has brought deeper reflection, the end for which ultimately all of us, European and African alike, have been working, will become clearer and so more quickly attainable."

The verdict of history could not be in doubt. "The pioneer work of 50 years, the burden carried so splendidly by all branches of the Nigerian Government Service through all the weary years of the war and the succeeding peace will then be publicly acclaimed, as it is tacitly admitted today in the innermost hearts of 99 out of every hundred of the people of Nigeria." Lord Milverton said that British effective government of the country dated back only 60 years and that the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria were inaugurated as recently as January 1, 1914.

Reason for Pride

"If," he said, "you further deduct ten years during which two world wars not only impeded progress but actually set the country back, and then consider the physical and moral achievements of virtually less than fifty years in the face of slumps and the economic disturbances following upon war, I suggest that there is every reason for pride in what has actually been accomplished." Nigeria was a potential Empire rather than a Colony in the ordinary sense.

"There are today 20,000 miles of roads; 2,000 miles of railway; and many hundreds of miles where rivers, chief amongst which are the Niger and the Benue, and creeks form the main means of transport. It contains a wide range of climate, from the humid tropical forest areas of the South, to the open savannah regions of the North. It also contains a great diversity of people who fall into four main linguistic groups—Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba with three to four million each and Fulani about two million, and four minor groups of about one million each: Kanuri, Ibibio, Tiv and Edo. A large number of lesser linguistic groups make up the remaining four to five million people."

Nigeria fell naturally into four main divisions: the Northern Provinces, the Western Provinces, the Eastern Provinces, and the small Colony of Lagos with its immediate surroundings. "I wish to emphasize," said Lord Milverton, "that it is only the accident of British suzerainty which has made Nigeria one country. It is still far from being one country, or one nation, socially or even economically.

Deep Differences Between Tribal Groups

The facts of being under British guidance and of having the back-bone of administration provided by a British Civil Service have naturally given great encouragement to the conception of Nigeria as one country. The economic integration of the whole area has steadily progressed but, socially and politically, there are deep differences between the major tribal groups. They do not speak the same language, they have highly divergent customs and ways of life, and they represent different stages of culture.

The people of the Northern Provinces, highly conservative in their outlook, predominantly Mohamedan, with all that that means in respect for tradition and authority, have a very different outlook from the people of the Eastern Provinces, where individualism is the predominant characteristic and where the craving for Western education and individual advancement is most marked. The people of the Western Provinces, on the other hand, though they have, like the Northern Provinces, a more developed system of Native Administration than the Eastern Provinces, have still a different outlook from the people of the other two sections. A longer and closer contact with the European and a greater general prosperity have naturally had their effect upon the outlook and mode of life."

The influence of Lagos, the capital city, seat of Government, and main seaport of the whole of Nigeria was naturally disproportionate to its population, amongst whom were numbered members of all the tribal groups in Nigeria. There was a growing volume of wage-earning employment in Nigeria but the bulk of its revenue and the maintenance of its people, the improvement of their standard of living, must come from the soil.

Shadow of Inflation

"Over the past eight years, Nigeria has seen its revenue more than doubled; and its expenditure constantly rising. Expanding trade and higher prices for its products have enabled the taxpayer to meet heavily increased taxation, and the country has not only balanced its budget, since 1941, but has been able to strengthen its position by placing substantial sums to reserve. The cost of living has also steadily risen and has given rise to successive Commissions of Inquiry whose recommendations have been largely adopted by the Government.

"In common with the rest of the world, the shadow of inflation haunts the country. The currency circulation shows a rise from £5 million in 1939 to £18 million in 1946. The difficulty of getting staff, the scarcity of consumer goods and the impossibility of getting adequate supplies of capital goods have made progress very slow, at a time when speed is vital. So the general impatience of the public is apt to focus on Government and to blame it for local difficulties which, in fact, are the result of world conditions. There is a general background of constructive effort held back and, to some extent frustrated, by lack of men and materials. All the aspects of welfare covered by the phrase 'social services' are being studied and organized, the interests of labour and of the peasant farmer are being guarded as never before, the prices of produce have steadily risen."

Jumping the Generations

Why then, was the impression given by most of the Press in Nigeria that of a country struggling for political and economic freedom and held back by alien hands? "The picture painted by the Press," said Lord Milverton, "is a very distorted one and represents the views and feelings of a very small but highly vocal group of dissatisfied persons. But these views are being sedulously preached and it would be idle to deny the effect of daily insistence on the guilt of Government for every discomfort, every economic stress, in fact, everything short of complete prosperity and happiness for all.

"Many of the younger Africans, who have had some education abroad, find that the economic success and power which they crave to have does not follow automatically upon a greater or less degree of Western education. The factors of hard work and personal capacity and character still remain the major ingredients of success in Nigeria as in this country. The opportunities in Nigeria for real ability are increasingly wide in business, agriculture, in Government service and in the professions. But it has a long and hard road to travel before it can reach the stage of development of, say, Western Europe. The young African wants to jump the generations of effort which have made the older nations; and he ignores the difficulties which have to be surmounted, or is apt to bury them in a flood of unsound assertions. He is not alone in that attitude towards life. It is a common feature of adolescence."

When he went to Nigeria, in 1943, Lord Milverton found a "Constitution which was obviously out of date. The Legislative Council did not legislate for the Northern Provinces—that was done by the Governor—so that half

the population of Nigeria lay outside of its range. The people of the Western and Eastern Provinces, who were within its range, were not adequately represented. It was also clear that the influence of Lagos was altogether disproportionate to its size and even to its importance.

"As I have said, the people of the North, West and East differ widely in way of life, in customs and in their traditional systems of government. The leading personalities rarely if ever met and there was no constitutional provision for the joint discussion of all-Nigerian problems which were and are many and insistent. It seemed clear to me that some system must be devised whereby the different sections could be brought into collaboration and also whereby a link would be established between the Native Authorities and the Central Government. I felt that if early steps were not taken to encourage and made possible the growth of a feeling for Nigeria as one country, then all hopes of Nigerian unity and the growth of a Nigerian nation were doomed to failure."

In his own view, the only way to have an effective consultation with the people of Nigeria about their own political system was the trial of the New Constitution. "Major Chiefs and members of the old Legislative Council and other leading citizens were consulted; and the trial met with general approval from responsible citizens best qualified to express an opinion on such complex issues." The procedure of the Legislative Council of Nigeria, meeting in successive years for the Budget Session at Lagos, Kaduna, Ibadan and Enugu, brought home to the people of each Region a sense of wider interest than the regional one—a vision of Nigeria as one country.

Ample Room for African

"I have already had evidence," said Lord Milverton, "of the good which has been done in breaking down tribal or group prejudices by such opportunities for friendly intercourse, officially and privately, as are afforded by such meetings. I think there is a growing appreciation, amongst responsible Africans of what has been done for Nigeria by European capital and enterprise, as well as by the Government Service. I think they begin to see that there is ample room for the African in all fields and that there is every desire to help him to succeed.

"It must be obvious that the great dreams of Development and Welfare will come to naught unless the African himself regards them as his own schemes and determines to work with and for them. There is no prospect and no desire of obtaining the large numbers of trained personnel from abroad. They must be supplied in increasing numbers by Nigerians. We have good reason to hope that the growing experience of public affairs, for which the new Constitution gives opportunities, will encourage the idea of public service, as a means of serving one's country and not as a means of personal aggrandisement."

How Much to be Done

During his period of office, the policy of Africanization of the services had been steadily proceeding. The fact that it had not proceeded faster had been due to the lack of trained and suitable personnel, and for no other reason. The Nigerian Government had taken a strong stand against all forms of racial discrimination and had eliminated all cause for complaint on that score in its own institutions.

"I appreciate," said Lord Milverton, "as well as anyone else, how much remains to be done. To take the vexed question of education alone, out of a school population of over seven million, to have only 400,000 at school with only 30,000 from the North is a startling position, if one forgets the background which I sketched in starting. The conservative Northern Provinces are now wakening to the benefits of education and, unquestionably, their demands will have to be given first priority. It is a curious fact that the most politically-minded and those most clamant for more and more education, more and more development of every kind—to wit, the people of the Eastern Provinces—are precisely those most reluctant to pay taxes and most unwilling to face the burdens which such benefits impose."

New "Look" Promised

THE stranded groundnuts of Kano are still news in the United Kingdom. Speakers for the Government are pointing out that the Nigerian and Tanganyika railways operate on different gauges and that the groundnuts scheme in East Africa has had no effect on the supply of railway material in Nigeria. A different point was made by Viscount Swinton, in the House of Lords last week. He said that he knew the Nigerian railway "every mile of it, very well. Is it not a fact," he asked, "that in 1944 and 1945, the most meticulous estimates were put in for what the railways would need, and that in this country, in 1945 and 1946, full consideration was given by the locomotive makers and the wagon makers as to where wagons and locomotives were needed? Yet, for some extraordinary reason, the one place which does not seem to have got any is the one place which supplied fats and groundnuts?" Lord Listowel replied, "I will look into that."

Another groundnut point was made by Lord Lloyd. He said, if the franc devaluation takes place, "the very large number of groundnuts which are produced in West Africa will inevitably, as a result of that devaluation, be produced a great deal more cheaply than they can be produced in our Colonial Empire." Lord Lloyd also raised the question of the Havana Charter. He could not help feeling that it might have a most damaging effect on the Overseas Resources Development Bill.

Lord Altrincham supported this view. He said: "I believe, in some ways, that the undertakings which we have been pressed to make at Havana and elsewhere are absolutely incompatible with the welfare of the Colonies. It means that we should be compelled either to give up these projects or to try and grind the Natives down to the lowest rate for production in the world, which is not the object of these schemes."

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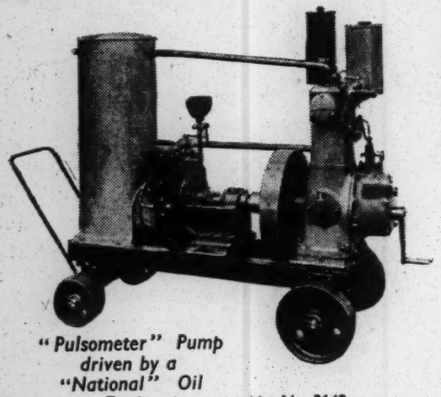

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WEST AFRICA

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African Salvation? . . . . "Colonial Cream"

THE suggestion made by SQUADRON-LEADER KINGHORN in the Commons last week that there should be further exploitation of African territories and planned emigration "sending people there who will produce goods there which can be sold by this country and earn dollars" will not be welcomed by Africans. That it could be made by a Member of Parliament is merely an indication of the crying need for educating the British public as to the real issues which have to be faced if there is to be permanent cooperation between the metropolitan and Colonial territories of the British Commonwealth. All too recently, another Labour Member of Parliament seriously advocated the sale of the British West Indian territories to the United States of America, for dollars. There is no question therefore of "raising hares" by giving prominence to this suggestion of SQUADRON-LEADER KINGHORN. It deserves full publicity, not because it will be taken seriously, but because it could be made at all in the Parliament of a Government whose declared Colonial policy is the ultimate self-government of Colonial peoples within the British Commonwealth.

Questions of Intelligence

If there are any qualms in African circles, they can be assured that there is no intention nor likelihood of this Colonial policy being changed by this or any subsequent British Government. At the same time, it is difficult to see how such ventilations of a private Member's opinion can improve either the tension between Africans and Europeans, or the spate of malicious anti-British abuse which distinguishes certain meetings of the United Nations Assemblies when Colonial affairs are discussed. In a world where the fate of Czecho-Slovakia shows the red light for all but the colour-blind to see, is there really any need for spoon-feeding the enemies of British democracy with verbal gobbets to sustain them in their task? There is no lack of balanced well-informed opinion in this country as to what is, or is not, likely to add fuel underneath the seething cauldron of Colonial discontent. Such opinion can be found within the ranks of every British political Party or it can be provided without difficulty from Colonials resident here.

Why, then, is it not consulted? Surely the blame must be laid squarely on the British Government, which persists in treating Colonial affairs as the province of the expert and not the intimate concern of "those who cherish the illusion of prosperity, the full wage packet, and the easy profit." No better illustration of this could be provided than in the suggestion of a writer in the British Press who took it for granted that, in the event of a Conservative victory at the next general election, MR. OLIVER STANLEY would fill a ministerial appointment *higher* than that of Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Even MR. REES-WILLIAMS (whose post as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies makes it impossible for him not to be fully aware of the existence of extreme anti-British Colonial opinion, and of the tissue of perverted half-truths which some foreign Powers employ to vilify British Colonial administration) makes a speech at West Croydon on February 16, in which "better bullocks from Africa" "more pork from Africa" "large supplies of eggs and dairy produce from Africa" and "fats in the kitchen" from groundnuts, are recorded by an official reporter of his speech.

MR. AIDAN CRAWLEY, whose resignation from the post of Parliamentary Private Secretary to MR. CREECH JONES has recently been announced, seems to have a far more realistic approach when he said, in London last week, that on the success of African development by the West European Powers (as many as would join) would depend the effort of Africans themselves to achieve African self-government. Surely it is an underestimate of the British electors' intelligence to offer baits of better times to come when the British elector is quite capable of understanding his or her responsibility for African development, if only the motive of mutual interest to be gained thereby is put forward for attention?

Africans grow weary of hearing of British advancement when compared to African backwardness. They ask: "if the British are really so well-advanced, so well-educated as Europeans constantly reiterate, why then does the British Government underestimate their intelligence by offering them more food from Africa instead of instructing them in the advantages to be gained from full intelligent cooperation with Africans?" "There are two nations today:" said *The Economist* (February 28) under the title: *Cost of Ignorance,* "those who realize the plight of Britain and the looming catastrophe which threatens the British economy and the British way of life; and those who cherish the illusion of prosperity, the full wage packet, and the easy profit."

Intelligent Colonials are quite capable of membership of the first nation. It is to them that the British Government must look for support in this hour of crisis. Such support will not be forthcoming if suggestions like those made by SQUADRON-LEADER KINGHORN continue to be made by Members of the British Parliament. The much-maligned British Colonial administration of the past (whose chief fault "stolidity" is with us still) has built up a store of goodwill among Colonial peoples which must *not* be dissipated if the British Commonwealth is to remain a real political concept. It will be dissipated if the British people as a whole are not better informed as to African and other Colonials' susceptibilities.

* * *

On many occasions recently, articles have been written in this newspaper advising societies and institutions with interests in Colonial affairs to include Colonial representatives in their deliberations. Whether there is any connexion between these articles and the adoption of such a policy is debatable, since there are other agencies which have been stressing this same need. But it is certainly a source of satisfaction to be able to record in these columns that, on several occasions recently, it has been most noticeable how much more was being said by Colonials attending meetings of such societies and institutions from the floor and also, on special occasions, from the platform. Those who heard LORD MILVERTON speak on Nigeria at The Royal Empire Society, not long ago, could not fail to be impressed by the barrage of questions and comment which came from African listeners in the audience. Nor should they have failed to notice the comparative ease and lucidity of expression of African speakers in the presence

Crumbling Walls

of an audience almost entirely composed of men and women with an expert knowledge and first hand acquaintance of, and with, the country under discussion.

Timidity and shyness certainly do not appear to cramp the style of these African speakers in the way that it silences many Europeans in the presence of the experts. But if African eloquence was particularly noticeable, at the meeting addressed by LORD MILVERTON and presided over by LORD HAILEY, it was even more remarkable last week when Mr. DAVIDSON NICOL (an African from Sierra Leone) took part on equal terms in a discussion with two Members of the British Parliament. Again, the audience was composed mainly of men and women whose names are well-known to the student of Colonial affairs. This point needs special emphasis because although, in the past (certainly during the last ten years and probably over a much longer period) Africans and Colonials of all colours and many countries have addressed public audiences in the United Kingdom, these audiences have seldom been composed of what may be called the "cream of Colonial opinion" in this country.

Colonial Opinion

The audience which heard MR. DAVIDSON NICOL expound his views on the African Problem and World Affairs may well qualify for membership of that "cream." Something new, then, happened in London last week, just as something new will happen in London this autumn when elected representatives of British African legislatures will speak their views for the first time in a kind of miniature Colonial Assembly. Something new happened and due praise must be given to The Royal African Society and the Royal Empire Society for their cooperation in this new deal. But the process is incomplete. There has been progress and, maybe, there will be those who will say "enough."

There is such a temptation but it must be resisted; because it has never been difficult to find isolated instances of individual Africans who, like MR. NICOL, in the words of one of his co-speakers in the discussion, have "broad vision." However broad the vision of a medical student from Sierra Leone (and there can be no doubt of MR. NICOL'S keen appreciation of the vast subject on which he spoke) it was a handicap for him to be the only African to speak against three widely-travelled and experienced Europeans (two of whom are holders of the Military Cross).

When it is also remembered that, in the audience of some two hundred, there were less than twenty Africans present, the achievement of MR. NICOL is the more remarkable. But spotlighting the personal ability of one African contains elements of danger for other Africans, since it often confirms one of the most strongly entrenched ideas held by Europeans with African experience. This opinion is that Africans like MR. DAVIDSON NICOL are hard to find. Opinion in this particular instance is vital because, as is well-known, British Colonial policy is a matter of personal interest to a minimum number of British electors.

The Royal African and Royal Empire Societies have provided a forum of the first importance by making it possible for MR. NICOL to speak before the policy-forming body of these electors. They can extend the forum firstly, to include equivalent status of African to European speakers; and secondly, for Africans who hold differing views to discuss Africa's future amongst themselves. But these are suggestions which the Societies may already have considered. Meanwhile, for what they have so far done towards better understanding, through discussion, between European and African, they deserve no small tribute.

* * *

The "deplorable and disgraceful rioting" which broke out in Accra last Saturday will be viewed by all responsible Africans and Europeans as a blot on the fair name which the Gold Coast has hitherto enjoyed as the most progressive and most developed of the British West African territories. Africans, no less than Europeans, have in the past pointed with pride to the long association on friendly terms and the harmony between "black and white," which has characterized the relations between the peoples of the Gold Coast and Europeans, from the earliest days of their meeting. In the United Kingdom, students from the Gold Coast have long enjoyed and still enjoy a reputation for moderation and clear thinking which has distinguished them from certain other African students who have been infected by the anarchistic tendencies of revolutionary ideologies which have been tolerated in a *democratic* country.

Destroying a Work

Now these students from the Gold Coast have been exposed to the inevitable suspicion, which will follow from the regrettable disorders which have brought their country under a cloud, so far as ordinary British public opinion is concerned. The freedom of discussion, the sympathy, with which African grievances have been heard so often in this country, will not unnaturally now be endangered and lessened by reflection on the events which have occurred in Accra. Thousands of Africans, who enjoy the highest educational privileges which the universities, technical colleges and other institutions of learning extend to them (by the exclusion only of large numbers of English, Scotch, Welsh and Irish young men and women) will bear the brunt of suspicion and the charges of ingratitude which will undoubtedly be entertained by millions of Europeans in this Kingdom.

Passengers in underground trains, where African employees of British railways are paid the same wages as are given to white workers, will now be filled with feelings of resentment instead of feelings of toleration and indifference. All the good work which has been built up by years of disinterested endeavour on the part of British men and women to bring home to the British public the essential "humanity" of their African brothers, is now threatened by the wanton anti-social irresponsible acts of violence which have taken place in the Gold Coast.

There will be no encouragement in the United Kingdom from any but the small number of the enemies of democracy, whose only hope is that, by the triumph of the Slave State, they will be rewarded by jobs as slave drivers. The fair name of Africans, of millions of Africans and of peoples of African descent, is once more besmirched by the actions of a "small clique of ambitious men."

The strong language of SIR GERALD CREASY and the condemnation of the Chiefs of the Joint Provisional Council, will be welcomed by law abiding citizens throughout the democratic world. Those who trespass against the privileges extended by democratic systems of government to further their own schemes of individual aggrandisement can hope for support only from the criminally-minded; not from those to whom the world "civilization" is more than an orator's trump-card. The objective and graphic account of the riots from our correspondent in Accra shows how far removed from genuine aspirations to self-government are the hooliganism and unbridled crime which mark these deplorable events.

The following Nigerian Colonial Service promotions are announced: Lieut.-Commander R. S. Oakley as Principal Engineer, Marine Department; Mr. J. D. Bunkall as Senior Sanitary Superintendent, Medical Department; Mr. W. B. Hewett as Assistant Commissioner of Lands; Mr. T. O. Lambourn as Assistant Works Manager, P.W.D.; Mr. G. Little as Chief Permanent Way Inspector, Nigerian Railway; Mr. W. P. Gaskell as Senior Inspector of Mines; Mr. D. W. Baker as Principal of Schools, Agriculture Department; Lieut.-Commander H. L. Cole as Principal Marine Officer; Mr. L. V. Fields as Senior Storekeeper, P. & T.; Mr. G. E. Hoile as Chief Inspector of Works, Nigerian Railway; Mr. J. W. Hallam as Labour Relations Officer, P.W.D.; Mr. C. Whittington as District Traffic Superintendent; and Lieut.-Commander A. Skinner as Assistant Director of Marine.

EXPLOITATION OF AFRICA

No Hope of United States of Africa

"THE United States of Africa" was the title of a short debate initiated by Squadron-Leader Kinghorn in the House of Commons on February 25. He hoped "that our great plans for this country include further exploitation of these territories and planned emigration, sending people there who will produce goods there which can be sold by this country and earn dollars." He hoped that the Colonial Under-Secretary could "give us a reply which will fit into the steps we have taken on this side of the House already—with the Groundnuts Scheme, the Overseas Food Corporation and so on, and show that the birth of the Labour Party as a Parliamentary Government was also the birth of a third Empire."

Mr. Rankin, who expressed the indebtedness of the House to Squadron-Leader Kinghorn for raising the subject, said: "When we look at the tragic fate of Europe today, we realize what an enormous power in shaping the economic outlook of this country today a United States of Europe would have been. There is no argument about the need. Europe proclaims that need every hour of the day. But we have to be careful when we talk about a United States of Africa in the political sense. We want to say, at the very beginning, that we are not going to create, in other parts of Africa, any more South Africas; that if there is to be a United States of Africa, then black and white must live on terms of greater equality than are prevalent in South Africa at the moment. When we think also of a United States of Africa we are not going to think of it in terms of the United States of America where, again, political equality is denied to the black peoples in the Southern States. We have to be careful how we use the phrase 'United States of Africa.' If it has to have any meaning to the indigenous peoples of Africa, it has not only to bring them higher economic standards, but higher political ways of living and all that follows from that."

Song and Dance

Mr. Baldwin expressed surprise at hearing a suggestion about exploiting Colonies coming from that side of the House. He said: "Because we in this country are getting a bit afraid we are going to starve, a great interest is being shown in Africa. We are trying to make our people believe that there are vast resources of food to come out of Africa to help this country. If the Natives of Africa are fed properly, there will be no surplus to come out of Africa, and the sooner the Government let the people of this country know that fact the better. The Natives are increasing to a tremendous extent, and they are unable to provide food for themselves at the present time.

"The hon. and gallant Member cannot have been in Africa, else he would not have said that we had neglected our Colonies. In the short space of 60 years, we have gone to Kenya, done away with the slave trade, stopped tribal warfare, taught the Natives hygiene and, in the last 25 years, have seen the Native population doubled. If that is not something of which to be proud I do not know what is. When," he continued, "we begin to make a song and dance about the small sum of £150 million which it is now suggested we should spend in the Colonial Empire, when we have spent hundreds and thousands of millions in developing it in the past, it is time to remember what has been done already."

In his reply, Mr. Rees-Wiliams said: "at the moment, it is out of the question to think of a United States of Africa even if, which is not the case, most of the African territory were British territory. The difficulty in the economic and political development of Africa is that the Colonies of the west grew out of very small trading stations. These particular stations became Crown Colonies and, finally, mainly for reasons of protection, the vast hinterlands behind them themselves under the protection of the little Crown Colonies. That is the case in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, for example. In East Africa, their origin was the pursuit of the slave traders. So in both areas there is nothing which is really an economic whole. They are part of a vast area of Africa, some of which is under British control, some under French, Portuguese or Belgian, as the case may be. There is no hope—and I believe there is no desire for it by the Africans themselves—of anything in the nature of a political United States of Africa."

Three Vital Needs

Regional cooperation, he said, was essential "but a greater grouping of regions, some sort of super-region consisting of a number of these regions, possibly two or even three, is in our opinion undesirable. It would lead to the setting up of an administrative body with a vast horde of officials, which would result in large expenditure with very little return. Therefore, at the present moment, we do not propose to go in for any super-regional organization, and intend to stick to the three regions we have."

Dealing with the development possibilities in Africa, it seemed to him that there are now three vital and urgent needs: "The first is to provide skilled technical assistance from this country and elsewhere; the second, to provide capital goods, mainly steel; and the third, consumer goods. It is no good exhorting the African to work harder and for more hours unless we give him something for which to work. I should say that, of all these things, the most urgently wanted is steel. When any African Governor dies the word 'steel' is found written across his heart, because he realizes that without steel nothing can be accomplished in Africa."

AFRICA FORUM

Opportunity for Failure

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

OPENING a discussion on "The African Problem and World Affairs," in Africa Forum at The Royal Empire Society, London, last week, Mr. Aidan Crawley (former Parliamentary Private Secretary to Mr. Creech Jones) said there were two world forces exerting pressure on Africa today. The first of these was due to a world shortage of food. This was nothing new, but the war had made more people determined to get a greater share of the food of the world. "I do not believe," said Mr. Crawley, "that from now onwards, Africa can remain immune from the determination of the countries of the world which are determined to get more food."

Even if Europe made no drastic changes in Africa, pressure on Africa might still exist and might come from Eastern countries. People everywhere will be pushed into growing more food. The alternative to the kind of thing that Western Europe and the United Kingdom is "trying to create is a much more ruthless one."

The second force was that pulling more immediately from Western Europe. Mr. Crawley took the view that the union of those countries in Western Europe "we can persuade" to join is important for survival, looked at from the European point of view. Can Africa be developed in the shortest possible time? he asked. Because he thought that only if Western Europe can be reorganized on a democratic basis that the evolution of Africa can continue on a democratic basis. "African self-government," he said, "depends on our effort."

Things Shared in Common

Mr. Davidson Nicol (a biochemist from Sierra Leone) who is finishing his medical course at London Hospital, spoke of two invasions of Africa: one, ten centuries ago, by Mahomet reaching down into Nigeria, the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and the Gambia; the other, more recent, had come from the south, from South Africa with developments due to Rhodes. He defined Africa as South of the Sahara and north of the Kalahari desert.

Inhabitants of this area shared one thing in common: "they are very backward compared with the rest of the

world." Their destinies, continued Mr. Nicol, are controlled by Western Europe. The rest of the world outside Western Europe had very vague notions about Africa as a whole. He thought that the best way to develop this huge area in Africa would be "to train, as quickly as possible, a large number of very skilled technicians and able administrators amongst the people themselves and to give them a very much greater part in determining their own destinies."

The people should be given the opportunity to fail over and over again. "It is only by the presence of failure that people can see success," he said. When it was suggested by Mr. Crawley that "failure might be disastrous," Mr. Nicol conceded that failure should not be crippling. This could be avoided by ensuring that the people were well-trained.

Mr. Baldwin said that Africa will have great difficulty in maintaining its own population, which had doubled during the last 25 years, since the advent of the Europeans. There was no reason why it should not double in the next 25 years.

DISGRACEFUL RIOTS IN ACCRA

"Criminal Instigation of the People"

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT (Accra, March 2).

RIOTING broke out in Accra following an attempt by ex-Servicemen to march on Government House last Saturday. Police attempted to disperse the marchers with tear-gas, but the latter retaliated with sticks and stones; and two police officers were wounded, when an attempt was made to rush the barriers. The police opened fire. Two people were killed and twenty-five injured.

According to a Government statement, marchers violated a promise given when approval for a petition was granted. The ex-Servicemen's Union was given permission to parade in certain prescribed streets in Accra, whilst three representatives were to present a petition to the Colonial Secretary at the Secretariat Buildings. While the representatives were on their way to the Secretariat, the marchers left the prescribed route. As a result, shooting, rioting and looting broke out throughout Accra immediately.

Cars belonging to Europeans and Asiatics were overturned and several Europeans were severely beaten. Shops were forced open and goods and money looted. Disturbances continued all night and were intensified on Sunday, when warehouses were broken open and emptied. U.A.C. and U.T.C. stores were gutted by fire.

The military were called in, and shooting occurred during the day. There were casualties, some fatal. Hundreds of Europeans and Africans took refuge at the airport. The dusk and dawn curfew imposed on Sunday is still in force. Looted and burning areas have been cordoned off to prevent further outbreaks, and the situation is in hand for the present.

Accra Threatened with Food Shortage

There is a big business in looted goods. Cigarettes are being sold for sixpence a tin and whisky from five to ten shillings a bottle. Accra is threatened with a grave shortage of food as markets are deserted, and sellers and fishermen are joining the looters. Cars are gradually coming off the roads, as petrol sales are stopped. All shops are closed.

On Sunday, members of the United Gold Coast Convention sought an interview with the Chief Commissioner of the Colony, allegedly to discuss measures to restore control in Accra. They were: Doctor Danquah and Messrs. Akufo-Addo, Blay, Lamptey, Quist-Therson, William Ofori Atta, and Annan.

The reply from the Government was that it saw no reason for the interview, since it was their duty as citizens to give assistance. Moreover, the "Government was determined to take all steps to restore law and order and assign responsibility for criminal instigation of the people of Accra leading to the present deplorable, disgraceful rioting and see lawful retribution exacted." The delegation denied it was officially representing the Convention. It claimed to speak on behalf of the Ga Native Authority. Immediate inquiries revealed no mandate was given by the authority.

Small Clique of Ambitious Men

In a broadcast on Monday, the Governor stated that a telegram had been sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London presenting themselves as the Convention and pretending to speak on behalf of the Chiefs of the country which "makes it abundantly clear that the purpose of a small clique of ambitious men is to do all in its power to assume into its own hands and in its own interests administration of the country. The connexion of this intention with the recent and existing disorders cannot be overlooked."

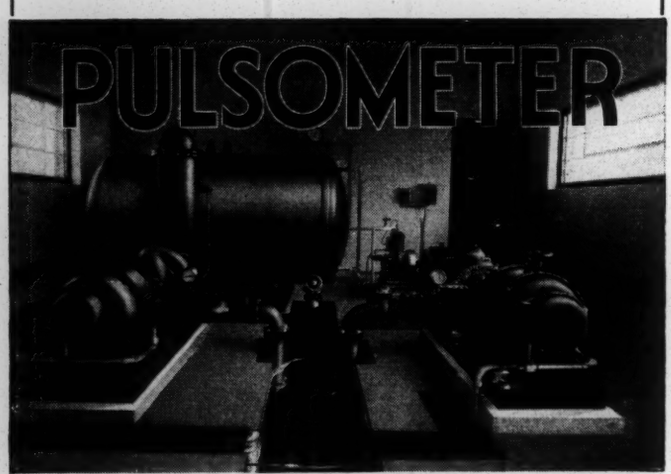
The Governor disproved the Convention's claim by reading a resolution of the Standing Committee of the Chiefs of the joint provincial Council condemning the outbreaks as "totally unconstitutional and inconsistent with our own principles of justice and right." The Chiefs reaffirmed their loyalty to the King and their unstinted support of the Gold Coast Government.

The Governor stated he would make it his duty to see a thorough investigation was undertaken, without the least possible delay not only of the disturbances but of the underlying causes. He said that all proper constitutional channels were always open to redress the grievances of ex-Servicemen and others, but he would not tolerate unlawful means of drawing attention to these grievances.

A demonstration threatened by students of Achimota against the shooting was called off after intervention by the Council of the College.

On Monday night a woman was shot dead for contravening the curfew. Unconfirmed reports say that seven men were also shot.

Two sloops left Simonstown on March 3, under Admiralty orders for the Gold Coast.



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LORDS DISCUSS PROSPECTS OF COLONIAL SERVICE

"WE are spending millions and tens of millions of pounds in the Colonial Empire, but unless we make a wise and judicious investment of our human capital those millions will count for nothing." This was the main theme of the motion on conditions in the Colonial Service which was introduced by Lord Tweedsmuir in the House of Lords last week. He addressed himself principally to the administrative service. This numbered about 1,700 out of a total number of 300,000 employees in all the territories which come within the sphere of the Secretary of State.

Lord Tweedsmuir believed that "we have come to a turning point and, unless we can offer to the Colonial Service of the future some prospects, some security and some really reasonable terms of service, we shall not get the people who built the Colonial Empire to what it is and who maintained it to this day."

We are Getting the Best

Lord Milverton said that the new recruits to the Colonial Service give great cause for hope for the future to anybody who has the welfare of the Service at heart. There never has been a time like the present, when we need and must have the best, and for the moment we are getting the best. The method of training which has been instituted by the Colonial Office is now of a far higher grade, far more carefully thought out, more carefully prepared and followed up than has ever been the case before. The Colonial Civil Servant of to-day goes to meet the difficulties of his task a far better trained man.

The natural corollary of our policy is that the Colonial Administrative Service, recruited from this country, should be a diminishing body because, as they train the people of the Colonial countries to administer their own affairs, it is obvious that the need for so many will slowly diminish.

Future More Brilliant than Past

"Personally," continued Lord Milverton, "I regard the future of the Colonial Empire as likely to be an even more brilliant one than it has ever been in the past. Anyone who has known it will realize the immense possibilities which are still left, and the great work which there is to be done in increasing collaboration with the various inhabitants of those countries. May I say, too, that that collaboration is being freely given.

"One is apt to get too coloured an impression by the stress which is laid upon occasional difficulties and troubles which occur in the Colonies, but the moment the Colonial Civil Servant goes out to a Colony, wherever it may be, the first thing that he learns—if he ever had any doubt about it before—is that his presence there is welcome and that he belongs to a body of men who are deeply respected by ninety-nine out of every hundred of the community in which he works. I hope that the day will never come when he will cease to be regarded as their friend."

Encouraging the Recruit

"I remember . . . . taking an American Consul-General across the middle of Nigeria on one occasion. Even he, representing a type of man who was well informed in every respect, was amazed at what he saw. He turned to me at the end of a fortnight of this journeying and said: 'Do you know, it has occurred to me that if your presence was not welcomed in this country, it would be quite impossible for a handful of Englishmen to carry on this work as they do.' That is the impression on every honest observer who goes about our Colonies.

"I stress these points because I want to encourage the recruit to the Colonial Service, in every way I can, to realize that he has a great prospect before him. One has, of course, to realize that the aim in the distant future is that his presence will not be required; but that is not at present. No person who knows anything of the subject can believe that, in the lifetime of anybody joining the service to-day, that service will not provide an ample career; there is a long way to go before these Colonies will be able to do without the advice, help and support of the British services."

Liaison Between Colonial and Foreign Service

Lord Rennell said that, in spite of having the largest Colonial Empire in the world, we in this country have little in the way of institutional organization in the study of the Colonies. "The schools in France and Belgium are both of longer standing and far more elaborate than anything we have in England. A scheme for training and refresher courses is long overdue and I hope very much that that will be instituted as soon as possible even if it requires additional personnel."

Lord Rennell found there is a great deal lacking in the knowledge possessed by the Foreign Service of administrative and Colonial matters. Has the time not come, he asked, to institute, within a limited number of people, an interchange of personnel between our Foreign Service and the Colonial Service?

Losing Touch

Lord Altrincham said: "It is little use our saying in this House and elsewhere that, in setting up these great schemes of development in the Colonial Empire, we count upon the co-operation of the Colonial peoples, if, in fact, we are moving into a method of administration which prevents the district officers from keeping touch as they should."

Many officers, he said, are most anxious about the schemes of development. "They think we are losing touch; that we are getting divided in our purpose as to these countries; and that while we say that we intend to develop the Colonial Empire entirely in the interests of their own peoples, there is a growing note in all our argument as to the tremendous advantage it is going to be to ourselves."

The Vast Majority

During the course of his reply, the Earl of Listowel said: "the vast majority of those employed by Colonial Governments are of local origin. It is estimated that the figure is about 96 per cent. of the total which, to all those who continue to think of the Colonial Service in terms of the young men who go out from the United Kingdom to the Colonies, is a striking proportion. It is extremely satisfactory . . . . that so many of the indigenous population of the Colonies are now engaged in Government service. Of course, there is no bar, in whatever Colony they may work, to their promotion to the highest Government appointments in their own communities. It is true that, at this moment, the remaining 4 per cent. are people from this country and the Dominions and, of course, they occupy most of the leading positions.

"Nevertheless, no effort is being spared to promote the advancement of locally born people in every grade to their technical and administrative services; and in the next few years we hope to see an even larger number of responsible posts held by men and women of local origin. As a practical contribution to the achievement of this aim, we have set aside £1,000,000 of Colonial Development and Welfare money to provide scholarships for Colonial people who wish to obtain the academic or professional qualifications required for the higher branches of the Colonial Service. So far, nearly 200 of these scholarships have been awarded to candidates from a wide range of Colonies. This scheme will ensure that the public services of the Colonies in the next ten years will be reinforced by at least several hundred fully qualified men and women, drawn from the Colonial communities themselves."

Aspects of Common Law—1

Basic Legislation in West Africa

By A Legal Correspondent

THE Limited Company, whether public or private, will play an increasingly important part in the economic development of West Africa during the coming years. As secondary industries are introduced, West Africans may invest more and more of their capital in the companies created to organize and manage those industries.

Company Law in West Africa, apart from the Gambia, where Companies are still incorporated by separate Ordinances, is closely based upon the Company Law of England, where important amendments to the law were passed in 1947 as a result of the Cohen Report. These amendments have yet to be introduced into the Companies Ordinances, but it is anticipated that they will be within the next twelve months.

It is proposed, therefore, to study in this column the 1947 amendments, all of which will be in force in England by July of this year (final consolidating legislation will also be introduced this year); to show how English Company Law now differs from that of West Africa as a result of these enactments, and to review current leading cases in Company Law.

In England, Company Law has its roots in the seventeenth century in the Companies incorporated by Royal Charter and those incorporated by special Act of Parliament. The idea is, however, to be found as far back as the era of Roman supremacy, and can be traced in the Gild organization which flourished in Mediæval England.

The Russia Company, The East India Company, the Bank of England, the British South Africa Company and, of course, the Royal Niger Company were all products of the Royal Charter system. This system is rarely used nowadays, both because of the unwillingness of the Crown to exercise its prerogative, and also because of the delay and expense in the proceedings. Incorporation by special Act of Parliament was evolved, largely to assist in the provision of the finance and powers necessary for the construction of canals in England, and was later used in the development of public utility undertakings.

These two methods of incorporation were clearly too cumbersome for adaptation for everyday business, whilst the general law dealing with incorporation was insufficient to protect the public from unscrupulous company promoters. Legislation designed to meet this problem, and to enable a much wider public to carry on business with limited liability, is now contained in the series of Companies Acts of 1862/1947, and it is upon this legislation that the Company Law of West Africa is based.

In Nigeria, the main Ordinance is the Companies Ordinance No. 54 of 1922. This was a consolidating measure introduced to standardize the procedure for the incorporation, regulation and winding up of trading companies and other associations. It repealed the Companies Ordinance (No. 8 of 1912 of Southern Nigeria) and the Companies (Amendment and Extension) Ordinance (No. 66 to 1917).

Divided into eight parts, the lay-out of the Ordinance is as follows:—Constitution and Incorporation; Distribution and Reduction of Share Capital; Management and Administration; Winding Up; Registration Office and Fees; Winding Up of Unregistered Companies; Companies Established outside Nigeria; and Supplemental.

Following upon the legislation introduced in England in 1928, after three years of investigation by a Committee, set up by Parliament, Ordinance No. 20 of 1929, came into existence in Nigeria. It introduced the more important changes effected by the English 1928 Act, relating to the issue of shares, the hawking of shares, and the issue of prospectuses by foreign companies inviting subscriptions for schemes or offering shares for sale.

In 1939, the Companies Income Tax Ordinance No. 14 was passed for the purpose of levying income tax on chargeable income of any Company by a Commission appointed for the purpose. This Ordinance was repealed by the Income Tax Ordinance, No. 3, of 1940, which was re-enacted and amended in 1943 by Ordinance No. 29.

In the Gold Coast, the principal Ordinance is Cap 156 in the 1936 Revised Edition of the Laws of the Gold Coast. It is modelled upon similar principles as the Nigerian Ordinance, but no special provision has been made in it for Private Companies.

In Sierra Leone, the Companies Ordinance of 1924, which had adapted for the Colony the Company Law of England as it was in 1906, was repealed by Ordinance No. 18 of 1937. The new Ordinance conforms with more modern legislation, especially the English Companies Act of 1929.

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LABELS FOR BRITISH NATIONALS

THE words: "Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies" provided much subject matter for discussion during the recent reading of the British Nationality Bill in the House of Lords last week. Lord Altrincham said he was not in love with the term "British subject." "If," he said, "we are thinking of the Commonwealth as a whole, we must enter into the sentiments of all the peoples composing it. We must find a term for membership of the Commonwealth which will be agreeable to them and to their sentiments.

"It is no use choosing one which is merely agreeable to our sentiment or to our tradition. There is no doubt that the term: 'British subject' is not agreeable to many peoples of the Commonwealth. The French Canadian, for instance, does not feel that he is British. Nor does a Dutch South African. Indeed, a Canadian of any kind may not feel that he is British in the sense which we mean by the term. The word 'subject' is also bound up with British, and is rather liable to misinterpretation. It gives a sense of being subject to Britain and, of course, that is the last kind of thing we would wish to perpetuate. For my part, therefore, I am glad that we are not going to insist upon 'British subject' as a world-wide description of the lieges of the King. I think we need another term at the present time. I should like to see the term 'British subject,' and certainly the term 'British citizen,' confined to those who are really inhabitants by nature, by adoption, or by naturalization, of the British Isles."

Citizenship of New Entity

"The United Kingdom," he continued, "has a problem peculiar to itself in regard to this Bill and Bills of a similar character, in that it is closely linked to a great Colonial Empire. The Bill, therefore, establishes citizenship of a new entity, a new legal entity of 'the United Kingdom and Colonies,' so that all residing in that entity have the same citizenship. This is quite unlike any other national citizenships, which bind together members of a homogeneous geographical, social, political and economic whole. What we are trying to do in the Bill is to give a common citizenship to what is geographically, socially and politically a most heterogeneous community at many different stages of development."

Colonial Citizenship "Will Not Endure"

He thought "the fact that this great United Kingdom citizenship, or citizenship of a single entity which includes the United Kingdom and the Colonies is to be conferred at one sweep upon millions of subjects of the King who may not understand that it is really a matter of legal convenience, without direct political significance—and who may, indeed not unnaturally, assume that it confers a right to political equality, whatever the constitution of the Colony to which they belong—may create needless trouble and embarrassment in the present stage of Colonial development."

Citizenship Gateway to Nationality

During his reply, the Lord Chancellor said: "The principle upon which we are now proceeding is that British nationality shall be acquired only through citizenship. It is for each constituent part of the Commonwealth to lay down rules determining its own citizenship. Citizenship is the gateway, and the only gateway there is, through which one enters to reach nationality. Once we admit that conception, it follows that, in order to carry it out, we must also have our citizenship. With regard to the phrase: 'British subject,' I agree with the wise words of the noble Lord (Lord Altrincham) when he said: 'If that is a source of offence to anybody, let us call it something else.' But for the moment, I prefer the phrase 'British subject' as a title which, in view of our past history, I am proud to bear. If we have a conception that the genus of 'British subject' is made up of the various species of citizen—and that is how we arrive at it—then we must have a species of our own citizenship.

"Then we come to a question which I agree is much more debatable. Are we to have that species of citizenship applying to this country alone? or are we to have it applying to those territories over which this Parliament has the right to legislate? If we say that it is for the Parliament of any particular country to define the test of citizenship, is it not right that we, in this Parliament, should be able to deal both with the citizenship of the United Kingdom and also with the citizenship of the Colonies?"

One for All

He agreed that the Colonial Office and those who know about the Colonies attach great importance to the fact "that in this matter we should go in with our Colonial territories as part of the one scheme. If we do not do that, the noble Lord will see the difficulty. If he accepts the principle that citizenship is the only gateway through which one can attain nationality, then if we do not have a citizenship of the United Kingdom and the Colonies, but only a citizenship of the United Kingdom, we still have to deal with the Colonies. Are we to deal with the Colonies as one? Are we to have one citizenship for all the Colonies or are we going to have a separate citizenship for each particular Colony and island? Thinking this matter over, and discussing it at very great length, we have come to the conclusion that this is the best scheme to adopt.

"I am prepared to consider what the noble Lord has to say in answer when we get to a more detailed study of the Bill. I should like to add here that I am not in the least proud of the cumbrous phrase 'citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies'—nobody could be—but I have not been able to think of a better one. If any of your Lordships has an inspiration between now and Committee stage, perhaps he will give me advance notice of it. I will gladly consider whether we can produce a better phrase. That is the position at the present moment."

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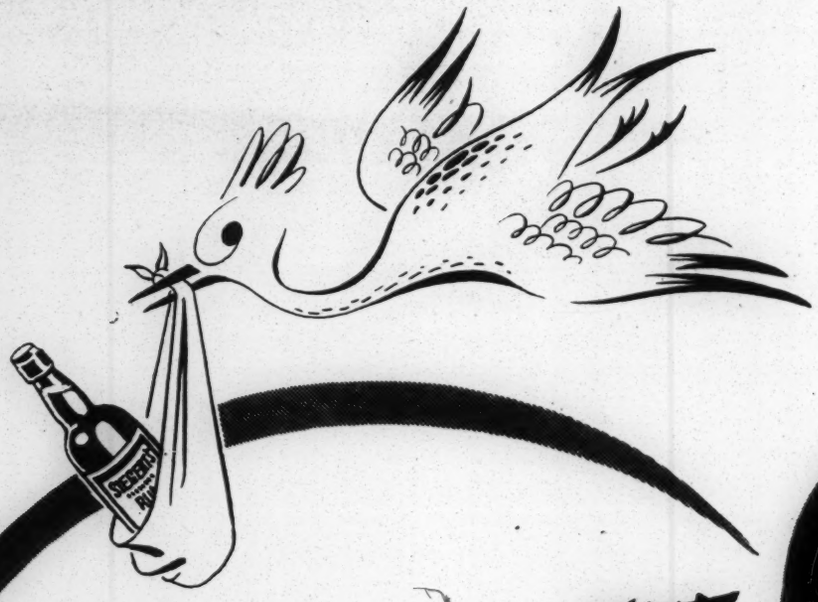

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Witch doctors and dances are shown; and the skill of the fishermen casting their nets is superbly caught by the camera. Young and old are seen mouthing "B's" in an open air class for "mass education." The growth of co-operatives, exports of cotton and palm oil, progress in the tinfields point to the way which development is taking. But the challenges are harsh, as the commentator says. Only one in thirty can read, and Nigeria must depend on its own resources to pay for a higher standard of living.

How soon will it be a free country? In the opinion of the commentator, work which had been estimated to need one hundred years may have to be done in one or two generations. It was a happy thought of the producers to show *Challenge in Nigeria* in the same programme as the new Edgar Wallace racing film: *The Calendar*. Nigeria's millions are likely to find a large audience in this country and, of course, that is what the challenge is all about.

* * *

Commonwealth Citizens

CITIZENSHIP, introduced into the British Constitution for the first time by the British Nationality Bill, is to be the gateway to nationality. The peoples of each self-governing country within the Commonwealth are to enjoy a particular status as citizens in their own country and, in addition, they are to have a common status as members of the association of peoples forming the British Commonwealth.

For Colonial people, the change is mainly one of status. Their common citizenship with the people of the United Kingdom *within* the United Kingdom will now be clearly defined.

Arising from consultations with the Dominions, referred to during the second reading of the Bill in the House of Lords, the Government has set down an amendment so that those who qualify for nationality may have the status of either a "British subject" or a "Commonwealth citizen," the two expressions bearing the same meaning.

The idea of common citizenship for the United Kingdom and the Colonies, rather than separate kinds of citizenship, has been followed because the British Government is ultimately responsible for the government of all these territories. The only exception to be noted is that the children of an alien father resident in a Mandated Territory do not acquire British nationality.

Common citizenship is a conception which may have far-reaching effects. It could facilitate the idea, now being propagated as part of a Commonwealth emigration policy, that the individual's social security rights should accompany him anywhere within the Empire.

IAL SERVICE MARKET

fidence in Colonial Power

the equivalent of nine years; Education, the equivalent of ten years; Administration (including appointments on contract), the equivalent of eleven years. The overall intake of two years was roughly equivalent to seven years or more. Considerable progress had been made in face of a very heavy demand.

From Ship's Cook to District Officer

Nearly all professional and technical appointments went to people from the Universities. But for administrative appointments, "we deliberately never tie ourselves down even to the degree." So elastic was the qualification for administrative appointments that, on one occasion, a man who had been a ship's cook and had travelled widely was given a job as District Officer.

Over a period of ten years, between 300 and 400 applicants were accepted from the Dominions, where special selection boards operated. Sir Ralph expressed the opinion that the recruitment made ten years before the war was a very good vintage. While agreeing that the standard of applicants being accepted for the Services today was very high, he thought that some of the best men were being lost because the salaries offered were insufficiently tempting.

Anthropology Past and Present

IN its speculative enthusiasm, evolutionary anthropology developed weaknesses. Western views, skills and institutions were tacitly assumed to be the culminating point to which human evolution had been moving through millenia. Western Europe was the point of reference for the world.

Thus the anthropologists of the later 19th century cast their theories about social institutions and culture in a pseudo-historical form. Features of custom and belief among modern savages were sometimes projected backwards into the past as the origin of western institutions, while explanations of the customs of savages themselves were sought not in the constitution of their own society or in its actual history, but in some hypothetical pre-existing condition.

For some writers, the widespread rule of exogamy of kin groups pointed to an earlier condition in which such groups had first captured wives from one another and later arranged a regular system of exchange. Even Tylor saw the origin of religion in a belief in spirits and the soul

Opinion

One Man can Clear a Town

IT makes me thoroughly ashamed when I see boys and girls with yaws on their bodies. However careful you are, you will have children with yaws, as long as some people fail to complete their courses of injections for it. I know you wish you could help; you'd love to have £2,000 to £3,000 and become a doctor. But you can help; you don't need to be a doctor. You can take the children to the doctor when they have yaws in their skin. The important thing is to find out when the doctor wants to give the next injection, and to make sure the child goes again.

The injections must go on long after the skin yaws heal up. If not, the yaws will break out again and may infect someone else and, as you know, yaws remaining in the body cause joint pains and other trouble throughout life. One man or woman who really tries to encourage the people with yaws to go to hospital as often as the doctor says, can clear a town of the disease. Think of the improvement in health that that one man can produce. Now you see why I'm ashamed when I see children with yaws. We have the power to wipe it out but we have not done so. We need your help so that yaws will cease to spoil West Africa's health as it now does.—Dr. K. W. Todd in "Calling West Africa."

* * *

Making your Mark

THERE is one thing that I should like to stress for the benefit of any young man looking towards tropical Africa as his land of opportunity; and that is that, in spite of all that has been done to improve conditions, the West Coast of Africa is not a white man's country. I know it isn't the "white man's grave" any longer, but you can't settle down there to live the rest of your life, and if you marry and raise a family, well you're in for a lot of painful separations.

However, there it is, and if you get a kick out of the idea of making your mark on the map of building roads and bridges where none have been before; hacking an aerodrome or two, out of bush; and generally helping to bring the somewhat doubtful benefits of civilization to the undeveloped areas of the earth, well I say "Go to it young man." Good luck to you—but don't blame me.—(Geoffrey Stubbs in the Commonwealth and Empire Programme of the B.B.C. Home Service).

* * *

Waiting

THERE is a great deal of unrest everywhere. Racial consciousness is more pronounced, and people are loud in their demands. The problem Nigeria is presenting at this time may serve as an illustration. That country is passing through what I consider to be one of the most difficult periods in the stages of her development. I refer to the period of waiting. In her request for a more direct training for self-rule, the abrogation of certain ordinances, facilities of school education for all her children of school age, the industrialization of her country, and facilities for free market, Nigeria is loud.

The typical answer to most of her requests amounts to —"Wait, everything that can be done will be done in due course, grievances will be seen to, but you've got to wait." The Church (in Nigeria) has been loud in her request for the privilege and responsibility of a Province. The Church has failed to understand why the Christians from the South should be denied the freedom of preaching the Gospel in the areas of their Moslem brothers of the North.

She thinks it will be in the best interest of the Christian religion if the system of running Colonial Churches (i.e., Churches set apart for Europeans) is abolished in Nigeria; and both races worship side by side. I am afraid she will have to continue to wait until the authorities concerned can sort things out. How trying is this period of suspense! —(Canon I. O. Okusamya, of Nigeria, as quoted in *The Record*, May 7).

* * *

Planned Investment

IT must always be remembered that a thousand tractors may produce five times as much food if they are employed in Europe; and the repair of the Mohne dam in Germany may be more important to the world than the building of a new dam in Uganda. What one can say with conviction is that, since the war, the right beginnings have been made. The petty Colonial rivalries are disappearing and, instead of old-fashioned Colonial exploitation, a programme of planned investment has been undertaken.

If war breaks out, Africa will not of itself make a great contribution, but all that is now going on will render it much more of an asset to the forces which are to defend democracy. If peace is maintained, it is at least possible that, within the next 50 years, the cause of democracy will have been strengthened by the accession of a great group of states in Africa.—(From an article by Aidan Crawley, M.P., in the *Liverpool Evening Express*).

* * *

Africanization

WE would like to draw the attention of all Honourable Unofficial members to the fact that the first step to be taken to assure us of Government intention to really Africanize the Senior Service is for the present African holders of posts previously held by Europeans in the pre-Harragin days to be automatically promoted to the Senior Service *honoris causa*. A case in point is that of African Paymasters of Departments like the Railway and Public Works who handle vast sums of money daily. Yet some of these hard-working officials are First Class Clerks.—*The Nigerian Daily Times* (May 8).

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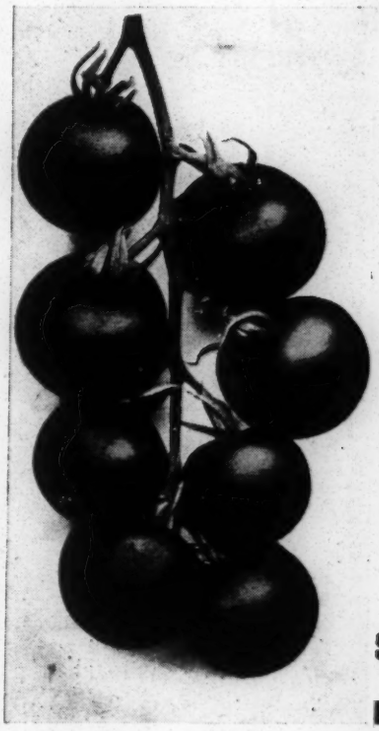

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COLONIES AND THE BRITISH NATIONALITY BILL

By Lord Milverton

THE British Nationality Bill is of the greatest importance in that it gives legal recognition to a new principle and marks a new advance in the relationship of the component members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The conception of citizenship and nationality embodied in the Bill has been slowly forming for many years. In that respect, the Bill merely recognizes a situation that is already a fact, although to the ordinary citizen the provisions of the Bill will appear to be novel and perhaps startling.

The simple principle underlying this Bill is that each of the member States of the British Commonwealth is equally entitled, under its own laws, to create citizens, just as the Metropolitan Dominion (which is the United Kingdom) does, and that the sum total of all citizens so created will be British subjects. In other words, citizenship is to be the gateway through which nationality is achieved. In the past, the United Kingdom has not had a separate citizenship of its own; but it is clear that if each of the other self-governing States of the Commonwealth makes legal provision for its own citizenship, by virtue of which the wider status of British or Commonwealth subject is achieved, then the United Kingdom must herself fall into line or claim for herself a separate and superior status which she expressly does not claim. The new conception of citizenship is the species; nationality is the genus.

The Canadian Citizenship Act of 1946 was framed on the basis that Canada should enact her own laws in regard to her own citizenship, and that a person admitted to citizenship of Canada should be entitled to British nationality.

Each other member State will now, it is anticipated, decide for itself according to its own laws what constitutes citizenship; and when that has been decided, nationality will follow citizenship. That being so, it becomes necessary to provide for a citizenship of the United Kingdom through which each citizen attains to British nationality.

The qualifications for citizenship may vary widely in the different component States, but the one constant result is the attainment of British nationality.

Common nationality does not necessarily confer rights in other member States, but the fact of possessing British nationality will obviously stand a man in good stead throughout the Commonwealth; and throughout the foreign world, it will entitle him to full diplomatic "protection" and consular help from British representatives.

In the United Kingdom, the Lord Chancellor has explained, rights and privileges will not derive from being a citizen of the U.K., but from being a British subject, so that the citizens of any of member States will meet in England on equal terms with citizens of the U.K., by virtue of their common British nationality. This arrangement arises because we choose to have it so, as part of our Imperial policy. It does not follow that the same position will apply in all the member States, which are free to legislate for themselves as to whom they shall admit into their territory as settlers.

Let us look now at the position of the Colonies under the new principle in this Bill. The existing position derives from the 1914 British Nationality Act, which was based upon the idea of a common code and a common test of nationality throughout the Commonwealth. It was expected that part of the Act would be adopted by the various member States. As it turned out, each State preferred to enact its own legislation and, although this was in substantially similar terms and substantial uniformity was achieved, anomalies did arise and discrepancies tended to increase.

One of the many difficulties of the common code basis was that any alteration required the previous consent of all member States and was only possible, if at all, after interminable delays. In any case, the Canadian Citizenship Act of 1946 introduced the new principle, outlined above, and represented the result of long consideration and extensive discussion between the different Governments of the Commonwealth.

His Majesty's Government in the U.K. was immediately confronted with the question of the position of the Colonies in new legislation, based on the principle of citizenship as the gateway to nationality. Should the Colonies be included with the United Kingdom or left out and dealt with as one group? Or should there be a separate citizenship for each particular Colony? It was felt that as H.M. Government is responsible for the peace, order and good government of the Colonial territories and, in a sense, are trustees for their people, it would be wrong to differentiate between their own people and the people for whom they are trustees. So the new citizenship of the U.K. assumed the composite form of "citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies". Presumably, as and when a Colony advances to responsible self-governing status, it will also pass to a new species of citizenship.

I am sure that when its provisions are understood in the Colonies, the British Nationality Bill will be strongly welcomed as conferring on all Colonies the honourable position of equal citizenship with the United Kingdom and British nationality with all its privileges.

The Bill also makes careful provision for British protected persons and makes their naturalization as citizens and British subjects a matter of little more than registration.

I should like to quote the words of the Lord Chancellor in moving the second reading of the Bill—"I believe that of all the remarkable contributions which our race has made to the art of government, the conception of our Empire and Commonwealth is the greatest. Of course, it may be said, and said with truth, that it lacks a logical foundation and that it is difficult to expound or explain it. But, though it is difficult to expound and explain, I believe it to be a noble institution. I believe that we have managed to combine a sense of unity with a sense of individual freedom, so that it may fairly be said of our conception of the British Empire and Commonwealth that its service is perfect freedom. Now the link, the bond which binds us together, is, of course, primarily the fact that we are all proud to be subjects of H.M. the King. There are other things which bind us: there is the sense of perils shared together and overcome in the past; there are the hopes for the future. But those things are not in any sense limited to members of the family, they are things which we share, I hope, with the Countries of Western Europe. But there is something about the family which to my mind depends upon there being a common status and a common nationality."

The Bill attempts to give legislative sanction to a common status and a common nationality.

Proper Standard of Comparison

PERHAPS the most important point we can make in these international gatherings, where our administration is the victim of these ill-informed attacks, is to secure a proper standard of comparison. The real comparison is not between oversea territories and metropolitan territories—naturally in this case the comparison is disadvantageous, as oversea territories cannot be expected to achieve in a few decades what the metropolitan countries have taken centuries to win. The real comparison is between oversea territories and adjoining sovereign states.

(Mr. Ivor Thomas at the recent Amsterdam Conference on Overseas Territories).

The Way Out

FOOD is politics. Years of austerity and the prospect of continuing shortage have taught the British people some of the hard facts about population pressure and soil erosion. Now, under the tutorship of Lord Bruce and Sir John Boyd-Orr, they are learning the long way out—world co-operation to produce more food and to distribute it with a wiser equity.

Sir John's latest contribution to the education of the public and the politicians is the idea of a Commonwealth and Colonial Food Production Plan to be devised by the United Kingdom and put up to the World Food Council. To influence all nations to combine in the Food and Agricultural Organization and other United Nations agencies, Sir John suggests, should be the main objective of British foreign policy.

Details of the proposed Plan are still lacking; but any plan which did no more than make the African continent self-sufficient in essential foodstuffs would ease mightily the whole world problem.

* * *

Fighting the Tsetse

SCIENTISTS are wise to refuse to rush into print with reports of their discoveries. Success in this, as in other spheres, is a long-term operation. All the same, it seems that a so-far unnamed chemist on the staff of Imperial Chemical Industries has marched across a new frontier of knowledge. According to Dr. D. G. Davey, the brilliant young biologist, a new drug found and perfected in the I.C.I.'s English laboratories, will immunize cattle against the ravages of the tsetse fly.

The report comes from Khartoum, where field tests with the drug are now being carried out. In London, the I.C.I. chemists are not prepared to claim success until the fullest possible tests have been completed.

But Dr. Davey is not the man to talk idly. He is one of the three-man team—the others are Dr. F. H. S. Curd and Dr. F. L. Rose—who discovered paludrine, the most potent weapon yet known in the war against malaria.

When Dr. Davey and the chemist who leads his new team can release details, we may find we have made a rapid advance in the search for more, better and cheaper food.

* * *

Pan African Railway

NOT less vital is an African plan for transport. When, recently, he asked the Tanganyika Legislative Council to approve amalgamation of the East African Railway systems, Mr. J. R. Farquharson (general manager of the Tanganyika Railways and Harbours) forecast that East African Railways will be linked up with the Rhodesian system. He described the conversion of the lines from metre guage to 3 ft. 6 ins. as a problem that must be tackled within the next ten years.

Meantime, with recent developments in the Union of South Africa dimming hopes that Walvis Bay in the west might be opened up, there is a revival of Southern Rhodesian interest in a British Central Africa Authority running a line from Salisbury northwards to Tukuyu, thence eastward to the new groundnut port of Mikindani.

West Africa ought to have a voice in all such projects. Although exports from Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone to Southern Rhodesia amounted to only £1,300 in 1946, imports were over £100,000, the bulk of them being manufactured Virginian tobacco. A few years ago, imports from Southern Rhodesia were £170,000. They are drying up, probably because of a lack of reciprocity which an all-African railway system might cure.

* * *

Form-Filling

EXPORTERS to West Africa are introduced to Form "C" in the June issue of the *British Trade Journal and Export World*. This "Combined Certificate of Value and of Origin and Invoice of Goods for Exportation to British West Africa" consists of a declaration to be given by an authorized official of the exporting or shipping firm as to the correctness and truth of the items set out in the form of invoice on reverse and as to the fixed nature of the prices quoted.

Then follows a full declaration as to the country of complete origin of the goods, or alternatively the countries in which the goods have been wholly or partly manufactured or whence certain component parts or material or ingredients of the goods have been obtained. These declarations are signed by the official concerned and his signature must be fully witnessed. Then follows the lists of items in connexion with the packing, cartage, freightage and insurance of the goods and any commissions or duties payable and the approximate cost of each of these items must be shown, together with a statement as to whether or not they are included in the price charged to the buyer.

On the reverse of the form is printed a blank commercial invoice, which must be completed in the ordinary way. One of these documents must accompany any parcel sent to British West Africa by parcels post, while all drafts drawn against goods forwarded either by parcels post or sea or air freight must have four copies of these documents attached.

* * *

Textile Shortage ?

"THERE is a strong impression," writes a correspondent in *The Textile Mercury and Argus*, last month, "that there is a glut of textiles at the Coast. It is true that imports during 1947 were roughly 30 per cent. higher than in 1946. As a result, stocks rose and the buyers' strike in the Gold Coast did not help matters. But since then, there has been relatively good trading in the Gold Coast as well as Nigeria; and retail sales have been good though at reduced prices.

"The present appearance of adequate stocks in West Africa can be misleading. By the autumn, when the new produce season starts, stocks will have been reduced considerably; and imports from all sources will in 1948 not equal those of 1947. If produce prices, particularly that of cocoa, again rise (as seems likely) then there may even be a shortage of textiles since the Colonial markets are the most sensitive to an excess of purchasing power over supplies of consumer goods."

* * *

Colonial Law

IT is strange, writes Miss Margery Perham in the preface to C. K. Meek's Bibliography of *Colonial Law*,* that a people so proud of their achievement in the sphere of law as the British should have given so little serious attention to the wider significance of their imperial responsibilities. This volume should go a long way to remove that reproach, if only by making known to a wider public the comparatively large number of books which has already been written on a subject with so many aspects for study.

More than 800 books are listed, and the headings are sometimes functional, sometimes territorial. This is the fifth of a series of bibliographies and reading lists, which have been produced with the help of money provided by Nuffield College. Previously published are *Colonial Administration, Colonial Economics* (by Miss Penelope Bower), *Urban Conditions in Africa* (by Jean Comhaire) and *Rural Conditions and Betterment in the British Colonies* (by Dr. Philip Mayer).

*(Published for Nuffield College by Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, London, E.C.4, price 4/6d.).

* * *

Chimpanzee Flight

FLYING to Africa this week by *Air France* was a representative of the London Zoo. Mr. Lester, who was due in Freetown on June 17, is to collect a chimpanzee and bring it to London for the Zoo authorities. Apparently chimpanzees are not yet air-minded enough to fly, or maybe air passengers might discriminate. In any case, Mr. Lester plus chimpanzee is returning by sea.

West Africa, July 3, 1948 *Price Sixpence*

WEST AFRICA

A weekly Newspaper circulating throughout Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Gambia, French West Africa, Mandated Territories, Belgian Congo and in Europe.

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CHALLENGE TO NIGERIA

COLONIAL development is too often handicapped by the politician and the public speaker. The apt phrase, the sweeping generalization abound from the lips of great and small. And each expert sees salvation only in his sovereign remedy. Even so gentle and reserved a speaker as the EARL OF LISTOWEL said recently, in Oxford: "Here is a great chance for soil scientists to start a revolution that will raise the pitiful living standards of those who live in the tropics."

It is heartening, therefore, to find that there are other approaches to Colonial development. One such approach concerning the future of the Nigerian Palm Oil Industry has been made by The United Africa Company, to whom readers of WEST AFRICA are indebted for the series of articles currently appearing. Factually, statistically, and with little recourse to the embellishment of metaphor or simile, the Nigerian Palm Oil Industry is presented with its present deficiencies together with suggestions for its immediate improvement and for ultimate progress to the maximum of economic achievement.

In the world of ideas where the raising of living standards seems obviously imperative though difficult, it is sometimes forgotten that first attention is due to the maintenance of the existing very low levels. Starvation, we are reminded, is always around the corner. What must be the treatment of The United Africa Company's challenge to Nigeria? since *The future of the Nigerian Palm Oil Industry* must be thus considered.

Obviously, it must be studied by home and local governments. But it must be studied, too, by educated Nigerians because on their recommendations alone is there the least likelihood of its main proposals being acceptable to the Nigerian communities. The public spiritedness of the Company in making such a document available through these channels deserves every recognition.

There are bound to be criticisms of some of the proposals. The word "plantation" has associations which mean to Africans what red symbolizes for the bull. There would be no African "problems" if there were no African criticism. Nor would uncritical Nigerian acceptance of proposals for benefiting their palm oil industry be good either for themselves or for anyone by whom that responsibility might be taken.

What, then, are the points for special consideration? The first obvious challenge affects the inhabitants of Benin and the provinces lying eastward. Any cessation of the trade in palm products, or even any considerable diminution would, it is claimed, lead to such a collapse of the local economy as to result in three or four million people being reduced to famine conditions. Certainly, Nigerians have a vested interest in resisting such an eventuality.

The second main challenge is quality. The real weakness of Nigeria, it is claimed, lies in the fact that the output of her competitors is of far higher quality than her own. "There is a serious risk that Nigeria will find herself excluded from all but the soap markets." This statement is almost frightening in its simplicity.

Little would be gained by recapitulating here the arguments by which are indicated the great accession of wealth which would accrue to Nigeria if it were possible to improve the agricultural and mechanical skill and practice of the African peasant. But it is well-worth the repetition that "if extraction were undertaken by a factory plant which would enable 93 per cent. extraction to be achieved and if, at the same time, every palm at present harvested was a cultivated rather than a wild palm, the total value of the oil and kernels marketed would reach £28,500,000; that is to say, at a time when everything possible is needed to improve the standard of living, the potential wealth from oil palm cultivation could be doubled."

So far, the ground is firm; but when the plantation proposals are made, there are suspicions of bogs ahead. There is nothing new in the proposal for a tripartite syndicate in which the Government, the African, and the European should each play a rôle for which each is best fitted. Since Great Britain's proved Colonial objective is the leading of dependent peoples towards self-government some partnership of this nature is inevitable.

But the very perfection and plotting of the details of the "settlers" who are to spend six years as wage earners before emerging as proprietors responsible for the maintenance and harvesting of their palms will need much explanation and patience, before it is accepted for what it is—a well conceived plan for improving the material conditions of the Nigerian peasant.

Again, the absolute certainty that if the plantation is to be a success it cannot be run by

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Africans themselves may tend to obscure the general application of these words to the average European as well. There is always a sensitiveness of feeling produced by blunt statement of facts and the more true the truth, the greater the hurt. These are but speculations, however, as to the possible unfavourable reception which may be accorded to certain points of detail.

What is important is that here is being presented, by the most competent authority, a proposal for assisting the material development of Nigeria and its inhabitants. The proposal must be examined on its merits.

One interesting suggestion which will appear in the last article of the series is that if The United Africa Company were invited to co-operate, it would be prepared to regard this work as a contribution to the progress and development of Nigeria and would agree to participate on a service rather than a profit basis. The African would, in this way, be virtually the sole owner and draw the entire profit for himself from the enterprise. No stronger incentive could be offered. Its suggestion from the Company and not from the African should clear the ground for co-operation if a long-term programme is found acceptable to the Nigerian Government.

Two other considerations are worth pointing out. If the production of palm oil in Nigeria were doubled, more of it would find its way to local stomachs, quite apart from the material advancement of living standards which would accrue from increased sales. Since nutrition is the gateway to health, the cogency of this argument needs no underlining. But the greatest challenge is found in the tail of the articles. "An opportunity presents itself which may never recur."

Surely, these words contain nearly all the wisdom necessary to the consideration of every plan for Colonial development to-day. The Colonies, with few special exceptions, have been complaining of neglect for generations. To-day, private enterprise vies with Governments in promoting development of all kinds. How long will this happiness last?

There can be no development *at all costs* since the permanent result of such development will be resentment against or hatred for the developer. But if the opportunity for development is not fairly grasped now, when it is offered, British Colonial territories will know where to affix blame, should there then be any spirit left for this comfortless sport.

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WEST AFRICAN TALKING POINTS

Presenting the Facts

THE Colonial Empire, 1947/1948, the annual report of the Colonial Office, is a massive, impressive document.

A vast array of facts is recorded. They are marshalled in relation to the Colonial Office and Colonial Service, political, constitutional and social progress, the development of economic resources, Colonial finance and international problems, and they shout a vigorous denial of the criticism that Imperial Government lacks a Colonial policy. They offer proof that, in every field of endeavour—whether of recruitment or nutrition or of definition of the interests of the various Powers operating in West Africa—there is *co-ordinated* activity.

New economic enterprises, of which the Colonial Development Corporation and the Overseas Food Corporation are the spearhead, are discussed under the heading of "Colonies and the Crisis." Their incentive is admitted frankly: Europe's and the world's urgent need for raw materials. Their purpose is stated clearly and persuasively: to enable the Colonies to play an expanding part in an expanding world economy and, thereby, to improve Colonial living standards.

Of course, argument will arise about every fact and every activity. The challenge, however, will not be to Colonial policy, but to the priorities selected in the course of applying policy. Is economic development, for example, being related effectively to political conditions? And should policy aim at political progress before economic emancipation?

Many facts of especial interest to West Africa are recalled in a form that makes reference easy.

The Colonial Economic and Development Council has approved 17 plans under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts. Their costs will total £180 million, of which the United Kingdom will provide £55 million.

Nigeria's ten-year plan will cost £55 million of which the Fund will find £23 million, leaving £16 million to be raised by loan and a similar sum to be raised from local resources. Sierra Leone has been allocated £5,256,000 (£2,900,000 from the Fund, £1,400,000 from loan, and £956,000 from local resources). In the Gambia, £1,980,000 will be spent (£1,300,000 from the Fund, £250,000 from loan and £430,000 from local resources).

The schemes in each plan are set out in detail. Cmd. 7433 is an indispensable two-shillings' worth.

A word of praise is due the writer of the report. It is always readable and often exciting. It perpetrates only one horror. The Colonial Office, we are told, is responsible for *screening* the plans prepared by Colonial Governments—as though these plans were undesirable aliens trying to wriggle through an enemy blockade!

* * *

The Old and the New

THE American view of British Colonial development is important for many reasons. Americans have grown up in the British tradition. They are passing through, although at greater speed, the social, political and industrial revolution which Great Britain believes she has survived. They can represent for us the virtues of our own youth—its high-mindedness, its optimism and its vivid sense of fact.

All these qualities make worth reading the report on West Africa presented to the Foreign Policy Association by Mr. Vernon McKay, now chief of the African Political Section of the State Department. Mr. McKay defines clearly one danger of Communism. It is that Africans can understand conditions in Russia, because they are as primitive as conditions in their own homeland, and can appreciate the reality of Russian progress. Mr. McKay defines with equal clarity the clash between the old and the new in West African official circles. The old men have done a grand job and have acquired an intellectual vested interest in what they have done. "Innovation," they cry with Burke, "is not reform." Nevertheless, the dynamics of innovation still work, and must work if the Colonial tradition is to live.

When we learn how, consciously, to apply the dynamics of innovation we—and the Americans—shall have solved the central problem of democratic government.

* * *

"Our Noble Selves"

THE Corona Club was founded in 1900 by Joseph Chamberlain, as an organization for promoting friendly personal relations between past and present members of the Colonial Service and the Colonial Office, by means of an annual dinner. Except during the two world wars, the dinners have been regularly held, and this week's is the 38th of the series.

The Corona Club Dinner has at least one unusual and admirable feature—there is only one speech. This is delivered by the Secretary of State for the time being, and traditionally concludes with the toast of the Corona Club—"our noble selves," as one Secretary of State expressed it.

The dinner and the speech, excellent as each may be in its way, are only preludes to the important business of the evening. The company breaks up and adjourns to the next room for what the members of the original Com-

WEST AFRICAN COMMENTARY ON COLONIAL POLICY

By R. B. Wellesley Cole

FUNDAMENTALLY, the broad lines of Colonial Policy in the last decade present a continuum. On the one hand, Government has shown an increasing sense of the need to promote the economic and social well-being of Colonial peoples, as a condition of their political advance; on the other hand, West Africans have shown a phenomenal advance all round, but particularly in the direction of self-confidence and national consciousness. While not doubting the good faith of Government, they demand that they must be treated as colleagues, and consulted fairly and fully in all decisions that are taken about their country and their people.

This is just the type of situation that makes for impatience and frayed nerves. On the one hand, there is a tendency to resentment that despite all that Government is doing *for* the people, they are not grateful, but their leaders continue to malign it. On the other hand, there is the constant complaint of the people through their leaders that they are not being consulted in the drawing-up of plans and in their execution. This conflict of Paternalism, "father knows best," versus Nationalism, "we must be consulted," will be found to be at the root of most of the main difficulties in political West Africa to-day. It is the most significant pointer that West Africans have advanced to the position where a new approach is necessary in dealing with them; and it is just this new approach that they looked for, and still look for, in the Labour Government.

To them, Mr. Creech Jones represents the Labour Government. It is not merely that he is the Minister charged with responsibility for Colonial Affairs, but that in his antecedents, his long association with the Fabian Colonial Bureau, his contacts with Colonial students when Labour was in opposition, and in his wide travels throughout West Africa, he had come to symbolize whatever new approach Labour might be expected to bring to the problems of the Colonial Empire.

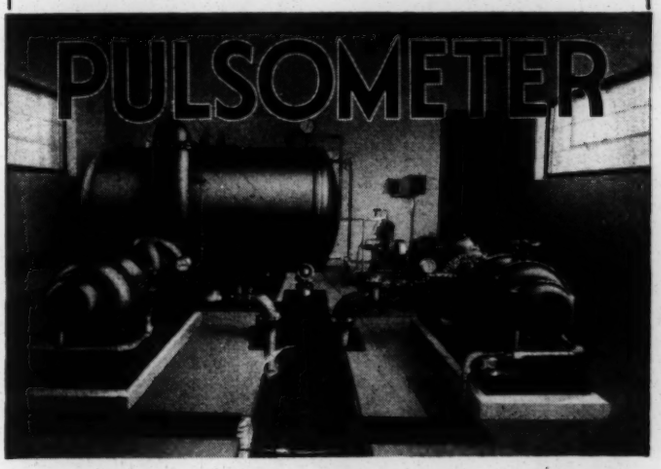
It would be dishonest to pretend that Africans feel that the three years of Labour rule have brought a radical change in their fortunes. Equally, would it be unfair to assume that the Minister and his responsible officers have not been trying genuinely to improve conditions in this part of the Empire. Many of the problems with which they have to deal are legacies from the past. Many of the measures which have been initiated under the present regime will require time for fruition. Between Whitehall and the executive officers in the Colonies, there is too often a difference of temperament and outlook, if not of intention. The former are sensitive to politico-philosophical thought; the latter are "holding the outposts of the Empire." Even in Whitehall, situations are not always handled with the maximum of tact although there are evidences latterly of a more realistic approach.

The various groups of Colonies are at different stages of development. For some, the pressing need is for material investment and action from without: But others have reached a point where further development can only come from the people themselves, while Government provides capital needs. West Africans are at this latter stage. It is futile to draw a distinction between "the masses," and the "enlightened few." It is the latter who will listen to and study the Minister's speech, and they will study it carefully to see what new hopes of real advance it holds out in the present position.

It is perhaps not without significance that, of all the actions which Mr. Creech Jones has taken since he came into office, none has given so great a satisfaction and captured the imagination so much as his prompt and unequivocal repudiation of legal and administrative discrimination on ground of race or colour, in the West African Colonies. Another move which has been warmly appreciated, and will go far towards smoothing out difficulties, is the forthcoming African Conference of Unofficial Members of the Legislative Councils. These are acts of statesmanship that the people can see for themselves and feel. Even though, in immediate returns, they do not have the economic and financial results which the expenditure of vast sums may yield yet, in the long run, they are much the more likely to yield results in mutual understanding and give and take. In the long run, West Africa will be developed by the people themselves with the understanding assistance of Government.

One should like to see introduced, therefore, a system similar to the Working Parties which have proved such a useful innovation in British industry. The analogy is very close. In both instances, you have two opposing groups, each indispensable to the other but hitherto apart, the less dominant one having now reached the position where clearly smooth progress is impossible without its intelligent co-operation. There is only one way out, namely to pool resources. If this had been done, the Fourah Bay *imbroglio* would not have developed. The same failure led to much of the ill-feeling over the Nigerian Constitution. Although, in the case of the Sierra Leone Legislature, pains are being taken in theory to avoid a repetition of the same mistake, in practice much of what is taking place there at the moment is in the nature of a rearguard action, instead of a Working Party or round table conference.

To mention these facts is not to be critical but to draw a distinction between statesmanly pronouncements and the day-to-day execution of a policy which makes for a contented people with a minimum sense of friction.



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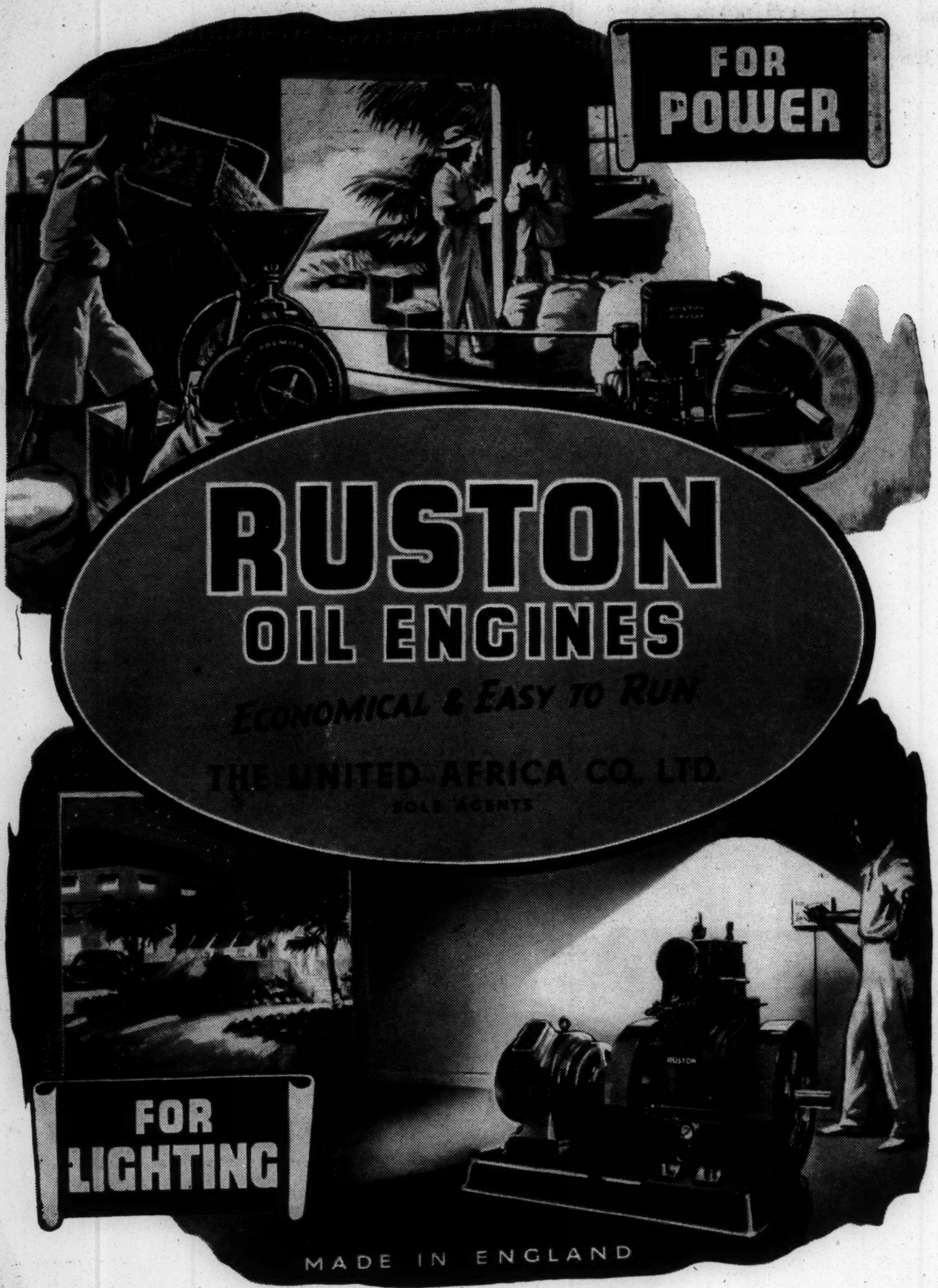
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was it intended that the police are to be armed? and was he aware that this Ordinance has been the cause of considerable uneasiness in Sierra Leone?

Replying, Mr. Rees-Williams said the legislation in question had not yet been enacted but was at present under examination by a Select Committee of the Legislative Council, which includes two African unofficial members. With regard to the first provision, he said the intention was to empower the Governor, if and when necessary, to call on the Police Force to perform military duties in support of His Majesty's Forces.

The licensing of processions was already provided for in the Processions Ordinance 1935. Provision with regard to public assemblies was considered desirable to preserve public order and was based on similar legislation in Nigeria. The provision requiring members of the Force to obtain approval before joining political organizations, trade unions or secret societies was intended to ensure that all police officers should be strictly impartial in the execution of their duties.

It was not proposed that Police should carry arms in the normal execution of their duties. He was aware that the Bill, when published, was the subject of some criticism in Freetown, but he was satisfied that the Sierra Leone Government had no desire to take powers in excess of those generally recognized as necessary to preserve law and order.

Private Enterprise

The only set of electro-cardiographic apparatus in the four West African territories belongs to a private practitioner in Freetown. This information was given by Mr. Rees-Williams in a reply to Dr. Segal. The Governments of Sierra Leone, Nigeria and the Gold Coast have ordered this equipment on behalf of their Medical Departments—the Gold Coast as long ago as July, 1946—but in present conditions of supply delivery is expected to take at least two years.

Fourteen Shillings

No general census has been undertaken in Nigeria since 1931, when the figure was 19,928,171. This statement of Mr. Rees-Williams was made in reply to Mr. Reid, who also asked to how much per head does the total revenue of the central government of Nigeria amount?

Mr. Rees-Williams added that the present total population of Nigeria is unlikely to be less than 23 millions. The estimated revenue for Nigeria for 1947/48 was £16,165,870 and, therefore, the figure per head was almost exactly 14/- per annum.

On the Way

"Of the 24 Cocoa Survey Officers required by the Gold Coast Government for the campaign to eradicate disease among cocoa trees, 20 have already been recruited of whom all but two have sailed. Offers of appointment have been sent to a further three candidates and the remaining vacancy is in process of being filled. Any additional staff required will be obtained." This statement was made by Mr. Creech Jones in reply to a question from Mr. John Morrison.

Asked by Mr. T. Reid whether there will be any compulsory powers to induce people to cut out dead and diseased cocoa trees, Mr. Creech Jones said the treatment of disease was another matter. "Could the Minister say," asked Mr. Bossom, "how long it is since he was first asked to send out these people, and how many have arrived? He said just now that a small number had arrived. How long ago were they invited?"

Mr. Creech Jones: I cannot give the date of the invitation, but practically all the officers have now been selected and many of them are there. Others are on the way."

ns Quality

NEW PUBLICATIONS

West African Art

AT a time when West African art is being exhibited in Europe and West Africa on occasions far more numerous than ever before, the need for an introduction to the subject will be appreciated. This need is met, so far as wood figures are concerned, by Leon Underwood's *Figures in Wood of West Africa* (John Tiranti Ltd., 6/-). Published with both French and English texts, this book also includes some fifty illustrations of West African figures which have been preserved in museums or private collections. It is a simple introduction to West African wood figures, as may be seen from the following sentences: "it is unfortunate that wood should be the staple material of the carver and the diet of the white ant in a country which has no readily workable stone. But this fact may have helped in preserving the art of ancestor worshippers from the static style of stone. The perishable condition of wood, allowing no work to become a fixed example for over-long, assisted the dynamic variety of style so characteristic of West African art." Or perhaps in the summing up when the writer concludes: "Africa, in its art, reflected the limited boundaries of its sensible world; back, front and sides of figures—the four winds; the feet and head—earth and sky. The unseen places in which the African's spirit may have roamed did not call upon his imagination to explore them in sculptural form."

Atonement in Africa

Pasted in the front of *Atonement in the Sun* (by René Guillot. Staples Press, 6/-) is a little note in red letters stating that the binding of the book has been specially treated with anti-termite solution for preservation in all tropical climates. It is time that this practice was generally adopted. No purpose will be served therefore by singling out this volume, which has been translated by Philip John Stead from the French, for any particular query as to why

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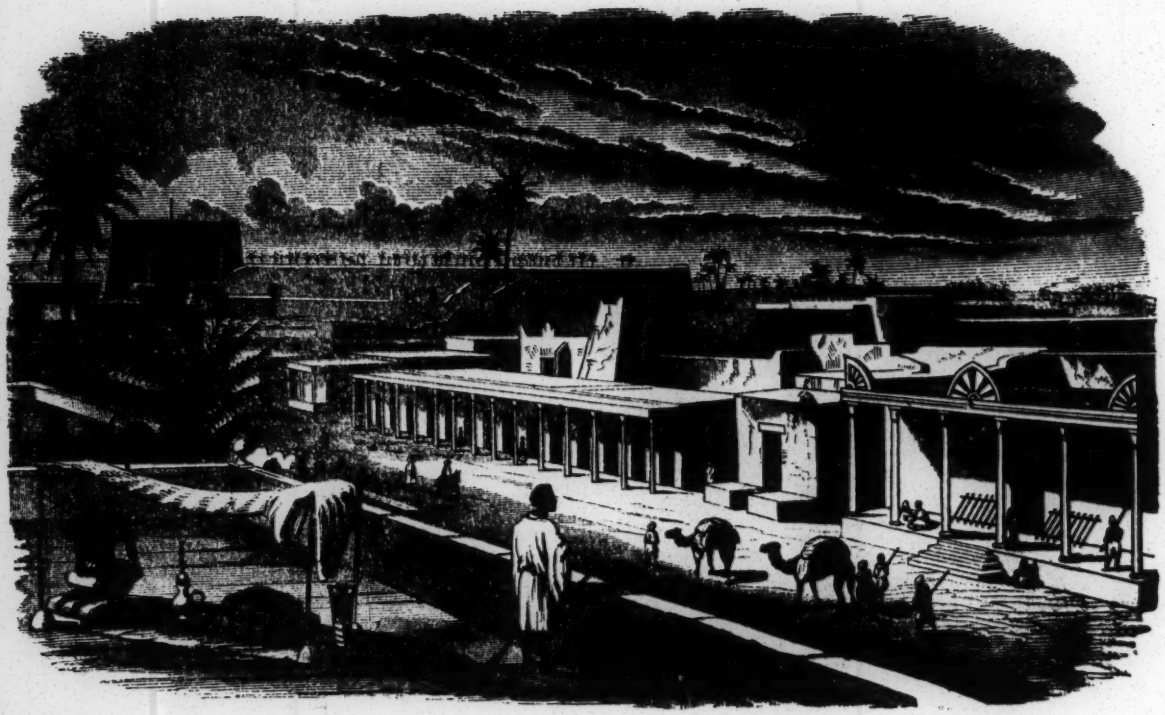
WEST AFRICAN ANTIQUITIES

(Continued)



THE CITY OF GHADAMES AS IT APPEARED IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 19TH CENTURY

The opinion formerly prevailed that most of the cities of the Sahara and the Western Sudan were first established by the Mohammedanized Arabs invaders of North Africa. Recent archaeological and anthropological research, supplemented by a renewed study of certain classical works and Arab chronicles has revealed, however, that many of these cities were already in existence and were in a flourishing state centuries before Mohammed himself was born. Studies of the architecture and other evidences of their culture make it clear that most of these cities, while, influenced to some degree by the civilization of the Arabs, were mainly the work of indigenous peoples of Africa. Some of them are known to have been in existence since the days of the Greeks, the Phoenicians, and the Romans. The economic life of these cities was greatly influenced by the trade carried on by and through them with the Negro lands of the interior. Ghadames, reproduced here, was a typical city of this kind.

WEST AFRICAN ANTIQUITIES
(Continued)

37-31-10

AN EXAMPLE OF NATIVE AFRICAN SCULPTURE IN BRONZE

Portuguese and Dutch explorers [illegible]th and 16th centuries and British explorers in the 18th and 19th centuries, on visiting certain old cities along the Guinea Coast were surprised to find the Negroes of these regions engaged in making statues and other objects of art which showed remarkable proficiency in the delicate arts of moulding in metals and in carving in wood, ivory and stone. Many of these objects are now among some of the most prized possessions of some of the leading museums of the world. Some of these objects have been the subjects of considerable study with the result that the opinion is now held by some antiquarians that they represent not only an indigenous African art of a high order but one which dates back into antiquity. Some authorities however doubt this, and are inclined to regard, those objects especially the objects done in bronze, as creations of entirely recent origin. Some have held that they grew out of ideas and practices introduced by the Portuguese and the Arabs. That this art was not introduced by the Portuguese nor the Arabs, seems clearly revealed in the fact that neither of these produced works of the kind in their own homeland. Indeed much of it is done in forms--images of human beings and animals--which are strictly prohibited in the Islamitic world. Another important discovery has been, that the older objects are more skillfully and artistically done than are the more recent forms--a fact which seems to indicate that the hey-day of the civilization of which this art was a part, goes back to a period far removed from the modern age.

The

International Labor Conference in Geneva in 1947 adopted a series of conventions designed to act as charter for colonial peoples. They demanded international labor standards, the rights of association and settlement of labor disputes . Africa critized the I.L.O. for not passing the principle of "equal pay for equal work" recommended by the Dakar , French West African Conference in 1947.

421/61/230

Gov't of South Africa Hushes UN Wage Report

[1948]

LONDON, Aug. 9 (Telepress).—Asked what conventions of the International Labor Office had been ratified and applied by the Government of South Africa for the mandated territory, the Union Government answered: "None." No scales of minimum wages are laid down by law.

The document which contains these admissions, and which was submitted by the South African Government to the Trusteeship Council of UN, has not been published in South Africa. One copy of this official reply to the Council's questionnaire of 50 questions is reported to have reached South Africa.

All during South African rule over the South-West African Mandate, a territory which the Government now proposes to incorporate in the Union against the wishes of the people, only two Africans have succeeded in passing their matriculation examination after going through correspondence courses at their own expense.

The wages of African miners are eightpence a shift as compared with two shillings and fivepence in the Union.

The Union Government has determined in what area Africans may live and for what period they may live there, and it admits with truculent frankness that it has no plans for the fuller participation of non-Europeans in the government of the territory.

It is certain that opposition at the coming session of the United Nations to South Africa's declared object of incorporating South West Africa will be very strong and may very likely lead to threats by the

that Dr. Malan, with his more blatant recial philosophies, holds the Premiership to leave UN.

In that event, it will be interesting to watch the efforts of America and the colonial powers to whitewash South Africa's record in South West Africa and explaint away this incriminating document. The British Labor Government has already during Smuts' regime, shown its full support for what South Africa is doing there. The Americans, all the more since the Fascist Malan came to power, are anxious to appease ruling circles there and consolidate the growing American influence in South African mines and industry.

(d) Sierra Leone: - In 1946 the Mining Wages Board made recommendations for wage increases which have now (Aug. 1946) become law. Minimum wage for light work, 1s. 6d.; for heavy work 2s. About 5000 Native workers will benefit, employed in the

Nov. 1946-47

W.A

JAN. 1948

The Gambia's new representative Constitution launched.
5643 of possible 10,000 voters register in spirited election, won by journalist, Edward Small, over a Muslim Sheik and a Union Leader.
£118,00 from Colonial Development Funds alloted Bathurst drainage project.
Liberian Government and

Sierra Leone's proposed constitution widely criticized; most valid complaints - unequal representation, and representatives appointed instead of elected.
Freetown again boycotts 1945 Municiple Ordinance, which Government has had again to withdraw.
Government also reconsidering its "Protectorate Land Acquisition Bill" in view of severe criticism.
Since salaries were increased, 5 medical Officers have joined up; now only four vacancies.

JAN. 1948 W.A.

I Civil Service

March 1948

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48

Africanisation of the Civil Service

The problem of Africanisation of the Civil Service is receiving much thought and attention from various quarters. Britain, needing manpower and realizing that the demands of the African himself that he be given higher and more responsible posts, and with salaries commensurate with such positions, can no longer be entirely ignored, is more inclined than ever to look favorably on such a shift.

The Gambia has recently made a step forward in the Africanisation program. The new constitution of this territory has opened new opportunities. The Governor pointed out in his inaugural address that the posts of Secretary-General, Assistant Receiver-General and one Assistant Colonial Secretary are to be abolished. The Receiver-General's Department is to be replaced by Departments of Customs, Treasury and Post Office Collectors and Supervisors of Customs, Accountant General and two Assistants, Post master General and one Assistant. (Western Nigerian Guardian, Jan. 28, 1948)

This step in the Gambia has called forth further demands from Nigeria. While admitting that efforts are being made to Africanise the Nigerian Civil Service, Nigerians are smarting under the fact that their Senior Appointees are "All under one European boss or another" while the Gambia is supposed "To have an African Accountant General". On the other hand a number of Africans in Nigeria are being appointed to higher posts in such Departments as Labour, Agriculture, Education, Colony Welfare Office, Judicial, etc. (Nigeria Gazette)

Despite the recent changes, however, there is particular dissatisfaction being voiced in the Judicial sphere. Nigerians find there has been unfair play. Not only the question of position but also that of salary in the Civil Service comes in for much debate for there are those who find that "Harragin has ... failed to achieve anything". Here as everywhere there is the demand "equal pay must go along with equal work. Until this is done the scale of justice is unevenly tilted even in the very departments of Justice". (Daily Service, Feb. 17, 1948)

14/01/252

COMPANY MEETING

ARISTON GOLD MINES

Mr. H. G. Latilla's Survey

The eighteenth annual general meeting of Ariston Gold Mines (1929), Limited, was held on June 18 at Chartered Insurance Institute, 20 Aldermanbury, E.C.2. Mr. H. G. LATILLA, chairman of the company, presided.

The Chairman, addressing the meeting, said: The reports and review which have been in your hands for some days deal so fully with the position that there is little which can usefully be said.

There is an item in the accounts dealing with "Freehold property," which calls for brief comment. You will have noted it has disappeared, the reason being that we cashed in a quick and satisfactory profit.

Broomassie Drive—A cable received states North crosscut 376 has intersected reef with poor values, but quartz exposures continuing strongly. No details are given of widths or values.

You may like to know that the sterling value of our proved ore reserves—of 3,353,988 tons with an average value of 6·5 dwt.—and based on present price of gold, and actual recovery figures, namely, 90 per cent., is £8,449,219. From this, of course, has to be deducted working costs, a fluctuating factor. I put it in this rather unusual way, not with any idea of creating optimism, but because I think many shareholders might like to have the information.

Rise of Costs

The following is extracted from the Chairman's statement which was circulated with the report and accounts:—

The reasons for the progressive increase in the costs of production are threefold; firstly, the substantial wage increases granted to the African workers by the Government-appointed Arbitrator, following the strike in October/November last year. It was recommended by the Arbitrator that these wage increases should be made retrospective for six months, a concession that cost our company £22,679, and increased working costs for the year under review by 1/8d. per ton. In fact, the wage increases for a full year will add 3/4d. per ton to working costs. Secondly, we were temporarily mining a very slightly lower grade ore; and finally, we have the ever rising costs of all classes of mining supplies and machinery.

Taxation Burden

I had hoped to have been able to give you some encouraging news concerning taxation, with which Gold Coast mining companies are grievously burdened. I refer particularly to the export duty that is charged at the rate of 17/5½d. on every ounce of gold produced and delivered. Strong representations have been and are continually being made to the Gold Coast Government for a substantial reduction in this deplorable tax, which is imposed on all gold producers alike, irrespective of whether their gold reserves are of high or low grade, and produced at a profit or a loss. Such a tax is unscientific and harmful, and we hope to see it abolished altogether. The gold mining industry, through its representative body, the Gold Coast Chamber of Mines, has, as I have said, lodged a very strong case for the repeal of this tax, and I understand the Gold Coast Government are not unsympathetic. Our industry is in urgent need of some such assistance, being one where no compensating rise in the value of the commodity has, as yet, taken place to offset the many heavy increases in the costs of production.

Position Summarized

Highly encouraging results have attended development work on the 17th and 20th Levels of the mine to the north of the North Shaft, where a new orebody is being opened up. A well-known mining engineer who visited the mine very recently expressed the view to me upon his return that this particular area could well be described as a "New Ariston"! I will give you the figures to date, and you may form your own conclusions.

I did my best at our meeting in February to bring you up to that date with regard to the position at the mine. I propose now to inform you briefly as to the most recent developments, and to summarize the facts as I see them today. So that you may, perhaps, more easily grasp the situation, there is attached to this review a small plan which should be read from right to left. At the 17th level, some 1,200 feet from the north shaft, an orebody was entered. The work at this level has opened up an oreshoot so far 342 feet in length, disclosing a reef 104 inches wide, with a value of 6·9 dwt. and at the 20th level, 645 feet in length, width 92 inches, not fully exposed, with a value of 9·8 dwt.

I might tell you that in three crosscuts through the reef at this 20th level and over a length of 430 feet, the full width of the reef appears to be 168 inches, with a value of 8·3 dwt. To quickly bring home to you the possibilities, and at the same time to make it quite clear that this is not any computation of ore reserves (because that cannot be done until the orebody is opened up on four sides), it is reasonable to expect that there exists in this block of ore roughly 250,000 tons.

Broomassie Drive

This brings me to the continuation of the work beyond the section already described. The drive is known as the Broomassie drive and the face is roughly 9,350 feet from the north shaft, leaving us some 1,130 feet before we get below the old Broomassie main shaft. At the point where we are now operating a crosscut, the most northerly of a number of crosscuts seems likely to have just cut the main orebody worked by the old Broomassie Company. We have a cable stating that the width of the reef is 22 inches and the value is 25·3 dwt., equal to 557 inch-dwt. It is possible that before the meeting another crosscut to the north may intersect the reef. Results will be published immediately the news comes in. We must not, of course, permit ourselves to become unduly elated at the result of this particular crosscut—but we are entitled to be encouraged by this first taste of success from a great enterprise.

I would like to emphasize that the orebody nearest to the North Shaft is really a part and parcel of the main Ariston mine, although it is a new discovery; but the other orebody at the far end of the drive, plus anything which future developments may disclose, is really a joint venture of Gold Coast Selection Trust, Marlu and your company. Much work has yet to be done to enable us to gauge the possibilities and, of course, it is too early for us to formulate any scheme to deal with this Broomassie mine.

Tackling Costs Question

Having given you what I think are the bright spots of the mining position, I feel I must refer to the high working costs at present obtaining. We are assured that these costs can and will be reduced. The increase in milling alone will naturally bring down the cost per ton, but what our management is aiming for is greater efficiency with less expenditure.

We are considering the formation of a power company to be jointly owned by Bremang, Gold Coast Main Reef and Ariston. This should be helpful in reducing costs, and ensuring adequate power for all three companies. Our thanks are due to the management and staff for their continued good work and enthusiasm which has brought about the satisfactory state in which your company is today.

The report and accounts were unanimously adopted.

Commercial News

Board Changes

GOLD & BASE METAL MINES —Messrs. A. Hedley William Arnall have been elected directors. Mr. Arnall was, until general manager of the Company's ties in Nigeria.

Personal

From the June issue of *The Bu* the Institution of Mining and Meta the following movements of Me Associates and Students, of inter West Africa, are abstracted:—

MEMBER: Mr. Arnold S. William gone to Nigeria.

ASSOCIATES: Mr. C. W. F. Bond returned to the Gold Coast; Mr. J. Esmonde has gone to Eire, on leave fr the Gold Coast; Mr. W. P. Gaskell b returned to the Nigerian Department Mines, at Jos; Mr. Alfred Mann h returned to Prestea, with Gold Coast Ma Reef; Mr. T. Penhale has returned Nigeria.

Refined Oils and Fats Prices

The Ministry of Food announces that there will be no change in the prices of refined oils for the eight-week period ending August 14.

New B.E.S.T.E.C. Members

The B.E.S.T.E.C. group of engineering companies has been augmented, effective June 1, by four new members. These are British Aero Components, Limited, of Coventry; Richard Lloyd Limited, of Birmingham; Pultia Limited, of Salford; and L. M. Van Moppes & Sons of London, N.W. Exhibits of the products of these new members will be seen on the B.E.S.T.E.C. stand No. 237 at the Machine Tool & Engineering Exhibition to be held at Olympia (August 26 to September 11) along with those of the other ten members of the Export Organization of B.E.S.T.E.C. Agents have now been appointed in over 63 world markets. Another exhibition of B.E.S.T.E.C. products will be seen at the Copenhagen Exhibition (September 18 to October 3) on the Stand of Hans Schroder (of Norre Farimagsgade 65/67, Copenhagen). Also Mr. H. P. Potts (Managing Director of B.E.S.T.E.C.) is at present visiting the Toronto Exhibition, to establish the sales of B.E.S.T.E.C. products and secure additional agents in Canada and the U.S.A.

The Nanwa Gold Mines

The directors of The Nanwa Gold Mines, Limited, announce the issue of 723,530 shares of 1/- each at a premium of 1/6d. per share (or 2/6d. gross). This offer comprises the balance of the unissued share capital and follows the exercise of 1,276,470 option rights by holders of the two million option certificates. The balance of 723,530 shares is thus available to share holders on the basis of one for every 13 units of stock held by members at the close of business on May 27. Fractions of shares will be disregarded. At the same time, shareholders are invited to apply for any additional shares that may be waived by members otherwise entitled to take them up. The closing date for applications is Monday, June 28.

The purpose of the issue is to provide

...iant cotton tree which bears ...me of Tom Cringle stands on ...oad from Kingston to Spanish ...n and is named after the hero of ...m Cringle's Log', an early nine-...nth century adventure story set ... the West Indies. Tom, a young ...aval officer in the tradition of Mr. Midshipman Easy, deals with slavers and privateers in the summary and effective manner expected of such heroes and the book also contains entertaining and informative descriptions of the way of life of the West Indian people in those days. Much has changed since the book was written but the great tree remains as a link with the Jamaica that Cringle knew. The capital of the island was transferred from Spanish Town to Kingston in 1870 and the port of Kingston now handles a volume of trade which would have staggered the merchants of a century ago. Full and up-to-date information from our branches in Jamaica on industrial conditions and commercial trends in the island is readily obtainable on request.

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WEST AFRICA AT WESTMINSTER

African Ten-Year Plans

MR. REES-WILLIAMS stated, in the House of Commons last week, that ten-year development programmes for all the African territories have been approved, except that for the Gold Coast, which has been referred back to the Governor for further consideration. Of the £131,284,000 required to finance the plans already approved, £43,400,000 is to be drawn from the territorial allocations under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act; and the remainder, from loans and local sources. These figures do not take account of regional allocations to East and Central Africa, or of the central allocations from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund on which each territory is drawing.

African opinion, said Mr. Rees-Williams, has been and is being associated with the preparation and implementation of the programmes through the Legislative Councils and the Central and Area Development Authorities and Committees in the various territories.

Labour Exchanges

Particulars of Labour Exchanges in African Colonies were given by Mr. Rees-Williams in reply to a question from Mr. Dodds-Parker. In Nigeria, he said, employment exchanges and registration offices for adults have been established at Lagos, Benin and Sapele. In addition, there are exchanges for juveniles at Lagos, Benin, Ibadan and Sapele. Full use is being made of all the exchanges except, as yet, in the case of the adult exchange at Benin. A further exchange at Jos, to deal initially with tin mines labour, will be opened shortly.

In the Gold Coast, the offices of the Labour Department at Accra, Sekondi and Kumasi and most District Commissioner's Offices constitute small unofficial labour exchanges. In addition, there are 17 Labour and Resettlement Advice Centres, the services of which were sought by approximately 30,000 persons during 1947.

In Sierra Leone, labour exchanges have been opened at Freetown, Bo and two smaller centres for the use of ex-Servicemen and civilians. During 1947, as many as 22,438 persons registered for employment with the Freetown exchange, of which 12,160 were placed in employment. Corresponding figures for the exchange at Bo were 2,050 and 904 persons.

In Gambia, it has not been found necessary to establish a labour exchange, but an unofficial register of clerks, tradesmen and domestic servants is maintained in Bathurst by the Labour Officer. During 1947, approximately 500 persons were placed in employment by this means.

Gold Coast Pottery and Furniture

The Gold Coast does not yet produce pottery on a scale commensurate with an export trade, said Mr. Rees-Williams, in another reply. The development of an export trade in furniture was already under consideration; and the possibility of developing pottery as an industry will shortly be considered in the Gold Coast.

Police in Sierra Leone

Dr. Segal asked the Secretary of State for what reasons certain provisions—that the police may perform military duties within and without Sierra Leone, that no public meeting or procession may be held without prior licence by the police, and that no police officer may be a member of any political organization—have been included in the Sierra Leone Police Ordinance of 1947? To what extent, he asked,

ADBURY

it should circulate in tropical countries. Books are free, or at least there should be no restriction on reading because the sun is warmer or colder in the countries where readers live.

At the same time, it is possible to assess reader appeal on the basis of the personal experience of the readers. *Atonement in the Sun* seems to fall within a category of some such assessment. There is sun enough and there is Africa enough; but the book is mainly a study of three Frenchmen one good, one bad, and one who did the atoning. It is a powerful novel but its real homeland is France and the skill of the translator does not wholly succeed in removing a nostalgia for the French words which, by virtue of their originality, are needed to perfect the unity of what is undoubtedly a novel of high merit.

International Locusts

Seasonal Breeding and Migrations of the Desert Locust (Schistocerca Gregaria Forskal) *in Western and North-Western Africa* is an interesting publication, not only for those specialists intimately concerned with locusts, but also for the greater public. Because this "Anti-Locust Memoir No. 3" shows how far more successful is the geographical than the political approach to Africa. The West African area under reference comprises French North Africa, Spanish Morocco, Libya, Rio de Oro, French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast and Nigeria.

The information it contains is therefore complete, and does not stop short as soon as national boundaries emerge. The locusts of different regions within this large area have different habits, but the value of the information about these habits may be assessed from the bibliography of the memoir where are included research works from all nations in the area. For the specialist, the memoir, which is published by the Anti-Locust Research Centre (British Museum, Natural History) will be greatly enhanced by a profusion of maps and useful appendices.

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SCOTLAND

COMPANY MEETINGS

Ashanti Goldfields Corporation

Taxation and Labour Problems

The fifty-first ordinary general meeting of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation Limited was held in London on May 20, Major-General Sir Edward L. Spears (the Chairman) presiding. His address, which had been circulated with the report and accounts, was taken as read. It referred in the first place to the retirements of Mr. G. W. Eaton Turner and Mr. H. E. Ashby, both of whom had given invaluable service, for 26 years and 41 years respectively, and whose counsel would still be available with their unrivalled knowledge of the affairs of the Corporation.

The Chairman then dealt with the accounts and balance sheet, which were fully reported in the previous issue of WEST AFRICA. Development had been handicapped by the fall in output per man and the limitations of shaft capacity; and both of these subjects were being tackled. The new treatment plant had now been practically completed, which reflected great credit upon the management and engineering staff. It had cost a large sum, but operations had proved that it had been a very wise investment. Its coming into operation was an important milestone in the history of the Corporation. The treatment of Ashanti mine ore had never been a simple process, and the new plant did not give as high a rate of extraction but, with experience, the rate was being gradually improved and the saving, in operating costs, more than offset the difference in gold production. Since November, 1947, the whole of the output was being treated by the new plant.

Development and Shaft Sinking Programme

Priority was being given in their development programme to the exploration of the Main Reef below No. 32 Level and it was encouraging to know that progress was being made with the sinking of the subvertical shaft planned to go down from No. 31 to No. 42 Level. The subvertical shaft had been sunk half way to No. 33 Level. The sinking of the new circular ventilation shaft had been considerably delayed awaiting equipment. That had now been received and steady progress could be expected. Ayeinm Mine had been re-opened but most of the work done had of necessity been of a preliminary nature, preparatory to stoping. The examination of the area between Ayeinm and Sansu had begun and steps to re-open Sansu Mine had been taken. The area was being systematically surveyed by a special team, and a diamond drilling programme had been arranged. The changing conditions in West Africa had brought new problems, and new methods were required to meet them. Rising costs had made it imperative to introduce mechanization wherever possible, but the slowness and difficulty in obtaining supplies was a severe handicap.

Turning to taxation, the Chairman said that the Export Duty of 17/5½d. per ounce, equal to 10 per cent. of the gold produced, had cost £168,121, and took no account of operational costs. Income Tax took £285,529; Profits Tax, £107,000; and Royalty, £83,057. Thus, out of earnings of £893,000 the Government took £611,000 or over two-thirds. It was harmful to the industry and tended to limit production when gold was important in national economy.

A most serious problem was labour. Inflation and the lack of consumer goods had caused output per man to be reduced. The Corporation had instituted canteens, serving good food at half cost price, but interested parties had secured the boycotting of these canteens, which had been closed; and this applied to the agreement whereby the local stores at Obuasi had co-operated in a scheme for an equitable sharing of scarce goods at reasonable prices. The Corporation was making every endeavour to train Africans for the higher and more responsible positions; and a scheme of apprenticeship was operating in the fitting shops.

The Chairman then turned to the strike, and revealed the background which was more or less omitted from the report which was officially drawn-up. He asked for a return to the happy conditions of the pre-strike period, unaffected by large doses of ideologies which had proved such dangerous potions in lands, like the Gold Coast, which were unprepared for them.

Recent Development

At the meeting, the Chairman said that members would no doubt have seen the report of the recent development on No. 29 Level. The lateral extent of the pay shoot on the lower levels of the Mine had been known for some time, and the location of further payable reef so close to the assumed boundaries had not been expected. The guarded optimism expressed in his printed speech had been justified by results. In crosscuts Nos. 19, 20 and 21 South, a strong body of quartz had reappeared after values had apparently run out. Over a length of 100 ft. represented by those crosscuts values averaging 35 dwt. over a width of 27 feet of reef had been proved.

The latest information on a further crosscut (No. 22) was that values averaging 35·9 dwt. over a width of reef of 41 feet had been proved. Results on No. 30 Level, too, suggested that the new shoot was of considerable importance. Work was being accelerated to prove the upward and downward extension of the new ore body. Until then its size and value could not be assessed. He was indeed gratified to give them the good news—in fact, the very good news—of this development.

The report was adopted and a Final Dividend of 17½ per cent., making 42½ per cent. (less tax) for the year, was approved.

Bibiani (1927)

Sir Edward L. Spears's Address

The twenty-first ordinary general meeting of Bibiani (1927) Limited was held in London on May 20; Major-General Sir Edward L. Spears (the Chairman) presiding. In his address, which had been circulated with the report and accounts, and was taken as read, the Chairman referred to the retirements of Mr. Turner and Mr. Ashby, as indicated at the meeting of Ashanti Goldfields Corporation. He then dealt with the accounts, which were fully reported in WEST AFRICA (May 22).

He felt it necessary to explain why they had included a provision for Income Tax for both 1947/48 and 1948/49, in these accounts. Under the Finance Acts, the assessment for each tax year was based upon the profits for the year ended within the previous tax year. At each Balance Sheet date, the assessment which had to be included as a liability was that based on the profits for the preceding accounting period, as the assessment on the profits in the Profit and Loss account attached to the Balance Sheet did not arise until a later date.

Some Companies in the past had been of the opinion that, in addition to including this liability, usually known as the legal liability, provision should be made for Income Tax on the profits for the period covered by the Accounts. They were advised by their Auditors that that view had been generally accepted as the better practice and that, when possible, the necessary reserve should be built up.

This year, they had a credit in respect of the final amount of E.P.T. recoverable. This amounted to £50,798 covering the fifteen months to December 31, 1946. It had been thought prudent, in conformity with the principle just referred to, to allocate part of this credit, £30,000, to reserve for the estimated liability on the profits in these accounts in addition to the legal liability. This was the reason why there was provision made for two Income Tax assessments this year. In future years, it would only be necessary to make provision for one year. Each year's profit would then bear the charge for its own Income Tax, and not that arising from the profits of the preceding year which might vary in amount.

Final Dividend

An Interim Dividend of 10 per cent. was paid on September 24, 1947, and it would be recalled that, at the time it was declared, they had stated that it was not to be taken as an indication that the total dividend for the year would be increased. When the Interim Dividend was announced, they had every expectation of maintaining the usual rate for the year, their object, when increasing the Interim, being to meet the wish expressed by some shareholders that the yearly rate should be paid in more equal proportions. They had, in the event, had to reduce the recommendation for a final dividend to 5 per cent., making 15 per cent. for the year against 25 per cent. for 1946. Members might ask why this had been done seeing that the balance carried forward had been increased by £25,146 after reserving the extra Income Tax of £30,000.

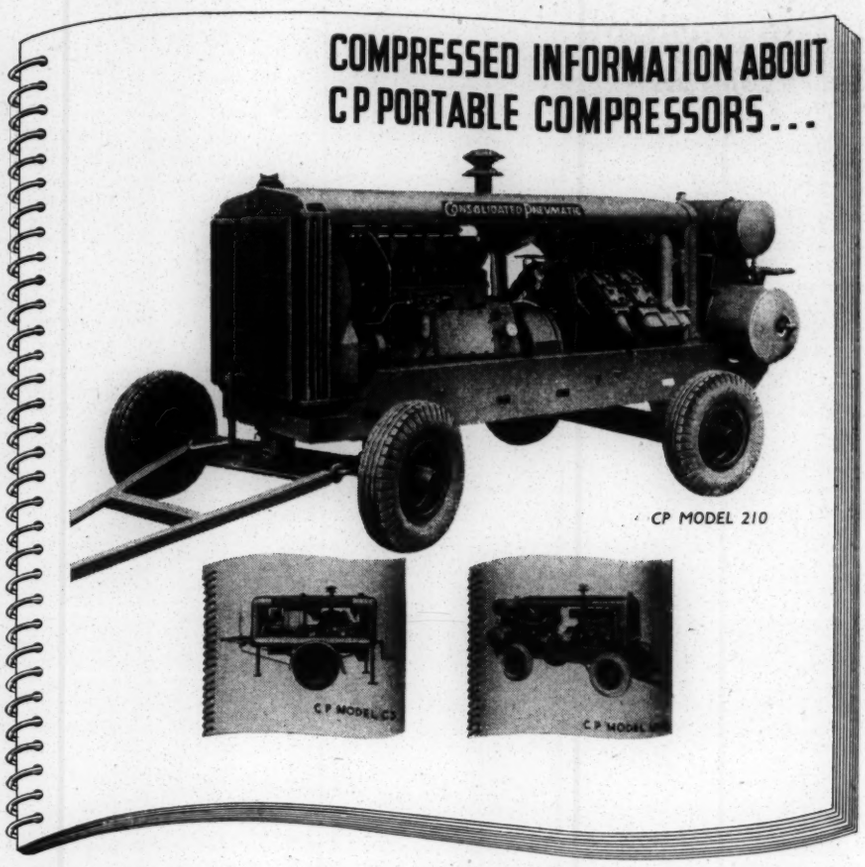
The cut in the dividend had been forced upon them by the events, following the 10 per cent. Interim Dividend; the strike had cost the Company a month's production; and the ancillary losses had not been liquidated until three months' working. Thus, after five months of the current financial year, they had only £1,959 credit. Output and ore reserves were also down, the latter by some 176,000 tons; but the outlook was more promising.

Turning to taxation, the Chairman said that shareholders should be made aware of the crushing burden of taxation under which they laboured. The Export Duty on Gold amounted to 17/5½d. per ounce, or about 10 per cent. of the gold produced. This impost took no account of operational cost. In the year under review, they had paid £65,569 on this duty but hoped to recover about £17,000 by way of refund. Income Tax accounted for £69,433. Profits Tax was particularly unfair to their industry. The rate of this tax had been increased with the result that they paid 25 per cent. on practically their entire profit. It had been calculated that by the present year the mines on the Gold Coast should be producing 1 million ounces, instead of which the figure of 640,000 only had been attained. Meanwhile, costs of mining and management, including wages and stores, which had greatly increased in price, amounted to £403,728. Depreciation took £51,695 and taxation £150,502 leaving a balance of only £50,116 or 7·6 per cent. on gross earnings for the shareholders.

Labour and Welfare

They had an unusually happy and contented labour force at Bibiani which had been intimidated into striking very reluctantly. They hoped that common sense would make the African employee realize in an ever increasing degree that anything that injured the interest of the mine must affect them adversely. There were many signs that their workers deeply regretted the strike. They were endeavouring to make them realize that good wages could only be provided in return for a good day's work. They were studying and trying out different systems of incentive payment.

The report was adopted and a Final Dividend of 5 per cent. making 15 per cent. (less tax) for the year, was approved.



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NEWS FROM THE MINES

Naraguta Tin Mines.—Output of tin concentrates, for the month of April, was 27½ tons (33¾ tons for March).

Naraguta Extended Areas.—Output of tin concentrates, for the month of April, was 6½ tons (6 tons for March).

Naraguta Karama Areas.—Output of tin concentrates, for the month of April, was 20½ tons (15 tons for March).

Rukuba Tin Mines.—Output of tin concentrates, for the month of April, was 1¼ tons (1 ton for March).

South Bukeru Areas.—Output of tin concentrates, for the month of April, was 11½ tons (9 tons for March).

Tin Fields of Nigeria.—Output of tin concentrates, for the month of April, was 5½ tons (7¾ tons for March).

Accounts and Dividends

London Tin Corporation

The directors of London Tin Corporation Limited announce that they have decided to declare an interim dividend of 6 per cent., less tax at 9/- in the £, in respect of the financial year ended April 30. This compares with 4½ per cent., less tax, paid for the previous financial year, when no final dividend was paid; and the directors intimate that it is not their intention to recommend a final dividend on this occasion, when the annual meeting takes place, it is hoped, in July. The accounts will be issued as soon as possible after receipt of all the subsidiary companies' accounts from abroad. They believe that the profits for the financial year are in the neighbourhood of £160,000, compared with £117,284 actual for the previous financial year.

Naraguta Tin Mines

The directors of Naraguta Tin Mines have decided to recommend payment of a final dividend of 3 per cent., in respect of the year 1947; and this, with the interim of 2 per cent., will make a total of 5 per cent., less tax, for the year. This is a repetition of the dividend for 1946. An interim dividend of 2 per cent. (same) is declared for 1948, and both dividends will be payable on July 27. The profit for 1947, after depreciation, is declared as £20,314, which compares with £21,264 for 1946.

Naraguta Extended Areas

The directors of Naraguta Extended Areas have decided to recommend payment of a final dividend of 4 per cent., for the year 1947; and this, with the interim of 1 per cent., will make a total of 5 per cent., less tax, for the year. This compares with 6 per cent., less tax, for 1946, when the interim was 2 per cent. An interim dividend of 1 per cent. (same) is declared for 1948, and both dividends will be payable on August 20. The profit for 1947, after depreciation, is declared at £6,181, and compares with £7,492 for 1946.

South Bukeru Areas

The directors of South Bukeru Areas have decided to recommend payment of a final dividend of 7 per cent., less tax, in respect of the year 1947. This repeats the final dividend for 1946, and makes 10 per cent. (same) for the full year. An interim dividend of 3 per cent. (same) has been declared for the year 1948, and both dividends will be payable on August 27.

The program, except for bare mention of the necessity of developing a balanced economy, provides no tangible means for the East African colonies to escape the single-crop-for-export economy which has been the blight of colonial countries everywhere. An agricultural economy, even though mechanized, can never become self-sufficient in the framework of colonialism.

The next question is: where will the money come from? Can Britain herself finance this project, in view of her present straits, or is it expected that American money will come to the rescue, either through private investments, a U. S. Government loan, or a loan through the World Bank? And if outside capital is to be involved, would it not be more proper to place an undertaking of this type — especially since it involves a trusteeship territory — under the direct supervision of a United Nations agency?

Problems of Labor Supply and Land Rights

And what about the labor supply for the vast project? Twenty-five thousand Africans are to be employed in the initial work of bush clearing alone. The Government estimates that a ton of peanuts can be produced for $17.25 but it does not indicate what fraction of this would go in wages to workers. Much is said, however, of providing proper health, nutrition, education, housing and welfare facilities for the employees and their families; but here again the "how" is omitted. The United Africa Company has established no record along these lines in West Africa — far from it.

IF conditions of employment on the project are indeed attractive, Africa workers will be drawn away from the plantations and other enterprises of the white settlers and we may expect a loud protest to be raised from those quarters. Even now the white settlers complain of a lack of adequate labor supply (see *New Africa,* January, 1947).

Apart from the question of wages and working conditions, there is the necessity of inducing the African to cooperate whole-heartedly in a project toward which he may very well be antagonistic. One important cause of such antagonism may be the African's view that his land rights have been violated. The British government passes lightly over this point with the assertion that "for the initial development in Tanganyika no question of disturbing African rights arise, as the land is almost uninhabited." This has been an old, old excuse for land alienation by various governments throughout Africa.

But as the African sees it, no one has the right to take away areas, even though uninhabited and unused, which have traditionally been regarded as the domain of the tribal group. The British government, by-passing the African people, states its intention of negotiating with the respective governments of the three colonies "for the lease of the land to the undertaking for an initial period of not less than twenty-five years, with an option to renew it at the end or during the currency of the initial lease."

In this last point we have one very real explanation of why the United Africa Co. and the British government decided on East Africa rather than West Africa as the area for this project. The land rights of Africans in the East African colonies have

(*Continued on next page*)

FRENCH TOGOLAND—A pioneer system of District Councils has been set up in this trusteeship colony. There are six Councils ranging in size from 21 to 51 members. They are to meet at least once a week and the administration is called upon to submit all legislation concerning taxation, public works, education, etc. to them. There are two types of members on the Councils: permanent ones, mainly chiefs, and others elected for four year terms by adult suffrage.

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BELGIAN CONGO—The new Société de Colonisation Belge with capital of 35,000,000 francs plans to settle about 1,000 Belgian families in the Katanga Province of the Congo. Le Comité Speciale de Katanga is supplying half of the capital and about 750,000 acres of land. Every colonist will be given approximately 1,250 acres.

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LAGOS, NIGERIA—Francis O. Coker, President of the All-Nigerian Technical and General Workers Federation and a delegate to the Paris meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions, was recently arrested and charged with possession of an official secret document in violation of the local law. His trial aroused great excitement. He received a sentence of five years probation.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.—The U. S. Department of Agriculture reports that the American tin plate industry may import 1,000 tons of palm kernels from Liberia this year. Oil from the palm kernels is an essential requirement in the manufacture of tin plate. The average price paid is $100 a ton. U.S. purchases last year from Liberia amounted to 500 tons. This was sent through U.N.R.R.A. to Czechoslovakia.

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W. A. HUNTON, *Editor*

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On January 1st of this year, with the blessing of the London Colonial Office and Ministry of Food, the Governor of Nigeria by special ordinance established an Agricultural Development Corporation and t
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when he expressed the hope that statesmanship would guide South Africa "toward a just and contented relationship between all dwellers in your many-peopled land". . . . A New York *Times* dispatch refers to "wide-eyed pickaninnies" standing at the stations to watch the specially-built, imported 15-car super-

March 1948

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West African Labor

Although the Nigerian Labor movement is still in its infancy, dating its actual rise as a positive factor in Nigeria to the general strike in 1945, it is today a growing and developing force on the West Coast of Africa. Following the 1945 strike the Tudor Davies Commission gave the labor unions their first major labor victory when the Commission granted the workers a 50% wage increase. The Harrigan Commission has greatly added to the work of the Tudor Davies Commission developing a reliable and sound basis for African labor to grow upon. Some idea of what at

It can be stated then, that to-day the West African Labor Movement is growing in both stature and power in the West African areas and that it is at least beginning to assume its proper place in West Africa society.

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I.L.O. Conventions and Recommendations

The thirtieth International Labour Conference at Geneva from the 19th of June to July 11th, 1947, adopted a series of conventions designed to act as a charter for colonial peoples. These conventions represent three successive years of debate and preparation in I.L.O. Of the five main conventions No. 82 is concerned with "social policy in non-metropolitan territories"; No. 83 deals with "the application of international labour standards to non-metropolitan territories"; No. 84 has to do with "the right of association and the settlement of labour disputes in non-metropolitan territories, No. 85 concerns itself with "labour inspectorates in non-metropolitan territories; and No. 86 sets "the maximum length of contracts of employment of indigenous workers. The above conventions, if generally applied, should greatly transform and better colonial labor conditions. However, it should be kept in mind that the application of the above conventions varies greatly. at present

> "Figures show that only a small proportion of the possible number of ratifications have taken place, small even when allowance is made for a number of special considerations. Even after ratification there is only a report from the Governments concerned to show that the provisions are being enforced. Conventions have their influence even when they are not ratified, but obviously they cannot exert their full effect, and the need to strengthen the present proceedure is undoubted." (London Times, July 12, 1947)

A basic criticism leveled at the I.L.O. Conference from Africa was the failure of the convention to pass the principle "of equal pay for equal work", recommended by the Pan-African Trade Conference held in Dakar, French West Africa, 10 April to 13 April, 1947. (See Marché Coloniaux, April 12 and 26, for summary and comment on Dakar Conference) The Nigerian Daily Comet (Oct. 6, 1947) comments:

> "The fundamental democratic principle 'of equal pay for equal work' for black as well as white workers and civil servants in Africa was rejected by British delegates at the meeting of the General Council of World Federation of Trade Unions meeting at Prague."

The West African Review (August, 1947) also says:

> "It may be regretted that the principal of 'equal pay for equal' work - always a considerable bone of contention - has had to be deferred on the advice of the British Government representative, but since the problem has yet to be solved in the United Kingdom the difficulties of its application in the Colonies are magnified."

The most significant decisions of the Conference were the "labor inspections and freedom of association proposal which carry behind them connotations of a comprehensive system of international labour inspection.

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> a textile industry and to start what amounts to a consumers cooperative ..... It is therefore welcome that the RWUN is planning to run the proposed newspaper by a cooperative society which will also own retail stores and shops. A well organized consumers cooperative retail society typifies the hall-mark of economic democracy, and the Railway workers, by introducing one in answer to the combines would be doing this country a great service. (West African Pilot, Jan. 27, 1948)

In other parts of West Africa similar labor developments and activities are taking place. In the recent call for the amalgamation of the Gold Coast U.A.C. African Employees Union with the Amalgamated Union of UACAfrican Workers of Nigeria is the first positive step toward uniting the labor movements in Nigeria and the Gold Coast and giving both greater labor strength in the unity of the two territories. The recent strike undertaken by the entire Gold Coast Railway technical workers shows the growing strength of labor on the West Coast and particularly in the Gold Coast.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

People and Government in Sierra Leone

Sir.—Will you please allow me to say a few words in reply to Mr. A. Sayers, the Ag. P.R.O. of Sierra Leone, in your edition of February 28, on this very important subject? It is not generally realized, especially in the Coast, how significant are the times in which we live. World events have inevitably stimulated race consciousness in West Africa, as they have done elsewhere in the world. This is the fundamental fact against which the local demand for improved conditions, and especially Government plans for their solution, must be judged. We cannot escape the logic of these facts by casuistry or legalism, but by honestly facing issues.

It was in this spirit I addressed the article which is the subject of this correspondence. Although naturally I wrote as a private individual, I need not remind you that I have special facilities for keeping abreast of all Development planning, not only in Sierra Leone but in the whole Colonial Empire. As a member of the Colonial Economic and Development Council, and the Colonial Advisory Medical Committee, among other things, I should be most reprehensible in basing criticisms on "inaccurate or insufficient information." What is more, I visited Sierra Leone in 1945, and not only visited the Harford Girls' school at Moyamba, but Bo and other centres, and was able to discuss *with every head of department*, and the heads of the Missions, the plans for development and welfare. As an expatriate Sierra Leonean, and the accredited representative in England of more than one local organization, I am also kept *au fait* from the point of view of my countrymen.

While I welcome the willingness of the Sierra Leone Government to take the public into its confidence on this matter, it is with regret that I note that the P.R.O.'s statement sheds no fresh ray of hope on the confused situation in Sierra Leone. To talk of "all major non-official interests" being consulted means very little, unless they have been consulted in the actual drawing up of the various sections of the plans, or allowed to alter them in detail where necessary. If, on the other hand, as happened once to my information at Cline Town, where the local residents were summoned to discuss the plans for their district without any plan being produced—indeed I understand they were told that only Members of the Legislative Council could see it—such gestures are meaningless. To sum up: "Unofficial members" however unanimous, does not always mean what it seems at first sight, in a Legislative Council where, out of 22 members, only three are elected representatives.

Situation is Serious

I am anxious not to descend to polemics. The situation in Sierra Leone is serious, and I know is a source of anxiety to all who wish to see the development of progressive policies there. The fact is that Fourah Bay College is a part of the whole structure of education in Sierra Leone, *and the whole is a cause for grave concern*. The basic factor throughout is that in Sierra Leone, unlike the Gold Coast, the plans for education are an official conception, and Africans are not consulted fully and freely and at every stage in their drafting. This criticism is prominent and constant in the local Press.

In the Protectorate Assembly of 1946, the Chiefs moved (i) that a special education tax be levied, (ii) that the mines be nationalized. They also expressed the wish that Fourah Bay should be made a National College, to include the teaching of agriculture. It is worthy of note that, the following year, the Protectorate Assembly was unexpectedly terminated by the Chief Commissioner before the Chiefs could raise any matter under "Other Business." If my information is wrong, I shall be only too glad to make amends!

The Protectorate is governed under "Indirect Rule." That means that its two million people are approached by outsiders through their Paramount Chiefs (twenty-six) and the sub-Chiefs (over a hundred). In the approved record of the interview of December 9/10 the Ag. Governor admitted that although "contributions by individuals were entirely a matter for the personal concern of each person . . . ," the Paramount Chiefs were forbidden to recommend the sub-Chiefs or their people to support the Fourah Bay College Endowment Fund on pain of disciplinary action. Civil Servants (at least the senior ones) were similarly warned off, and so were all business firms, because any contributions from them would be from taxable profits. This latter is what shocks opinion in the United Kingdom most profoundly. In practice, it means that of the two million people of the Protectorate only twenty-six can be approached for their support!

About the site of Fourah Bay College, I said that the Government had taken it over for a Deep Water Quay, and had not provided an alternative *permanent* site nor offered to help in the search although asked. Mr. Sayers says exactly the same thing, although in a different way! This is a fundamental issue in the fight for Fourah Bay; the Government knows it; the C.M.S. know it, and have held out from compounding the old site for a cash settlement.

The splendid Harford Girls' School is the brightest spot in the education of girls in the Protectorate, and we cannot be too appreciative of our debt to the U.B.C. Missions. Why Government has only planned that, in ten years, the girls should still only reach Cambridge *Junior* standard is difficult to understand. One certain fact is that, under those conditions, no girl will be able to pass from there to Fourah Bay for a university education! As it is, Harford is neither new nor secondary. The news of a Government secondary school for girls will come as a welcome surprise to Sierra Leoneans, who no doubt will want to know what Government calls "secondary." The Mission secondary school for boys has been discussed for a few years, and will materialize eventually; for the Missions usually keep their word. Surely Government is not taking credit for this? Certainly it is not included in the published Development Plan.

I must confess to little satisfaction in writing this letter. It is like fiddling while Rome burns. In a way, it is symbolic of the attitude to affairs in certain Colonies. The broad issue in West Africa is not particular minutiæ, but a bold policy of constructive planning, which will harness the more responsible forces among the people, and together forge a link of progress and cooperation between the races. In our leaders, in our tradition of humanistic and liberal education headed by Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leoneans have inherited a sense of *worth* and stability. We must be careful lest, through undue reaction, we sow the dragon's teeth of irresponsibility and indiscipline.

Yours, etc.,

R. B. WELLESLEY COLE.

6, Grange Road,
Fenham,
Newcastle-on-Tyne,
4th March, 1948.

Yoruba Bible

A British and Foreign Bible Society exhibition, which is to tour Britain for three years, was opened at Newcastle on March 2. Called "Is this the way?" the centre-piece of the display is a group of about 30 water-colours forming a chronological representation of Biblical translations. One of the pictures records the publication of a Yoruba Bible in 1850. A large map locating languages used by the society, and an electric press-button quiz are features of the exhibition. The British and Foreign Society has so far issued over 530 million copies of the Scriptures in 769 languages and dialects.

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EDUCATION

The Scarbrough Report

With the cessation of war and the realization of the need, perhaps more urgent now than ever before, to know better our neighbors near and far the findings and recommendations of the Interdepartmental Commission of Enquiry on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies are of importance not only for Britain but for other countries as well. In the words of Lord Hailey:

> There is much that must be obscure in any views which we can now form regarding our future relations with some of the peoples with whom Imperial policy or economic developments have given us a close connection in the past. But one thing is obvious. We are entering on a stage in which our relations will be regulated in a diminishing degree by considerations based on political supremacy or economic strength.
>
> ....we shall have to rely increasingly on personal associations, on cultural contacts, and on the mutual understanding derived from the exchange of knowledge regarding our civilization and theirs. It is a phase, therefore, in which a study of their language and culture must become a matter of national concern rather than of individual interest. That is the more essential because, with the growing tide of nationalism in some of those countries, any desire shown by us for increased knowledge of their way of life and thought must make for friendship with us, just as any apparent neglect of it will be a cause of estrangement.
>
> If so, it becomes important to note the extent to which the State has hitherto concerned itself in the organization of such studies...
> (London Times, June 14, 1947)

A Commission, presided over by the Earl of Scarbrough, was appointed to deal with the whole range of Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African studies under present conditions. This Commission has made an intensive study not only of the available facilities for linguistic and cultural studies, but also of the position of such societies or institutions as, for instance, the British Council or the Broadcasting Corporation. The Commission emphasizes that it is concerned not only with the teaching of languages (although already in 1942 the Associated Chambers of Commerce found occasion to emphasize the benefit of employing agents familiar with the language as well as the life of the peoples with whom they were in contact) but rather with "the interpretation to the British people of the whole way of life of these peoples",

Upon reviewing its findings the sub-Committee for Africa concluded, due to the fact that the study and teaching of African languages is "a highly specialized business", that the "shortage of trained staff is one which can scarcely be overcome for a long time to come" and that "no university, other than London, has shown the smallest desire to undertake the teaching of African languages",

> ....the teaching of African languages must continue to be concentrated in the School of Oriental and African Studies, with the consequence that outside London the present divorce between linguistic and non-linguistic studies will persist... In so saying we are not unmindful of the opinion expressed in authoritative circles,..to the effect

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(ii) For the wider public, our recommendations regarding expansion of research work and of university facilities for teaching are of great importance. It is on research that good books are based, and this need not necessarily apply only to specialized publications The greater the number of those engaged in academic work, the greater will be the opportunities for individuals to produce popular works that are really sound.

(iii) The Colonial Museum in Brussels is an example to the world of what may be done to give a wide general public an insight into the way of life of one part of Africa. The example is one from which our own museums might benefit.

(iv) We consider that special attention should be given to making the stay of African students at our Universities and other institutions profitable both to the students themselves and to this country. The best way in which this can be done is...to enable these students to enjoy all the social amenities provided for other students....they should be assisted to mix with British students having interests in common with them and to obtain some acquaintance with British family life.

The impressive results achieved by the International African Institute have received due praise and the Committee finds that in consideration of the many valuable services it has and is performing

> ....it is essential that the Institute should be in a position to continue its function of sponsoring and financing the publication of books embodying the results of research....
>
> In view of the benefits which in the future, as in the past, are likely to accrue to British Colonies in Africa from the operations of the Institute, we recommend that His Majesty's Government should make a substantial annual free grant to its revenue. We suggest that the sum should be not less than £1,500 a year.

Although the cost to the State in carrying out the recommendations of the Scarbrough Commission has been estimated at £250,000 at the end of the first five years the Committee finds that "our own most pressing problems are seen to be but parts of world problems, and the peoples of the world are drawn together as never before by a common need to struggle out of an abyss of political and economic disorder caused by the war. It is against this background" that the report is "to be read and considered". (Report of the Interdepartmental Commission of Inquiry on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies, 1947)

March 1948

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EDUCATION

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Problems of Native Students in the U.K.

At a recent press conference, the head of the Welfare Department of the Colonial Office, Mr. J. L. Keith, gave several pertinent facts about Colonial students in the United Kingdom. A report of the interview and editorial comment on the situation appears in the 12 Feb. (1948) issue of East Africa and Rhodesia (pp. 599-601), from the pen of its editor, who was present.

Mr. Keith said that his department had direct responsibility for more than 3200 Colonial students at present, and the number is increasing. In 1941, when the department was founded, the total was 80. Of the present students, 1500 are on scholarships and 1700 are supported privately to varying amounts. Three-fourths of the department's time was spent finding places in universities and colleges, administering the scholarships, and supervising the welfare of the students. As all British Universities and Colleges are over-crowded and must reserve 90% of their places for ex-servicemen, the department had to allocate admission priorities among the Colonial students.

Proper living in the U.K. now costs at very least £275 to £300 a year for students, yet some Colonial Governments and many parents were supplying less than this. Hostels had to be used for accommodation, though disliked in principle as it encourages segregation. The possibility of getting more Colonial students into Australian and Canadian Universities was being examined. Groups of Colonial Governments had been asked to send welfare officers to help look after their students, and West Africa and Malaya-Hong Kong have already done so; officers from East Africa, Mauritius and the West Indies were expected soon.

The West African liaison officer, Major H.B. Shepherd of Nigeria, said that non-scholarship students were very distrustful of information given them in the Colonies as to difficulties they would face, and on arrival in the UK would seldom come to him for aid, so he had to seek them out. The distressful truth was that they tended to congregate in slum areas, became introspective and hard to handle, and had to work by day to support themselves, leaving little time for study. It was very difficult to find suitable accommodation for them, and much color prejudice was evident. If people would only invite these colored Colonials into their homes it would make an immense difference.

Mr. Keith said that students who did have leisure time were prone just to sit over their fires or go to a cinema and some were leading an irregular existence. Many were not real students, but just grinding away to get law degrees. The East and West Friendship Council was doing good work putting students in touch with British families, but many of the students would not help themselves nor accept help offered. As to curtailing the numbers of Colonial students, whether scholarship or private, Mr. Keith said there could be no question of obstructing anyone in the Colonial Empire who wished to come, they must be quite free to choose for themselves.

The editorial comment by East Africa and Rhodesia reflects the fears expressed by several Colonial Governments, who have seen many of their Native students come back from overseas with quite disturbing ideas as to the eternal truths and values, beside which they make trouble for the Administration, Mission groups, non-official Europeans, and even some Government Department Heads are similarly exercised. So many students, they say, are deriving the worst possible impression of the British way of life. Serious danger is involved in leaving them to their own devices outside

school hours, for many are known to be associating with undesirables of both sexes, many with police records. The inevitable result is that these students return to Africa as political agitators of a vicious type. Keep them in the Colonies until they are older, and can take graduate work; assemble them in hostels under discipline such as the resident schools impose; send home all that are not properly behaving; reduce the numbers allowed to come and select only the excellent ones - these are some of the remedies suggested, but all agree that something ought to be done about it.

Notwithstanding the difficulties to be encountered by going abroad to study Africans still prefer that to their own schools. According to reports Makerere College is"still struggling upward" and in the African's eyes "there is nothing to equal a stay in an older institution, learning by seeing how things are done by a much more mature country."

women may be put in charge of family affairs, provided they have the appropriate qualities of ability and the experience of age. This means that, as trustees for lands and property, their influence in the community is as great as that of any male head of a family, and that as such they are equally eligible for political office, such as village or town headmen, and members of the Native Administration. In some cases, women are appointed as paramount chiefs, and in some chiefdoms the institution is apparently a regular one. To-day the fact that pecuniary considerations are replacing occupational and traditional ones in determining the status of women strikes right at the heart of the indigenous structure. Literate women are as yet very few in number, but their position is an important index to current developments in the social structure. There are some 2,000 girls at present at schools. Most girls do not go farther than Standard IV and few gain qualifications sufficient for the only careers, nursing and teaching, open to women in the Protectorate. A new type of society, inspired by European standards of life and etiquette, is emerging out of the old, but offers, as yet, a relatively low status for its women members.

The Nigerian Schoolmaster, Vol. XII, Nos. 1 and 2. This is the organ of the Nigerian Union of Teachers. The present numbers bring an article on the higher education programme in West Africa and reports on the Sixteenth Annual Conference of the Nigeria Union of Teachers at Ilesha, and on the activities of the Education Committees, Western Provinces, for the year 1946–47.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend, Series VI, Vol. 3, No. 4, January, 1948, contains an article on "Some Reflections on East Africa To-day" by H. W. Foster. He gives the impressions of a traveller who revisits East Africa after a long absence and discusses the main things that appear to stand out for him. He shows how the East African territories have assumed a new importance to-day in the strategic and economic spheres. The granting of independence to India and Burma has altered the strategic importance of the Indian Ocean and the development of modern methods of warfare have minimized the importance of Egypt and the Suez Canal. There has been a shift of strategic importance to the East African mainland. In the economic sphere East Africa has a great contribution to make to the regeneration of British power. With the loss of our overseas income, the debts that we have incurred through war, and the shortage of the dollar, it becomes imperative that we develop the productive capacity of these territories. The writer refers to the enormous industrial potential in East Africa, as yet to a large extent uncharted and unexplored, and cites the importance that should be attached to such schemes as the Kariba Gorge scheme to harness the waters of the Zambesi, the groundnuts scheme in Tanganyika and the hydro-electric scheme at Jinja in Uganda. But the only answer to real development is mechanization and in this connection the African must learn to show greater responsibility in charge of machinery than he has so far. Not only this lack of responsibility but his economic backwardness is also a serious stumbling-block to progress in the territories, and examples are given of how cotton is allowed to rot in the fields of Uganda, because only enough is harvested for immediate cash needs, and the retention of cattle on over-grazed lands in the other territories, in the face of a world hunger for meat. The writer ends his article with a spirited plea for women's education, which he considers is the only way to uplift the moral and economic status of the African.

Bulletin of the Imperial Institute, Vol. XLV, No. 2. In "The Geology and Mineral Deposits of Uganda", K. A. Davies, Director, and C. B. Bisset, Deputy Director, Geological Survey of Uganda, give an interesting and comprehensive survey of the resources of the Uganda Protectorate, and deal with future problems and development which have a bearing on the economic geology.

Man, Vol. XLVII. In an article on "Early Foreign Trade in East Africa", G. A. Wainwright describes the history of Egyptian and Greek trading expeditions into the Horn of Africa and as far south as Zanzibar. He bases his remarks on finds of coins and other trade relics, and the survival of ceremonies which bear resemblance to foreign festivals and customs.

Race Relations, Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1947, has "A Note on the Indo-European Situation in Natal" by Maurice Webb, and an article on "As an Indian sees Natal" by V. Sirkari Naidoo. The first article contains useful figures on education, housing, social welfare, etc., the second has a number of tables on population growth, religion, languages and legislature.

Far Eastern Survey, Vol. XVII, No. 1, has an article on "Human Resources of Micronesia" by John Useem. All of the Micronesian islands have far fewer peoples than in the past. Since the coming of the foreigner, native populations have been reduced to fractions of their former numbers. There are native groups who have become virtually extinct. During recent decades, however, a moderate increase has taken place among the Natives of Micronesia as a whole although some sections are still losing numbers. But there will be no over-population problem in Micronesia in the forthcoming years. In areas where increases may take place there are enough resources to absorb

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n his education and to e must be placed in his be done, Gandhi main- and science of a craft by imparting the whole s to use manual training raining. It may well be ter teaches me carpentry. , and as a result I shall t will hardly develop my ght me by one who has taken a scientific training in carpentry he will stimulate my intellect as well. Not only shall I then be an expert carpenter but an engineer also. For the expert will have taught me mathematics, will have told me the difference between the various kinds of timber and where they come from, thus giving me a knowledge of geography and also a little knowledge of agriculture. He will also have taught me to draw models of my tools and given me a knowledge of elementary geometry and arithmetic." In learning by doing, Gandhi believed children were bound to become self-reliant and cheerful. Their power of self-expression would be well developed and by participating in co-operative work they would acquire the spirit of toleration, sympathy and brotherly regard. That his views were also actuated by his philosophy of non-violence is clear from his declaration: " If we want to eliminate communal strife we must start with foundations pure and strong by rearing our younger generation on the education I have adumbrated. That plan springs from non-violence."

It can be seen, therefore, that Gandhi's conception of education is based on the main principles of his life: dignity of manual labour, his identification with the rural life, and his ideals of non-violence and truth. In Indian education he will have the pride of place which Pestalozzi had in Switzerland; and if future generations revere him first as the " father of the nation ", they will also recognize him as the architect of Indian education and the champion of the pragmatic approach.

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Notes on Articles

Soundings, March and April, 1948. This interesting publication which deals with current events and trends has, in its March number, an article on " European Union and African Development ", by Douglas Woodruff, and a study of the Spanish case in the Tangier question, entitled " Opposite Gibraltar ", by Arthur F. Loveday. The April number brings "African Prospects ", by Brigadier G. S. Brunskill (see p. 165 of this issue).

The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, No. V, 1947. The present issue of this journal has some very interesting articles. Leo. Silberman considers some problems of sampling in social research; the Government statistician, Southern Rhodesia, throws light on probable (white) population trends during the next forty years in that territory; and Miss Phyllis Deane contributes a most interesting discussion of the problems involved in national income research in Central Africa. M. G. Marwick deals with techniques for the study of social attitudes and their possible application to modern African society. J. A. Barnes, research officer of the Institute, discusses the collection of genealogies in anthropological fieldwork; and E. G. L. Nicholls, Location Superintendent, Lusaka, urges the importance of providing the urban African with practical opportunities for the development of a sense of civic responsibility.

Farm and Forest, Vol. VIII, No. 2, 1947. Three contributions, " Land Rehabilitation, Plateau Province ", " On Grass Burning " and " Soil Conservation " in Sierra Leone, deal with the problems of erosion and soil fertility. Important ecological problems are the subject of two papers, " On the Definition of Forest Types in the Closed Forest Zone of the Gold Coast " and " Observations on the Sobo Plains ".

Review of International Co-operation, February, 1948, brings a report on West Africa. Good progress is being made in the Gold Coast, where the members of the Government-sponsored Cocoa Marketing Societies are beginning to manage their own affairs. Good progress is also reported regarding other points of the programme of reorganizing the Marketing Societies into economic units. In Nigeria, the number of Cocoa Marketing Societies has increased during the last three years from 176 to 219, and the Unions have worked excellently in developing the collection and handling of cocoa.

The January, 1948, number of the *Review* has an article on " Co-operation in Agriculture in Palestine " by H. Halperin, who says that most of the Jewish agriculture consists of Co-operative Labour Settlements. Their aim is to build up a healthy mixed farming which could supply the settlers with their own requirements, provide an ever-increasing proportion of the country's food supply, and ensure the economic stability of Palestine's agriculture. The Labour Settlements to-day produce 85 per cent of the total green fodder output, and 65 per cent of the cereals, milk, eggs and vegetable output of Jewish agriculture.

Africa, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, January, 1948. K. L. Little describes " The Changing Position of Women in the Sierra Leone Protectorate " and says the social position of women is somewhat paradoxical. On the one hand, they are regarded as a form of property. On the other,

FIGHT AGAINST STARVATION

"WE have lost virtually a year but the experience that has been gained has been most valuable." That was the summing-up of Mr. A. J. Wakefield (Director Designate of the Overseas Food Corporation) in a talk on the East African groundnuts scheme to specialist journalists in London last week. There had been many rumours, he said. One circulating in Nairobi before a single groundnut had been planted in the East African Groundnuts scheme was that the entire crop had been destroyed. Actually, the position was that instead of 150,000 acres only 40,000 had been cleared. Four thousand acres had already been planted with groundnuts; another eight thousand had been partially cleared of roots.

Mr. Wakefield did not know how much ground would be cleared before the rains; but he did not think more than ten thousand acres would be planted before the middle of this month. In spite of difficulties, he still believed in the scheme and he preferred that hard experience should be bought over ten thousand acres than over 150,000. The East African groundnuts scheme had been worth it, if only because "we are up against starvation." We had to get the experience to enable us to carry on the fight against starvation.

At the same time, it had introduced something new to Africa and had provided a bridge for developing a technique for avoiding war, pestilence and famine in Africa. Mr. Wakefield paid tribute to the Unilever organization, which is scheduled to hand over to the proposed Overseas Food Corporation in August this year. Without that organization, he said, we could not have got our supplies.

Friends of Fourah Bay

A meeting of well-wishers of Fourah Bay College was convened recently in London by Dr. R. B. Wellesley Cole. Those present included the Rev. H. M. Grace, Dr. Kenneth Little, Mr. R. Sorensen, M.P., Miss Margaret Wrong, and representatives of the West African Students' Union, the West African National Secretariat and the League of Coloured Peoples.

A full report of the present position of the College and of the Fourah Bay College Fund was given. Grave concern was expressed over the difficulties of the supporters of the Fund in raising money as a result of the Sierra Leone Government's implementation of official policy. In view of this, and of the strength of popular feeling in favour of the retention of Fourah Bay's university status, the meeting decided to institute themselves as the Friends of Fourah Bay College for the purpose of making the cause of the College better known in Britain. Dr. Little undertook the role of honorary secretary.

It was considered that a way out of the present deadlock between Government and people was necessary for the sake of wider development plans in Sierra Leone, as well as for the sake of the College. Proposals for a compromise solution, which would meet the wishes of the people and the Secretary of State's present intentions for West African higher education, were considered for submission to Mr. Creech Jones.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Ethiopia's Progress in Education

Sir,—The introduction, to the Ethiopian Parliament, of a Bill to establish Compulsory Education throughout the country, marks a great advance in Ethiopia's struggle for popular education, and in the educational history of Africa. Education has taken first place in Ethiopia's programme of reconstruction; for elementary, secondary, teacher training, commercial, technical, arts and crafts, music, agricultural, theological and law schools have been established, since the Government took office again, after the Italian war and occupation, in February, 1942.

All Ethiopian schools had been closed during the Italian occupation, and only the so-called Ballila Corps, admitting some 500 boys, and giving a very fragmentary course, in preparation for the Italian army etc. had existed during the occupation. The Ethiopian Government was therefore obliged to start from scratch in its educational programme. In addition to the above mentioned schools, all Government Departments, have their educational branches for their young employees, teaching, for instance, in the Post Office, English and general academic subjects, as well as morse, radio and other special subjects required for the work of the Department; in the Finance Department, accountancy and kindred subjects; in the army, morse, radio, signals, gunnery etc., in addition to academic subjects, always including English.

Ethiopia's great progress in Education will be a stimulus, we hope, to the governments and peoples of other parts of Africa.

Yours etc.,

3, Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THEY WANT TO GO TO SCHOOL

"In Nigeria, you do not have to compel anybody to go to school, rather they compel you, or entreat you to build a school for them. Fortunately, Nigeria is favoured with very good schools but there are not a sufficient number of them as yet. There is the Technical Institute at Yaba, which aims at training students in mechanical subjects. Among the three eldest secondary schools are the King's College (Lagos), C.M.S. Grammar School in Lagos, with the Hope Waddell Institute (Calabar). Among the latest are the Dennis Memorial College (Onitsha), Christ the King's College (Onitsha), Government Colleges (Ibadan, Kaduna and Umushia), St. Patrick's (Asaba), and others too numerous to mention here, but all doing really good work. Then, of course, there is to be the new University College at Ibadan.

"Some two to three hundred students yearly pass the Senior Cambridge School Certificate in Nigeria. Of these, some enter the teacher training colleges; some take vocational training in various institutions, like the Marine Training School or the Public Works School; a few come to the United Kingdom, or go to America for professional training; but the majority go into the Civil Service, usually as clerks. Various schemes are on hand in Nigeria, whereby youth should be re-directed back to the land in the villages, rather than be allowed to waste their time in uncreative form-filling posts.

"Like other parts of Africa, Nigeria owes a great debt to the Christian missionaries, who may be said to be the pioneers of education. It is only recently that Government has come forward with anything like adequate grants-in-aid to assist the Missions in their education programme. The Native Authorities are now officially providing schools for their areas; and private individuals and bodies have joined in the fight against illiteracy. Conspicuous among these are the tribal unions (like Ibo Federal Union, Ijesha Union, Ibibio Union, and Ishekiri Union) who have initiated programmes for building Secondary Schools and sending their children abroad for training. Given the money and the teachers, Nigeria should be able to carry through her programme of mass education in record time."—Dennis Osadebay in "Calling West Africa."

NEWS FROM WEST AFRICA

A Colony education office, to deal with primary and secondary education in Freetown and rural areas, has been established in Sierra Leone.

Mr. J. F. Odunjo, headmaster of St. Paul's Catholic School, Ebute Metta, recently returned to Nigeria from Britain after completing studies under a scholarship awarded by the Catholic Mission.

PRIVY COUNCIL TO HEAR THREE APPEALS FROM WEST AFRICA

(*Specially reported for* WEST AFRICA—*Copyright*)

Appeals set down for hearing before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council this legal term, which began on January 12, include three from the West African Court of Appeal. They are: "Maduka and others versus Ezeodimegwu," concerning a land dispute between rival tribes in Nigeria, special leave to appeal having been granted; "Patterson versus The District Commissioner of Accra and another," the subject being given as "Proceedings taken to levy execution under an assessment order: writ of prohibition"; and "Nkwantahene Nana Kwame Boakye Tromu II versus Bechemhene Nana Fosu Gyeabuor II." the subject and this appeal being described as "Dispute with regard to tribal lands."

U.A.C. Dinner in London

Presentation to Mr. W. Sloss

A correspondent writes: Last month, the directors and senior staff of the United Africa Company Limited met together at a dinner given by the company at the Dorchester Hotel, London. Marshal of the Royal Air Force Viscount Trenchard (the chairman of the company) presided. This was the second function of its kind to be held since the company was formed in 1929, the first having taken place in 1939.

After the toast: "The King," proposed by Lord Trenchard, Mr. Geoffrey Heyworth (the chairman of Lever Brothers & Unilever Limited) proposed the toast: "The United Africa Company." Mr. Frank Samuel (managing director of The United Africa Company) replied and coupled his reply with the name of Mr. William Sloss, who was about to retire from the company's service after an unbroken association with West African trade of fifty years. Mr. Sloss joined the African Association in Liverpool on January 1, 1898, and became a director of The United Africa Company in 1940, responsible for the whole buying organization of The United Africa Group.

The speeches were followed by the presentation to Mr. Sloss of a handsome silver salver (on which the signatures of over a hundred of his business associates were engraved) which was handed to him by Lord Trenchard.

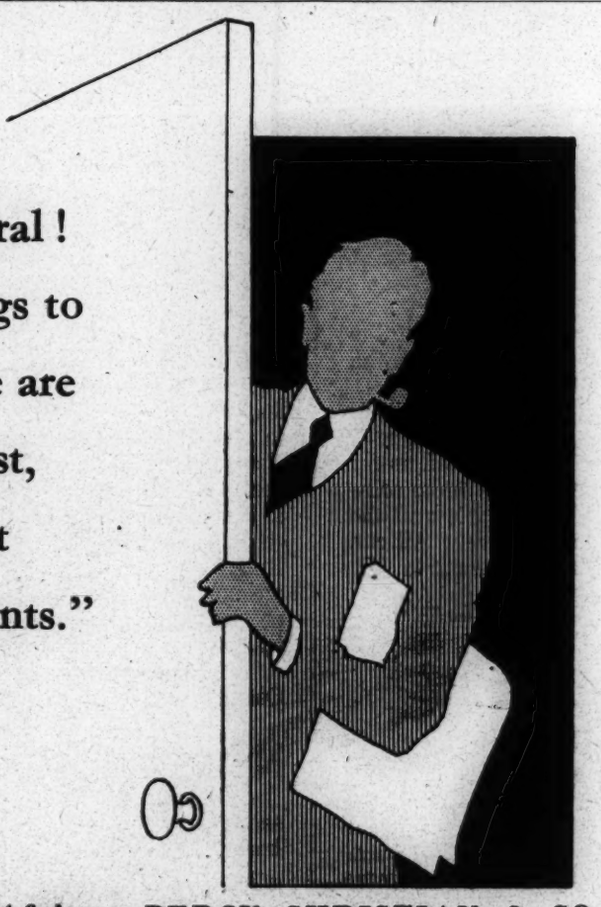
OBITUARY

SIR DONALD CAMERON

Sir Donald Charles Cameron died in London on January 8. He was Governor of Nigeria (1931/35) and of Tanganyika (1925/31). Born in British Guiana (1872) he entered the local Civil Service when eighteen years of age. He became Assistant Colonial Secretary of Mauritius in 1904 and, four years later, was transferred to Southern Nigeria as an Assistant Secretary. In 1911, he was made Principal Assistant Secretary; and after the amalgamation of Nigeria, under Lord Lugard, was appointed Secretary to the Central Government. As Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Donald spent some time in organizing Native Administration and creating an African Civil Service. Returning to Nigeria, after an absence of six years, his grasp of details and capacity for work were great assets in a country suffering from economic depression.

Sir Donald, whose wife has been seriously ill for years and whose son was tragically lost in an air accident during the war, lived in retirement near Sloane Square in London. He kept up his interest in West Africa and the other Colonial territories, and was always prepared to help anyone who wanted information or advice on Colonial matters. His most recent contact with this newspaper was a conversation with a member of the Staff, in which he expressed his great pleasure at the honour paid to the Colonial Service by the barony conferred on the former Sir Arthur Richards.

"It's only natural! The first things to become scarce are always the best, the things that everybody wants."



Supplies of White Horse Scotch Whisky seem even smaller, because so very many people ask for it first.

Agents for West Africa: PERCY CHRISTIAN & CO. LTD., LIVERPOOL

42/9C/48

The Dean of Westminster's Fund for a Cultural Center for African Students in London is making slow progress. Nearly £8,000 (of the £50,000 target) has been collected in Britain, while in Africa the tour of Ladipo Solanke, (Warden of the West African Students' Union), yielded somewhat less, from which must be deducted his £1769 expenses. In view of this last figure, and since many wealthy individuals would contribute nothing, the Nigerian Government has refused to give permission for Native Authority Funds to be tapped for this cause.

Jan-1948

London School of Oriental and African Studies receives £13,050 from Colonial Office towards Colonial Service Training Scheme, and contributions from Uganda £500, Tanganyika £500, Sudan £400, N. Rhodesia £100, Nyasaland £50, Zanzibar £50, but apparently nothing from Kenya or Southern Rhodesia.

42/9C/56

Jan. 1948

Education

Inter-regional

UNESCO sponsors 4 pilot projects in Mass Education; one in East Africa; control and finance by States concerned; they are field experiments with latest techniques and materials, in literacy, health, agriculture, citizenship, with results correlated.

42/9C/57

The Scarborough Report (inter-departmental commission on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies) shows 5 year plan for greatly increased School of African Studies and 50 scholarships from Colonial Development and Welfare.

January 3, 1948 WEST AFRICA

7- GOLD COAST STUDENTS

According to records in the Colonial Office, there are at present 283 Gold Coast students in the United Kingdom, of whom 30 are following legal studies. It may also interest the hon. Member to know that, of these students, 180 hold scholarships and 103 are private students.

42/9c/68

COGENT COMMENTS ON EDUCATION

An Old Chestnut

By Observer

EDUCATION for Citizenship in Africa, from which extracts were given in a previous issue, suffers from many disabilities of which its "high-mindedness" is the most obvious. Its title is another. It should be qualified by some such adjective as "backward," "tribal," or "undeveloped" because, in the foreword, it is written that the sub-committee was more familiar with conditions of a tribal society than with conditions in Colonies of a different type. It may be that some such title was intended but, as the report progressed in another direction, the title was changed, as the tribal society disappeared almost entirely from its pages.

Citizenship or Education

What, in fact, is the subject matter of the report? Is it not the old chestnut in another form, how to make literate partially-educated and text-book-educated Africans appreciate that "education" is not the same as citizenship? That is why the document is so unrealistic. There is hardly a suggestion made in its pages which in some way could not be applied critically to the failures of the British educational system itself. *The Times* (March 22) reported Sir Percival Waterfield as saying at Oxford, recently, that "of 3,000 men and women graduates interviewed for the Civil Service, 40 per cent. of those who wanted to get into the administrative service and 50 per cent. of applicants for the foreign service scored marks for personality and intelligence which represented complete failure. From the point of view of the Civil Service, they were not in the running. Indeed, about five per cent. in the administrative service and eight per cent. in the foreign service were below even the lowest category. A disquieting feature was that, among those who failed, 60 per cent. had university or college scholarships; and 20 per cent. were those who had State scholarships."

In other words, it is not only the Colonial Office and the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies that have for some time been concerned with the problem of educating for citizenship of the modern world. The week after this document was prepared, a priest was telling scores of London children that their behaviour in church was far below the standard of "so-called savages" with whom he had spent twelve years in Borneo.

Character Training

There is certainly something to be learnt and (wherever the actual experience of tropical tribal Africa comes to light) much to be gained from this document, but the sub-committee should be writing from the floor, not from the pedestal. "We are aware," they write, "that in thus describing the qualities of a democrat, we are perhaps describing a citizen and a polity the pattern of which may be laid up in heaven but is hardly yet to be seen on earth."

It is not only in general principles, however, that the sub-committee appear to be missing the trail. They consider it a serious over-simplification to say that the education given in the schools is mainly responsible for the drift from the land into the towns; and they are probably right, since the appeals of the towns are manifold. But how can it be said that "character training is primarily a matter of close and constant contact between the pupils and the right kind of teacher"? Such over-simplification on the part of educationists contains in embryo the germ which is spreading within the educational world and the effects of which are obvious in the words of Sir Percival Waterfield and others.

Even if every teacher were the right kind of teacher, and comparatively few seem to be that, character training can only be naturally performed by the parents of the children. The curse of Colonial education, in general—and tropical Africa seems to be no exception—is that in despair of "educating" the adult the authorities and the educationists, for the most part unwittingly, have taught the children to despise their parents. They have therefore destroyed the framework for that very character training which in the United Kingdom no less than in Africa is now realized to be more essential than the passive capacity for absorbing other people's ideas which sometimes results from too much contact of the child with the teacher.

Importance of Humility

At times, the writers of the report grasp reality as in the following excellent admission: "In teaching citizenship, as in teaching all subjects, some of the most effective work is done when the teacher says frankly 'I don't know; let us see if we can find out'"; but the effect of this pearl of wisdom is straightway nullified by the next sentence: "We realize that we are asking a great deal of the training colleges when we ask them to inculcate in their students the alertness and humility necessary for this kind of teaching; but we are confident that they will agree with us that this must be their aim."

Surely! humility is the essence of the teaching as of all professions. The results of self-opinionated, self-satisfied, arrogant teachers are only too visible in every country where "character training" has been considered of little importance.

There are other defects in this report, with relation, not to general principles in which the educationist can plead the province of the amateur, but in the very fibre and context of education itself. In the age of the atomic bomb, surely it is surprising to read that "the history of scientific invention and discovery offers the more heartening spectacle of constant progress among the scientists themselves through cooperation, whatever evils may have come of their work through competition among statesmen." Surely most of us would prefer the statesmen!

Then and Now

There are some statements which do not bear comparisons too well. "Welsh and Scottish educationists," write the sub-committee, "wish the educated Welshman or Scot to retain and develop his attachment to the understanding of his country's cultural heritage. And if it is urged that there is less gulf between English and Welsh culture than between English and Ashanti, it may be replied that seven centuries of contact between England and Wales have greatly narrowed the gulf."

Early in March, the Ministry of Education published a report on 100 years of Welsh education. "Exactly 100 years ago," said the official announcement, "a report was made to young Queen Victoria (she was then 27) by a Commission set up to inquire into the state of education in Wales which, when published, so infuriated Welsh people that a great wave of indignation swept through the land."

Some of the Commission's findings were that "there was a great deal of loose-living, untruthfulness, idleness, drunkenness and deceit in Wales," "the incompetence of the schoolmasters was avowedly great," "the Welsh language was a vast drawback to Wales and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people."

Chance of Exercise

There is much in this pamphlet which reflects the knowledge of those responsible for its publication of the tendencies of education as practised in "advanced" countries today. It would be surprising were it otherwise. But there is little new in its pages which has not been ventilated on previous occasions; nor is there any sign of confidence that the suggestions put forward will necessarily be followed. Indeed, the following sentence may well have been intended as a warning: "It is that you cannot educate people for citizenship unless you give them the chance of exercising their citizenship."

It is painfully obvious that this chance is not being wholeheartedly given in Africa today and, until it is, reports like these are likely to be of greater interest to posterity than to the generation to which it is addressed.

WEST AFRICA

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Fact Finding . . . . Claims of the Blind

THE delay in announcing the names of the members of the Commission of Inquiry which SIR GERALD CREASY hoped would be in the Gold Coast next week, has been due entirely to the difficulty in obtaining a Chairman. The delay has been commendable, even though it has been irksome for the Colonial Office at a time when an early publication of the names of the members of the Commission would have given weight to the determination to send one. It has not been easy to find a Chairman with suitable qualifications and whose personal commitments would enable him to leave for the Gold Coast at a date as early as that hoped for by SIR GERALD; and the Commission had to be composed of members who are known to have no preconceived ideas of the circumstances which they are going to investigate.

Fortunate Delay

All these difficulties have been satisfactorily overcome by the announcement of the invitation to MR. A. AIKEN WATSON, K.C. (to be Chairman); and to MR. ANDREW DALGLEISH and DR. K. A. H. MURRAY (Rector of Lincoln College) to serve on the Commission. The Secretary is to be MR. E. G. G. HANROTT (Colonial Office) and the Commission is to fly to the Gold Coast during the coming week. The terms of reference are " To inquire into and report on the recent disturbances in the Gold Coast and their underlying causes; and to make recommendations on any matter arising from their inquiry."

From another point of view, the delay in announcing the names of the Commissioners has been fortunate. As SIR GERALD CREASY has stated, the threat of disturbances must be altogether removed and normal ways of life resumed, before the Commission could do its work. Otherwise the arrival of the Commission, which was greatly desired by everyone, would be indefinitely postponed. In a way, therefore, the coincidence of the difficulty in finding a suitable Chairman with the duration of the period of unsettled conditions, has not been entirely unhappy, since the knowledge that the Commissioners had been appointed and were unable to go out because of the uncertainty of further outbreaks might possibly have been the cause of misunderstanding in the Gold Coast.

Since the most recent reports indicate that the period of tranquillity is being maintained, it is clear that the date of departure has been wisely chosen. While delay in the appointment of a Commission has not proved to be without compensation, it is to be hoped that the sifting and collection of evidence will be carried out with as great swiftness as may be reconcilable with the safeguarding of justice. On this course, too, the responsible authorities appear to be agreed. Where there must not be delay is in the very earliest possible publication of the findings of the Commission.

The Gold Coast disturbances have aroused public opinion in Britain in a way comparable only to the publicity given to the outbreaks of violence which attracted the attention of the British public to the British West Indies in the years immediately preceding the war. While the circumstances of the Gold Coast riots cannot substantially be likened to the circumstances of the West Indian riots, it is not unlikely that some of the causes of the more recent disturbances will be found to resemble in certain degrees those which provoked the earlier occurrences. In keeping with tradition, the British public has so far maintained a fairly open mind as to the underlying causes of the Gold Coast disturbances, although it has not unnaturally largely deprecated the fact of lawlessness which had to be countered by the firm legitimate measures of the Governor. But all comment on the subject has not been entirely open-minded; and there is much suspicion and uncertainty which can only be removed by the publication of the Commissioners' Report.

The terms of the present Commission are clearly nothing like as comprehensive as those given to the MOYNE Commission, so there is little reason for delay on this score. Nor is there much fear of its publication being withheld for the same reasons as those which made it impossible for the report of the MOYNE Commission to be published during the late war. There have, however, been many occasions recently where the time-lag between the investigations of Missions or investigators and the publication of their findings appear to be excessive. It is to be hoped that the Report of this Commission of Inquiry will set a precedent for speediness of publication and the great care which has been taken in the selection of its Chairman should ensure the achievement of this hope.

* * *

While African superstitions and suspicion of the white man's medicine are obvious drags to the progress of the battle against disease which has for so long been patiently fought in Africa, one of the tribal superstitions about blindness is not unwholesome. It is that blindness will come to the one who neglects to look after his blind relations. This is a worth-while superstition, which may be recommended to those who have to award priorities of expenditure on African betterment because, whoever is to blame, the fact of blindness itself is enough to evoke sympathy. It is little consolation to know that the estimated incidence of blindness in the capital of Bornu Province (1,400 per 100,000) is one of the highest in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. If comparison is made to the incidence of 179 per 100,000 in England and Wales it is at once obvious how tragic is the position of blinded Colonials when it is also remembered how few aids are available for the blind in the Colonies. The presence of a blind man on the delegation is itself a reminder of the benefits which can be conferred on the blind, and the sympathetic spirit of MR. WILSON towards his fellow sufferers may be detected in the practical recommendations which have been made by the committee.

Helping the Blind

The suggestions that African teachers of the blind should be trained in Africa and that a vocational training centre and demonstration school should be set up in Accra, are deserving of every encouragement from local governments. One sentence on "training in England" deserves consideration by an audience larger than that concerned with education of the blind. The committee writes that " the education of the English child is geared to a highly organized system of training and subsequent employment, completely different from anything that faces the blind African on leaving school for his home in the bush; so that the African teacher, having imbibed ideas in England, would find them of little guidance in tackling a completely different and often more difficult problem." If only the sound commonsense of this remark had been followed by more teachers in the past, how different might have been the course of Colonial education for citizenship!

42/10/54

WEST AFRICA AT WESTMINSTER

Funds for Fourah Bay

WHY were senior Civil Servants dissuaded from collecting funds for Fourah Bay College? was one of the questions put to the Secretary of State by Mr. Sorensen, in the House of Commons recently. He also wanted to know why the Chiefs were not allowed to collect money for this purpose and, in view of strong popular desire for the retention and development of Fourah Bay College, whether all direct or indirect opposition will now be withdrawn.

Mr. Creech Jones replied: One senior officer of the education department was advised against acting as a collector for the Fourah Bay Appeal Fund, because it was felt that such action by such an officer would suggest that the fund was officially sponsored or supported. Collections by Chiefs could not be approved, because any collections sponsored by them would be regarded by the people as a compulsory levy. It has been made clear, to the organizers of the appeal, that the Government will in no way interfere with any person wishing to contribute to the fund in his personal, as opposed to his official, capacity.

Mr. Sorensen: May I have an answer to the last part of my Question?

Mr. Creech Jones: There has been no opposition, either directly or indirectly, by the Sierra Leone Government.

Mr. Sorensen: Will my right hon. Friend give an assurance that he intends to safeguard the future of this institution?

Mr. Creech Jones: It is not a Government foundation. We have already made an offer to the governors of the body in regard to the transitional period immediately ahead.

Mr. Vane: Does the right hon. Gentleman mean that he prefers the principle of contracting in to contracting out?

Mr. Creech Jones: In this case, the continuance of this college as one of the higher educational institutions in West Africa is not quite consistent with the general policy for higher educational development in that region.

Their Point of View

Mr. Sorensen: Is my right hon. Friend aware that public opinion in this area is very anxious that this college should continue to receive every support?

Mr. Creech Jones: We have offered support during the transition period. In the place of this college, we have offered to found a territorial college which, from our point of view, offers far greater advantages for educational development than the continuance of this university college.

Mr. Sorensen: What about their point of view?

7

Western Africa

Creech Jones announced that the new University College at Ibadan is shaping up rapidly, preliminary work begun on site, architect selected, Principal appointed, quarters for teachers going up, etc.; staff and student body of the higher college at Yaba is to be transferred to temporary quarters at Ibadan as soon as practicable to form nucleus for new University. Nigerian Government will provide most of operational funds; but University is to remain independent of Government, having an African majority Council to direct its policy; as Africans become qualified for high degrees they will be eligible for senior positions without discrimination.

March - 1948

42/90/80

7. NEWSPRINT AND LITERACY

At present in Nigeria, the largest of our Colonies--one third the size of Europe, with a population of almost 25 million--there is a total

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7. of 25 publications, and the total daily circulation of newspapers does not amount to more than 33,000. In the Gambia, with about a quarter of a million population, there is not one daily newspaper.

"THE process of education alone is too slow for Africa," said Mr. A. J. Wakefield, during his talk on the East and Central African Groundnut Project at The Royal Society of Arts, last week. "The present world population is nearly 2,300 millions, of whom the great majority are far from adequately fed by any reasonable standard; and a large proportion exists on little more than a starvation basis. But when one considers the present rapid rate of increase in world population, the picture is even more grim. Despite war casualties, the increase has been 125 million since 1930 and, at this rate, world population could double itself within 100 years.

"Can anyone in his senses imagine that, unless really terrific efforts are made to increase the production of food, famine will not spread throughout the world? Is peace possible under such conditions?

increase of medical sources by means of hospitals, maternity homes, etc.

The movement will co-operate with other regions throughout Nigeria, where similar objectives are being planned. It is reported from Nigeria that all the important Obas have pledged unanimous support. Scholarships will aim to train technicians for farming, mining and engineering especially. It is hoped to start the building of hospitals within three years.

Oxford West Africans' Protest

The West African Students' Club at Oxford have sent the following communication to the Secretary of State for the Colonies: "We, the West African Students at Oxford, view with grave concern and horror the recent shooting of our unarmed countrymen on the Gold Coast. We deplore the sending of troops from outside against these people, when they were demonstrating against the failure of the Gold Coast Government to meet their grievances. We condemn wholeheartedly the attitude of the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, who said he was almost certain there must be Communist incitement. We feel that he was prejudging the issue, and that does not speak well of a responsible Minister of the British Government. He was shifting the responsibility on the Communists, and giving the impression that Africans are incapable of asking for their rights without incitement from outside. We sincerely hope that a public inquiry will be set up. It must be realized that the Gold Coast Government is involved in the case, and it is imperative that only parties not concerned with it should be made judges. We need not emphasize that such situations are bound to shake our faith in the sincerity of the British Government when they say that imperialism has been thrown overboard."

The communication, which was signed individually by the Executive Committee of the Club, was dated March 7, 1948.

42/90/227

FOUR THOUSAND IN SEARCH OF KNOWLEDGE

Task for British Universities

By COLONIAL

THERE is growing in the United Kingdom a propaganda—verbal and literal—which would disparage the achievements of African students in this country at the expense (be it noted) of British universities and other British educational institutions; because it is a slur on British universities and educational establishments (and a particular slur on those in the London area) to suggest that they admit Colonial students without requiring testimony as to their intellectual capacity or character. The Inns of Court have come in for a great deal of this misinformed criticism. Surely the whole crux of the self-created problem of educating Colonial students in this country is that there is nowhere else to educate them. That, without any possible doubt, is a fault of the past.

If the critics of these African and Colonial students (of whom there are less than 4,000, as compared with a considerably larger number of Europeans resident in Colonial territories) would themselves treat them like normal undergraduates instead of regarding them as immature Africans exposed to London's admitted vices, perhaps there would be no problem. But to blame the Welfare Department of the Colonial Office for the collective fact of British colour

42/90/67

West African Trade Unionists

Mr. Siaka Stevens (General Secretary of the Sierra Leone Mine Workers' Union) and Mr. Adio Moses (Secretary of the Nigerian Trade Congress) are on a month's course at the T.U.C. education department at Clapham, London. Previously, they were studying at Ruskin College, Oxford. After their course, they expect to spend another two months visiting mining areas and attending trade union meetings before returning to their own countries.

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Imperialism cultivates a small section of native intellectuals to man the lower offices and functions of the Civil Service and of commerce. If the countries were industrialised it would be essential to increase education, since it is impossible to carry on industry with uneducated workers. And here one can pay a tribute to the missionaries—despite the fact that they were largely instrumental in bringing the territories under white domination. Were it not for the missionaries the percentage of illiteracy would be even greater, for they were the pioneers of such organised education as does exist. Only within very recent years have Colonial Governments granted subsidies for missionary education work, and only here and there have they provided elementary and secondary education. Much can be read about this in Norman Leys's book, *The Colour Bar in East Africa.*

This takes me back to my original premise. Unless the natives have control [illegible] government, that is, of their finances, this educational problem can [illegible] now control Parliament know this problem, but

[illegible] where the people had a

West Africa Through American Spectacles

FROM OUR NEW YORK CORRESPONDENT.

BRITISH West Africa's most pressing needs are "quicker Africanization of the civil service, more vigorous effort to improve agricultural production and develop local industries, and greater emphasis on the psychological problem of building mutual confidence between races."

These are the conclusions of American Vernon McKay, after a study of the four Colonies on behalf of the Foreign Policy Association of the United States.

Mr. McKay, who has become chief of the African political section of the U.S. State Department, adds: "If the needs aren't met, the Africans are likely to show a growing interest in the methods by which the Soviet Union has developed its backward areas. Educated Africans are impressed by what they read about the rapid industrialization of backward areas and quick education of illiterate peoples in the Soviet Union."

All the same, McKay is obviously impressed by the progressive policy of the Colonial Office in West Africa. He sees in the four Colonies, "a rapidly changing society that will ultimately have repercussions throughout the continent."

"British officials in West Africa," he observes, "have permitted the growth of nationalist movements far more vigorous than in any other area south of the Sahara."

While many senior officers have difficulty in adjusting themselves to the vast Colonial changes, "younger men, with a greater awareness of the need for a Colonial policy devised to keep pace with the times, are gradually entering positions of responsibility.

"Occasionally, the new officers show far more skill in the important task of understanding and getting along with the African Nationalist leaders."

Yet he considers that mutual confidence between Africans and British is deteriorating.

"An outstanding officer has been dispatched to the Public Relations Department in Nigeria, where he has done excellent work in winning the confidence of many Africans. But if the programme is to succeed, the entire British Colonial Service will have to become a huge public relations department, for the injudicious remarks or conduct of one officer can undermine the good work of many."

Reviewing farming and economic plans, McKay decides that "In neither local industry nor agriculture are Britain's efforts sufficient to meet West Africa's tremendous needs."

Urging faster Africanization, he points out that although clerical staffs of governments are entirely African, "African members of the senior services are relatively few."

African representation on the Legislative Council has been substantially increased in recent years. "But in the last analysis, power rests in the hands of British officials rather than with the people of the Colonies."

At the same time, he stresses that "only one African in twenty is able to read and write" and adds: "The problem of finding financial resources for an adequate school system is insurmountable at present." Within necessary limits, the British are making noticeable efforts to provide new opportunities in most grades of education.

SPRING-CLEANING

Seasonable Advice for Administrators

By COLONIAL.

THE Greek word *catharsis,* I was taught at school, means to the mind what the pull-through means to the rifle. It represents a thorough cleaning. That is what the world needs most nowadays, but it is to the relations existing between Great Britain and her Colonies that our attention must be riveted here. The disturbances in the Gold Coast may fittingly be used as a peg on which to hang the thesis. A commission from outside is to inquire into the underlying causes of the disturbances. It will discover much and there will be a great glare of publicity. And it is well that this should be.

But before ever a commission begins its inquiry, let us first examine what is already known about the Gold Coast. In the first instance, if there is any good that has resulted from these regrettable incidents, it is the shattering of the self-esteem which marked officials of the Colonial Office whenever the Gold Coast was mentioned. There could be no greater condemnation of the woolly-headedness of the Colonial Office than this total misunderstanding of a situation. The personal qualities of Sir Alan Burns and his real knowledge and appreciation of African peoples has been allowed to obscure a picture which ought to have been perfectly clear to any intelligent reader of the Gold Coast Press.

Ever since the unfortunate interpretation put on the speech made by Sir Alan, in New York, last year, there has been a marked increase in the bitterness of educated Gold Coast writers directed against Great Britain. Still the Colonial Office continued to talk of a "model colony." Never has a lack of understanding by the Colonial Office of the African people been more clearly demonstrated than by the recent riots on the Gold Coast. And yet there has been indication enough for any but the pig-headed to see.

Fundamental Misunderstanding

One of the regular features of speeches made by Mr. Creech Jones, during the past two years, has been the reference to ill-informed critics of British Colonial policy with particular allusion to Africans "crying for the moon." It has been a fundamental misunderstanding of the African point of view. When Dr. Wellesley Cole writes this month that "the broad issue in West Africa is not particular minutiae, but a bold policy of constructive planning, which will harness the more responsible forces among the people, and together forge a link of progress and cooperation between the races," he is certainly not moon-struck. He writes sober truth.

When he adds that "we must be careful lest, through undue reaction, we sow the dragon's teeth of irresponsibility and indiscipline" it is still sober truth. The pity is that the truth is not sought after. It is all right for the British public official who, it must never be forgotten, has a vested interest in the *status quo* to say that a handful of educated Africans are not representative of the whole African people.

But this argument innocently stated is like saying that the French, Belgian and other Continental families which have migrated to England ever since the days of the Conquest (and still do so migrate) are not representative of the Angles and Saxons, to say nothing of the other tribes which once made up the inhabitants of Ancient Britain. It is a dangerous argument, and it is not made less dangerous when any disinterested attempt at comparisons between Africans and Europeans is made. Comparisons may have been "odorous" to Malvolio but there comes a time when they must be made in the interests of justice.

The Case of Dr. Johnson

Let us first take Dr. Johnson, an African from the Gold Coast, who is employed by the Colonial Office in a junior position in the Economic Division. It was recently suggested, by a member of the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast, that Dr. Johnson should be given a job of high standing in London as a representative of Gold Coast interests. Dr. Johnson has not been appointed to that post, presumably because the job is too high for an African. And yet there are Europeans employed at the Colonial Office who, almost singly, are responsible for whole African territories.

It would be difficult to ascertain what higher qualifications any of these individuals possess that make them better qualified to do these jobs than possesses, say, Dr. Johnson. It can only be assumed that they are more highly qualified by virtue of being Europeans. But even if Dr. Johnson is not invited to take charge of the department dealing with the Gold Coast, what possible objection could there be to his representing the Gold Coast in a job in this country? There are many people holding quite important jobs in the Colonial Office as well as in the Colonial Service, who are less qualified than Dr. Johnson.

Even if he proved a failure (and I am sure he would not) he would have been given that opportunity to fail which has so far been rigidly denied to the majority of Africans educated on terms of equality with the Europeans who get the jobs. The use of the expression: "lack of suitable candidates" for Africanization has been made so recently by high-ranking Colonial Service Officials that it deserves further examination in the light of Dr. Johnson's experience. Has Dr. Johnson been considered an unsuitable candidate or has he not applied for a post in the Gold Coast Service?

The Case of Mr. Akintola

Then there is the case of Mr. Akintola, the Nigerian journalist who is studying law in this country and whose articles in the Nigerian *Daily Service* are deeply critical of British Colonial policy in Africa. He has been asked to serve on an advisory committee for the welfare of Colonial students in the United Kingdom. Why has it not occurred to the Colonial Office to invite Mr. Akintola to serve on the Public Relations Department of that Office? I know of no other writer on colonial affairs who can write so well in a *foreign* language about the affairs of Britain's largest colony. Surely the Colonial Office would not be rash enough to claim that anyone in that department at present possesses the qualifications of Mr. Akintola?

The Little Things that Matter

I learnt with horror that Dr. Danquah was present in London at the time of the Royal Wedding and arrangements had not been made for him to attend as representative of vast British West African territories. These are the things that matter, the little things. The experts can go on planning until the controls inevitable in the philosophy of socialism have wrecked the good relations built up by the British "squire" class in Africa and other colonies during those years much maligned by British Labour politicians who, ten years ago, were agitating for the freedom of subject peoples. They will do much better to listen to the voices of experience which are not only the voices of the Colonial people but also of every disinterested European and African with whom I have spoken during the past two years.

Humiliation Sickness

The British African is sick of being humiliated. Liberia is on his doorstep; French African Members of Parliament and wealthy American negroes visit his country; Africans see Europeans living in their homeland, they read their newspapers: they know of the brutal murders, the divorce cases, the daily robberies, the black market and they lose all sense of perspective. It is not their fault. The error may be traced to those officials and advisers who, in the shaping of colonial policy, have no time to profit by the lessons of the past.

Before ever this Commission begins its inquiry, enough is known of what is wrong with the Gold Coast for immediate reforms to be made. And the Gold Coast is merely indicative of the root evils which surround colonial affairs. "Human beings, not machines," should be the motto for any department responsible for Colonies.

WEST AFRICA

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Avoiding a Breakdown . . . . One a Month . . . . The Will to Know

"TODAY, with the entry of other Government Departments on the Colonial scene, the appointment of an Under-Secretary for African Colonies would make it easier for Government departments to side-track the Colonial Office as an institution and to 'bull-doze' the Colonial peoples." That opinion, expressed in WEST AFRICA (December 13) holds good today with regard to the suggestion of an *Under-Secretary* for Africa. But it is not applicable to MR. IVOR THOMAS'S suggestion that there should be a Colonial Secretary for Africa when the *office* of Secretary of State would remain, and the needs of Africa would receive more and not less attention from those best qualified to speak. Provided that the Secretary of State for Africa has full equality with the Secretary of State for the non-African Colonies, MR. THOMAS'S suggestion would appear to be the next step which *must* be taken by the British Government if there is not to be a breakdown of the overloaded Colonial administrative machinery.

Change in Keeping

Like the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Secretary of State for Africa should be a member of the Cabinet. Thus the needs of the Colonies would be doubly represented at meetings of the Cabinet. MR. OLIVER STANLEY (a former Secretary of State for the Colonies) made it quite clear recently that, at the moment, the status of the Secretary of State for the Colonies with reference to the Cabinet was less than that of the Minister of Food. Two Secretaries of State for Colonies as members of the Cabinet would rectify a position which is the more intolerable at a period when the Chancellor of the Exchequer has so openly turned to Africa for the ultimate salvation of Britain's economy.

There would, as MR. THOMAS, who is also singularly qualified to speak, has said, be little break with tradition. There is nothing sacred about the Colonial Office as such. Certainly there has been little static about it in the past. In fact, a change, such as that recommended by MR. THOMAS, would appear to be more in keeping with the traditional changes which have been made since a Committee of the Privy Council was appointed, by Order in Council of 4 July, 1660, "for the Plantacons."

In 1768, a Secretary of State for the American or Colonial Department was appointed. After this office was abolished on the loss of the American Colonies, the affairs of the other colonies were administered first by the Home Department and later by a committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations. Later, the Secretary of State for War became nominally Secretary of State for the Colonies and the departments were actually united in 1801. It was not until 1854, less than one hundred years ago, that the affairs of the colonies became the entire charge of a Principal Secretary of State. From that time, there have been Secretaries of State for Dominion Affairs, for India and for Burma. There seems to be little objection on the grounds of constitutional precedent for there not being a Secretary of State for Africa.

* * *

On the other hand, the reasons which favour there being a Secretary of State for Africa seem to outweigh any argument that may possibly be advanced to discourage that suggestion. Anyone who has followed the physical movements of MR. CREECH JONES, from the time he left for Jamaica late last summer, until he hurriedly returned from New York last week to move the Palestine Bill, will appreciate the impossibility of his being able to devote much concentrated thought to the more than thirty colonies for which he is responsible through Parliament to the British electorate. Even if he remained rooted to his chair for 365 days each year (taking the extra day of the leap year off as a holiday) it would be impossible for him to know enough about what was going on in all the colonies at any one period, let alone to be able to persuade his fellow members of the Cabinet of the priority of attention which it is the right of Colonial peoples to obtain.

Those in Favour

The fact that he has legions of experts and advisers, and even two Parliamentary Ministers to assist him, diminishes the argument not one whit. But reading files are relatively trivial details. The social engagements, the speeches, the angry visitor, the pompous visitor, the Colonial with a grievance, the Colonial who only wants to give advice, the Colonial in search of a job, the European in search of a job, these alone would weary the average man. But MR. CREECH JONES must "have a go" as well at "Twenty Questions" each week in Parliament before an audience much more critical than that which the Canadian STEWART MACPHERSON has to face in his broadcasts for the B.B.C. In fact, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary has to shoulder more and more of this load. And not the half of it has been told.

* * *

Nor would life be a picnic for a Secretary of State for Africa. He, too, would have to do all these things, but, instead of an hour in the Far East, an hour in the South Atlantic and less than an hour every day spent with the affairs of every colonial territory he would, as MR. THOMAS pointed out, have at least one month (plus a well-earned rest) to cope with the enormous task which would then be his. Africans, even then, would reasonably be excused for feeling that one month each year would be too little time for the urgent matters which demand attention. But it would be at least some improvement on what is today an impossible position.

No Picnic

MR. THOMAS is doing a splendid work in ventilating a state of affairs which he knows from the inside. Those who can look only with the normal human powers of reason and deduction, have come to these conclusions many moons ago. It is not too much to say, if MR. THOMAS'S fellow Members of Parliament were acquainted with the facts as MR. THOMAS knows them, that he would have little difficulty in obtaining support for what he so rightly calls an urgent practical necessity. That there is little indication of such support forthcoming is yet another vindication of the claim so frequently made in these columns that it is the "will to know" that is lacking.

Meantime, the fate of one Colonial Department may be thought on with no great measure of complacency.

* * *

Yorubas Unite

THE Yoruba National Movement whose inaugural conference will be held at Ile-Ife (June 5/6), seems to herald something new in the political development of Nigeria. The movement Egbe Omo Oduduwa means a society of the Sons and Daughters of Oduduwa (who is the progenitor of the Yorubas and whose home is at Ile-Ife). Over £3,000 of its £100,000 endowment funds are already collected and Sir Adeyemo Alakija heads the list with £500.

The first object of the movement is the extension of education. Bright children of poor parents are not only to be fed but will be given school books under scholarship schemes. Parents are to see that all children are sent to school. Scholarships for boys and girls at the new University College, Ibadan, are expected to start next year; and some scholars will be sent to the United Kingdom or United States.

Other aims of the movement are to weld the Yorubas into a united body, to foster a single nationalism under the present Chiefs, the rapid development of political institutions, the wisest use of national resources for the prosperity of the people, extension of social welfare to "combat the evils of superstition and ignorance," and the

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P :—I am opposed to both systems, for they are simply methods of achieving the same end : the maintenance of Imperialist domination. However, apologists for Imperialism make out that Indirect Rule is a conscious policy instituted to induct backward peoples in the art of self-government. But, as already explained, under this system the chiefs are merely pawns in the hands of the Colonial administration. All intelligent and progressive elements are opposed to it. Margery Perham, its official apologist, who is always extolling it as Democracy's gift to backward Africans, has been obliged to record the criticism levelled against it. "Most educated Africans," she writes in *Africans and British Rule*, "especially in West Africa and the Sudan, criticise and strongly condemn Indirect Rule. They say that it gives power to uneducated chiefs and elders instead of to the educated ; that it strengthens tribal feeling and so continues he disunity of the country. It is, they say, part of the old policy of 'divide and rule' by which an Imperial Power keeps its subjects weak and prevents their advance towards self-government." That is very succinctly put and this form of Imperial mis-rule.

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The first African to earn an Oxford PhD is K. A. Busia, with thesis on "Ashanti Kingship".

The African Department of the School of Oriental and African Studies (one of London University's) has established 10 studentships, financed from Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. Students will spend two years on general linguistics and their own language. Of the 700 odd languages in Africa, several are widely enough used to warrant scientific development, and it is in this field and in native "Academies" that these students will be found most valuable. Africa's hopes for self-determination and advance must depend on a common understanding within each group at least, and a common language is therefore vital for each group. The sooner these languages are selected and developed the better for all concerned.

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> that the study of the various regions...must throughout be founded on a firm linguistic basis...
>
> We are in complete and cordial agreement with the Colonial Office in insisting that probationers must receive linguistic training before they go to Africa.

It is recommended that the optimum requirements as set out in a letter from the Director of the School be accepted.

> "...These envisage an expansion of the staff of the African Department until it reaches a total of 38 Europeans and ten African Assistants. This total includes Readerships in African anthropology, and customary law and a reserve of posts to allow of periodic field work and of collaboration with Universities and Institutions of higher learning in Africa...It is estimated that a period of about sixteen years must be allowed for the attainment of the full establishment.

Since the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and London (apart from the School of Oriental and African Studies) have a special position in the field of colonial studies and have established departments of anthropology they will be associated with the training of Colonial Service personnel. However, the Committee finds that the training of personnel should not be their sole or major object but repeats the dictum of the Oxford Committee of Colonial Studies:

> It is essential, if Oxford is fully to play its part as a center of Colonial Studies, that original research should occupy a considerable place in its activities. Teachers will not be good teachers unless they are constantly refreshed by research and research is improved if researchers take part in teaching,. The University would think it unfortunate if research in Colonial Studies could not look beyond the field necessary for the training of Colonial Service Officers.

In view of the important place which an understanding of colonial affairs ought to occupy in the education of the citizen the Committee thinks that one University in Scotland and one in the north of England should provide "permanent and comprehensive facilities" for African studies and suggests that for several reasons Edinburgh and Liverpool be invited to do so. It is also their hope that other universities will endeavor to strengthen and integrate colonial studies and should, indeed, be so encouraged.

Channels for sustaining and developing interest in the Colonies include, (in addition to the schools) among others, the B.B.C., the Inspectorate of the Ministry of Education, the Imperial Institute and the Ethnological Section of the British Museum. The following are the principles which the Committee would like to see followed by such groups:

> (i).... Empire History was by no means generally taught in the schools, and that World Geography, including the geography of Africa was largely a subject for specialization after the School Certificate stage.... hope that geography at least would become part of the education of every child .....We would like to see British children taught more about the history of African peoples.

London Log . . . . .

Air Mails

Revised air mail posting times, at the G.P.O., London, are—For Nigeria, French and British Cameroons: 9.0 a.m. on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday; and 11.30 p.m. on Saturday. For Gold Coast: 9.0 a.m. on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday. For Sierra Leone: 11.30 p.m. on Monday, Thursday and Sunday; and 9.0 a.m. on Saturday. For Gambia: 11.30 p.m. on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday.

Gambia Regatta

The Fifth Gambia Regatta is due to be held today.

Flying Time-Table

Containing all the information required by would-be air travellers, *The A B C World Airways and Shipping Guide*, recently published, gives up-to-date details of world air-routes, including the revised B.O.A.C. West African schedule.

B.B.C. Entertains West Africans

Over 1,000 Colonial students, among whom were many West Africans, were guests of the B.B.C. at Golders Green Hippodrome on May 23 when they saw a special Empire Day edition of *Variety Bandbox* being broadcast in the Light Programme. A large section of the audience came from the various Colonial centres in London.

Bequests

Two bequests of £500, for the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., were contained in the Will of Miss Mary Shaw (of Guildford) who left £26,941. The S.P.G. are also to receive £1,000 under the Will of Miss Mary Barclay (of Stevenage) who also left a similar sum to the C.M.S.

Canterbury Consecration

Sierra Leone and other West African students in London are to visit Canterbury Cathedral on June 11, under arrangements made by the International Language Club at Croydon. They will attend the consecration service of the Rev. Percy Jones, the newly appointed Assistant Bishop of Sierra Leone.

Nigerian Film Premiere

Visitation, a feature-length documentary film made in Nigeria and Eire, is to have its first showing in London on June 23. The film shows the work of the Medical Missionaries of Mary in Nigeria and is to be screened throughout Britain. Cardinal Griffin (Archbishop of Westminster) will introduce the film at the *premiere*. The Secretary of State for Colonies and the Minister of Health are among the list of invited guests.

Privy Council Appeals

Set down for hearing before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council during the new law term beginning this week is an appeal listed as Chief Kwame Asante *versus* Chief Kwame Tawia, from the West African Court of Appeal. The subject of the appeal is given as "Disputed claim to land; alleged defect in the constitution of the Divisional Native Court."

Another appeal from West Africa, which has been stood over while a search was made for documents, may be heard this term. This is listed as Nkwantahene Nana Kwame Boakye Tromu II *versus* Bechemhene Nana Fosu Gyeabuor II and is concerned with a dispute regarding tribal lands.

Student Arrivals

Recent arrivals in Britain include Miss Misi Dada, of Nigeria (who has gone to Rochester Hospital to train as a nurse), and Miss M. Geyima, of the Gold Coast (who has come to London to study dress-making). Arriving by the same boat, and now staying at the Balmoral Hotel Hostel, are Messrs. V. F. Lake and J. W. Vincent (two Sierra Leone medical students), Mr. E. K. Ohene-Anobah, of the Gold Coast (who is to study law at Lincolns Inn) and from Nigeria, Messrs. J. Togun and M. J. Bosah (Marine Engineer students), Mr. C. E. Ekpe (Law and Art student) and Mr. J. A. Oyeshile (who is to study Criminology).

Sierra Leone Study Group

A study group has been established in London for Sierra Leone students. Its leader (Mr. H. Maurice-Jones, of Freetown) who was successful in the recent Bar Finals, states that the Club has already over 150 members who meet fortnightly at the British Colonies Club to discuss their country's economic, social and cultural problems. Mr. Maurice-Jones is now studying Public Administration and, in his spare time, works in the Sierra Leone Liaison Department of the Colonial Office.

People of Sierra Leone

> *"In the Hour of Peril the People of Sierra Leone Earned the Gratitude of the British Nations sustaining the Valour of the Royal Air Force and fortifying the cause of Freedom by the Gift of Bomber and Fighter Aircraft. They shall mount up with wings as eagles."*

These words have been inscribed on a plaque presented by the Ministry of Aircraft Production to the people of Sierra Leone, in commemoration of their £25,000 gift to Britain for the purchase of bomber and fighter aircraft during the war. Photographs of the plaque are to be exhibited throughout Sierra Leone.

Delegates for London Conference

Nigerian delegates to the African Conference which will be held in London later this year are as follows: the Emir of Katsina, Emir of Abuga, Mallam Tafawa Belewa (Senior Legislative Council member for Northern Provinces), Mallam Aliyu Makanen Bida (fourth member, Northern Provinces), Mallam Yaheya Ilorin (fifth member, Northern Provinves), the Oni of Ife, Mr. Obisesan (first member, Western Provinces), Mr. Odutola (third member, Western Provinces), Mr. Onyeama (first member, Eastern Provinces), Mr. Ikoku (third member, Eastern Provinces), Dr. Ibiam (fourth member, Eastern Provinces), Mr. Anwan (member for Calabar) and the Rev. Ogunbigi.

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SOCIÉTÉ COMMERCIALE DE L'OUEST AFRICAIN,

LAGOS

One official member of the Legislative Council is to be nominated later. From Gambia there will be Mr. John Pelly Murphy (Attorney-General), Mr. Edward Francis Small (Unofficial member, Legislative Council) and the Rev. John Colley Saye.

Empire Talks to Come

Mr. Roy Harrod will speak at The Royal Empire Society headquarters on June 2 on: "The Economic Relations of a United Europe to the British Commonwealth and Empire." On June 16, Mr. Creech Jones will be in the chair when Lord McGowan speaks on: "The Chemical Industry and Empire Development." To commemorate the 50th anniversary of Sir Ronald Ross's final proof that malaria is transmitted by mosquitoes, the Society is to hold a meeting on July 7, when Professor G. Macdonald (director of the Ross Institute of Tropical Hygiene) will be one of the speakers.

Enwonwu Exhibition Transferred

About 24 sculptures and eight paintings, part of the Enwonwu art exhibition, which closed at the Berkeley Galleries last Saturday, are to be transferred to the Mansard Gallery, Tottenham Court Road. They will be shown with paintings by Miss J. Huxtable, whose work deals mainly with Southern Rhodesia. The joint exhibition is expected to run about a month and will open on June 16. Mr. Enwonwu is leaving Britain on June 12 on a visit to Italy.

East and West Friendship

The annual report of the East and West Friendship Council states that the number of subscriptions has more than doubled during the past year. Including grants from firms with overseas connexions, the income, at £1,286, was the highest received but still below the annual target of £2,000. The Council's annual meeting is to be held at Beveridge Hall, London University, on June 3, when among the speakers will be Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Mr. Michael Peterside (President of W.A.S.U.).

Complaints

Complaints of the reception given to African students in this country were made by the Bishop of Gambia and Rio Pongas and by Major H. B. Shepheard (Colonial Office Liaison Officer) at the Gambia Pongas Association meeting held in York recently, according to the May 15 issue of *The Yorkshire Post*. The Bishop stated that Africans were disappointed to find they were not welcomed with the enthusiasm with which they would greet a visitor to their own land.

Social and Personal

The engagement is announced between Mr. John Michael Tiddy (younger son of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Tiddy, of Accra) and Miss Dorothy Mary Pendlebury (only daughter of Mr. and Mrs. C. Pendlebury, of Northenden, Manchester).

Lady Edith Manson-Bahr, wife of Sir Philip Manson-Bahr (consulting physician in tropical diseases to the Colonial Office) died on May 17, aged 69. She was the eldest daughter of the late Sir Patrick Manson (former Colonial Office medical adviser and malaria research worker) and married Sir Philip Manson-Bahr in 1909. Sir Philip is a director of The London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

Mr. George Archibald Smeaton, late of the Nigerian Service, died at Greenock on May 9. He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Joan Smeaton (of Fairlie, Ayrshire).

Sir Hubert Walker (chairman of the West African Airways Corporation) flew to Lagos on May 18.

Dr. Beatrice Joly (of London) has been appointed Professor of Surgery at University College, Ibadan. She has previously held hospital and university appointments in India.

Dr. Phillips (Assistant Bishop of Lagos) was the preacher at the Empire Day service held in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.

The Minister of Food announces that he has approved the appointment of Messrs. Cooper Bros. and Co., of London, as auditors of the Overseas Food Corporation for the current year.

New arrivals at Nutford House, London, include Mr. E. O. Coker (a law student from Lagos); and Mr. M. A. Aderemi (of Ife) who has come to Britain to study languages.

Major-General W. A. Dimoline (G.O.C. East Africa Command) is to be Commander, Aldershot District from November. Major-General Dimoline was commissioned in the Regular Army in 1917 and attached to the R.W.A.F.F. in Nigeria from 1922 to 1928.

Canon Noel Dolben Coleman (Secretary for Translations and Librarian of the British and Foreign Bible Society since 1944) was among those who lost their lives in the air crash at Libenge on May 13. The aircraft, belonging to the Sabena Company, was on its way from Leopoldville to Brussels with 25 passengers and a crew of seven.

The Victoria League wishes to obtain particulars of people willing to offer hospitality to Colonial students who are living in hostels or rooms in Britain and therefore have little opportunity of meeting British people in their homes. The League is looking for people who would invite coloured students to their houses for a few hours or a few days.

NURSERY SCHOOL of long standing. Children from one month to nine years. Entire charge. **NORLAND CARE.** Home influence. Healthy country life and sea. Oldfield, Lindisfarne, Broadstone, Dorset.

and it is not by any means their desire to trade slogans for driving away the white people from any of the territories. They, like ourselves, however, are fully convinced that the Crown Colony system of governing their countries is despotic and in many instances obsolete, showing conspicuous need for abrogation. Present administration of the Nigeria and the Cameroons is static, unprogressive and not in accordance with the true democratic ideals to which these vast territories contributed man-power, money and materials for the successful conduct of World War II.

Friends, not Enemies. Nigeria and the Cameroons under British Mandate/Trust have an area of 407,000 square miles, three times the size of Great Britain, or the areas of France, Great Britain, Portugal, Netherlands, Belgium, Jamaica, Pueto Rico, Corsica and Trinidad put together, and is inhabited by over twenty-one millions which according to the 1931 census is three times the population of Australia and New Zealand added together. Their agricultural resources include palm oil, palm kernels, cocoa (thirty-five per cent of the world's output), groundnut, rubber, cotton, tobacco, rice, hides and skins, mahogany, coffee, ginger, peppers, potatoes, yams, sugar, dates, pineapples, bananas, grapefruit, grapes, tangerines, oranges, limes, etc. Their mineral resources include bauxite, bitumen chromite, coal and lignite, iron, kaolin, columbite (ninety-five per cent of world's output), diamond, diatomite, galena, gold, ilmenite, lead, limestone, magnetite, manganese, mica, molybdenum, monazite, oil, phosphate, platinum, rutile, salt, silver, tantalite, tine, tungsten, wolfram, zinc, zircom, etc.

Official Reception. It is very reassuring to report that, in addition to an informal visit to the Colonial Office on the 5th August on which occasion the Delegation met the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Right Honourable A. Creech Jones, the Delegates were officially received on the 13th of August and during the discussion which took place had an opportunity to elaborate on the memorandum which they presented and to discuss additional points of interest.

Mr. Creech Jones made it clear that the Nigerian constitution introduced in 1945 should be given a fair trial. There was no question of change to the constitution which he feels flexible and adaptable until experience has shown in what ways amendments were required. He emphasised the intention of His Majesty's Government to do all in its power to assist the political, economic and social progress of Nigeria, and strongly urged the Delegation to co-operate in this great task.

He also informed them that some of the other points raised in their memorandum and the discussion

would require study, and that a reply on these points would be furnished as soon as possible. He indicated that some of the points required consideration in consultation with the Government of Nigeria and that it would be sometime before a reply would be given.

THE CARIBBEAN LABOUR CONGRESS.

It is interesting to note that while we on this side are enjoying the company of the delegates from Nigeria and the Cameroons, an account of whose mission is reported in this issue, our West Indian brothers are holding a congress meeting in Jamaica which is graced by the attendance of Mr. A. Creech-Jones, Secretary of State for the Colonies. The organisers have a very fine but nevertheless, important programme. Richard Hart, its General Secretary, writing on the Colonial Office Memorandum for Federation states as follows:—

There have been two memoranda issued by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the Federation of the British West Indies and British Guiana. The first, issued by Colonel Stanley on 14th March, 1945, did little more than approve the idea in principle, ask that local legislatures express their views, and suggest that a conference be held in London to consider the matter.

The C.L.C. at its inaugural conference in Barbados (September, 1945) expressed appreciation of the Secretary of States' acceptance of this long standing West Indian demand but urged that the conference to consider the matter be held in the West Indies. The Legislatures of all the colonies concerned except the Bahamas went on record in general terms as favouring federation.

The C.L.C. made it plain in its statement at Barbados that Carribean Labour demands federation with Self Government, not without it, and further made it plain that each unit of the federation must be advanced to a status consistent with a Self Governing federal constitution:

> **"This conference advocates the granting of all the units of the British Caribbean area of wholly elected legislatures based on Universal Adult Suffrage, with policy making Executive Councils responsible to the Legislatures, and of wholly elected local Government authorities."**

Accounts and Dividends

Bank of British West Africa

The directors of The Bank of British West Africa Limited have decided to recommend, at the forthcoming annual general meeting, the payment of a final dividend of 4½ per cent. less tax, in respect of the financial year ended March 31, 1948. If approved at the meeting this will make, with the 2½ per cent. paid, less tax, as an interim dividend in December, 1947, a total of 7 per cent., less tax, for the full year and will repeat the dividend for the previous year.

Filani (Nigeria) Tin Mining Company

The accounts and report of the directors of The Filani (Nigeria) Tin Mining Company, Limited, for the year 1947, show a profit of £5,645, compared with £6,815 for the previous financial year. Total revenue was £8,419 (£8,085) made up as to trading profit in Nigeria, £8,238 (£7,938); transfer fees, £5 (£9); interest, £176 (£138). Outgoings were: London expenses, £1,142 (£839); depreciation, £132 (£131); profits tax, £1,500 (£300); making a total of £2,774 (£1,270) and leaving the profit indicated.

Allocations included: Proposed dividend of 9⅜ per cent. tax free (same), taking £2,484 (same); income tax on profits, £2,650 (£3,200); making a total of £5,134 (£5,684) and leaving a credit of £511 (£1,131) which, with the credit balance of £3,038 (£1,907) brought in, makes a total credit of £3,549 (£3,038) which it is proposed to carry forward to the current year's accounts.

The report states that output of tin ore was 58 tons (63 tons for 1946) averaging 70 per cent. tin; and output of columbite was 4 tons (5½ tons). Despite this decline, there was a higher realization. Output depends largely on rainfall and given that, the outlook for 1948 is good. The new price of tin £535/10/- per ton, which will operate in 1948, compares with an average of £412 per ton for 1947, and with £354 per ton for 1946.

Meeting at Pinners Hall, Old Broad Street, took place yesterday at noon.

Gold Coast Banket Areas

The report and accounts of Gold Coast Banket Areas, Limited, for the year ended June 30, 1947, show an operating loss of £31,395—the year including six months of preparation for resumption of milling and six months of restricted working; the revenue, less realization, being £47,563 and mining expenses being £78,958. Additional costs were: Care and maintenance, £12,253 (£4,773); depreciation, £11,623 (nil); development, £17, 237 (nil); London, £7,385 (£1,320); to staff superannuation, £1,112 (nil); making a total of £49,609 (£6,093) and raising the total loss to £81,004. Credit items were: Interest, £2,438 (£2,063); sundries, £1,714 (£2,229); transfer fees, £413 (£535); making £4,566 and reducing the loss to £76,438. Add credit balance of £24,108 brought in, leaves a total debit of £52,330, carried to the balance sheet.

The shortage of skilled labour seriously retarded supplies of ore from stoping, so that only 29,734 tons were treated in the six months of prod[illegible] activity; and only 5,547 ounces [illegible]re recovered, at an extracti[illegible] Development w[illegible] rising and cross[illegible] 6,947 feet were s[illegible] proved payable, averaging 5·9 dwt. over 33·4 inches. The South Shaft was sunk 170 feet to 2,010 feet. The Main Shaft sinking was started in June, so only 6 feet were accomplished, the depth being 2,277 feet at the end of the financial year. Ore reserves were then 383,933 tons, averaging 4·98 dwt. over 38·3 inches; but on March 31, 1948, were raised to 556,801 tons, averaging 5·2 dwt. over 37·3 inches.

Meeting at Winchester House, E.C.2, on Monday next, June 28, at noon.

Gold Coast Main Reef

The report and accounts of Gold Coast Main Reef, Limited, for the year ended June 30, 1947, show a profit of £112,135 compared with £96,999 for the previous financial year. Total revenue was £373,581 (£348,726) made up as to: Bullion, net, £373,235 (£348,647); and sundries, £346 (£79). Outgoings were: Mining costs, £201,513 (£178,261); development, £36,965 (£33,400); depreciation, £10,108 (£14,895); London, £8,587 (£7,681); concentration scheme, £2,556 (£17,490); superannuation scheme £1,717 (nil); making a total of £261,446 (£251,727) and leaving the profit indicated.

Allocations were: Taxation on profits for the financial year, £48,000 and on those of the previous year, £15,244 (£80,000); dividends of 2½ per cent. and 5 per cent., both less tax, £42,903 (£34,545); directors' additional remuneration, £5,000 (same); making a total of £111,147 (£119,545) and leaving a credit balance of £988 (debit of £22,546) which, with the credit balance of £7,328 (£6,201 plus overprovision for bullion expenses written back, £23,673) brought in makes a total credit of £8,316 (credit of £7,328) which it is proposed to carry forward.

The Chairman (Major E. Seaborn Marks) in his review, circulated with the report and accounts, reveals that 112,540 tons of ore were treated, assaying 9·332 dwt. to yield 48,090 ounces of fine gold. Revenue, as a result, rose by £24,800 but mining costs rose by £23,200; and the increase in profit is thus mainly due to the drop in the concentration scheme costs, now terminated. He states that instead of Government help in these difficult days, the industry is victimized by excessive taxation and little in the way of priority for delivery of plant and machinery which would help the industry to increase production.

Meeting at Winchester House, E.C.2, on Monday next, June 28, at noon.

Elder Dempster Lines Holdings

The directors of Elder Dempster Lines Holdings, Limited, announce a net profit of £189,114 for the year 1947. Gross revenue was £355,550, made up as to: Gross dividends from Elder Dempster Lines, Limited, £312,500; gross dividends on trade investments, £38,685; and gross dividends and interest on general investments and sundries, £4,365. Outgoings include: U.K. Taxation, £163,634; directors' fees, £1,500; and management expenses, £1,302; making a total of £166,436 and leaving the profit indicated. Allocations were: Interim dividend of 4 per cent., less tax, £60,469; proposed final dividend of 8⅓ per cent., less tax, £128,497; making a total of £188,966 and leaving a credit balance of £148 which, with the balance brought in [illegible] (£2,155) makes a total of £2,303 which [illegible] proposed to carry forward.

The Chairman (Mr. Alan C. Tod), in his statement circulated with the report and accounts, reviews the work of the Lines company in 1947, including delivery of m.v. *Accra* and three of the S-class cargo/passenger-ships. Two more of the latter were delivered in the current year, as well as m.v. *Apapa* (sister ship to m.v. *Accra*) and all are now in commission. The remaining S-class ship is expected to be in service before the close of 1948. Further orders for ships are to depend upon price and delivery date, as well as upon the prospects of profitable operation, with due regard to the effects of air travel and Government sponsored air services on the passenger traffic; and the attitude of the authorities in speeding up the inland carriage of vegetable oils and oilseeds to the ports for shipment.

Meeting at India Buildings on Monday next, June 28, at 12.15 p.m.

United Tin Areas of Nigeria

The report and accounts of United Tin Areas of Nigeria, Limited, for the year ended June 30, 1947, show a profit of £8,249 compared with £13,209 for the previous financial year. Total revenue was £37,760 (£53,781), mainly on tin account. Outgoings included: Working costs in Nigeria, £12,236 (£24,004); general, £7,474 (£7,405); realization charges, £5,588 (£6,228); depreciation, £339 (£381); prospecting, £774 (£405); London, £3,100 (£2,149); making a total of £29,511 (£40,572) and leaving the profit indicated.

Allocations were: Taxation, £4,287 (£5,749); special prospecting expenditure £4,732 (nil); provision for dividend, nil (£9,000); for directors' additional remuneration, nil (£450); making a total of £9,019 (£15,199) and leaving a debit of £770 (debit of £1,990) which, with the credit balance of £16,249 (£17,851 plus profit on sale of investments, £388) brought in, make a total credit balance of £15,479 (£16,249) which it is proposed to carry forward.

The report states that output of tin concentrates was 139 tons, against 211 tons for the previous year, though the average price received was higher at £365 per ton (£350), and no columbite was sold. Working costs rose so that the 146 tons shipped cost £177/14/3d. per ton (against £172/2/3d.). No addition was made to the ore reserves which were 293 tons at June 30, 1947. The outlook for the new year is better, with the new increased price of tin; and the silver/lead areas show promise for the future.

Meeting at Finsbury Pavement House, E.C.2, on Tuesday next, June 29, at 2.45 p.m.

Lyndhurst Deep Level (Gold & Silver)

The accounts and report of the directors of Lyndhurst Deep Level (Gold & Silver) Limited, for the year ended December 31, 1947, show a revenue of £27,604 (£27,235) from dividends and interest. Income tax took £12,255 (£12,350); and the interim dividend of 5 per cent. (same), took £12,100 (£11,000); general expenditure was £17,366 (£5,475); making a total of £41,721 (£28,825) and leaving a debit of £14,117 (debit of £1,590) which is added to the prospecting and development account and carried to the balance sheet.

Meeting at the Chartered Insurance Institute on Tuesday next, June 29, at 2.30 p.m.

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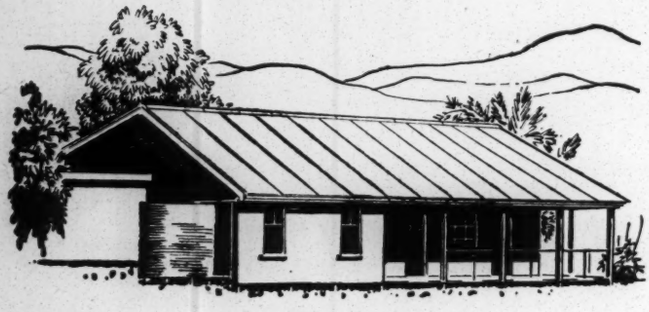

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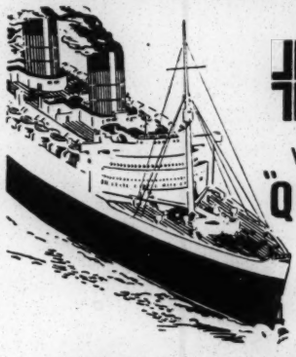

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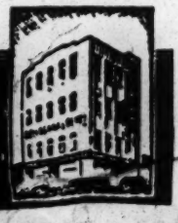

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West Africa, May 22, 1948 *Price Sixpence*

WEST AFRICA

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HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER FOR THE GOLD COAST

By F. J. Erroll, M.P.

RENEWED interest in a hydro-electric project on the Volta River poses once again the question as to whether large-scale hydro-electric developments are really feasible in the African Colonial territories. Before proceeding to a detailed examination of the Volta River project, it is worth while considering the various factors, economic and technical, which must be taken into account before a decision to proceed is made.

Large schemes are the order of the day in Africa, and it is natural that enthusiasts should see a potential hydro-electric scheme in every river and waterfall. Too often, the cart is put before the horse; and a hydro-electric development is discussed as being a desirable end in itself, regardless of whether there is likely to be, within the foreseeable future, a sufficient load-demand to make the project economically feasible.

The harnessing of the Zambesi River in the Kariba Gorge has been put forward on several occasions as being a useful development for Southern Rhodesia, and the search for possible uses for the power is still going on, suggestions ranging from an electrically-operated steel plant to the provision of domestic supplies for the Native population.

In Uganda, the newly appointed State Commission is devoting a great deal of time and attention to the harnessing of the River Nile, as it flows out of Lake Victoria at Jinja. Here, too, a frantic search for suitable loads is going on; and the proprietors of small factories are being canvassed with a view to their likely requirements. Industrialists in England are also being asked if they will consider the erection of plants in Uganda which would have the benefit of and consume the cheap hydro-electric power produced.

This is clearly the wrong way to go about hydro-electric schemes of development. It is only when a reasonably large potential load can be shown to exist that the search should begin for the most appropriate source of power supply. Such a source may or may not be water power. Water power should be considered only as one of several possible alternatives. It should not be regarded as an end in itself, worth developing simply because the waterfall or swift-flowing river is ready to hand.

The Volta River project is fortunately free from faulty planning of this sort. It is because the need for cheap power exists that the scheme is being considered. As is well-known, the Gold Coast is a rich source of bauxite, the raw material from which aluminium is derived. Pre-war, no bauxite was exported from Africa, and France was Britain's chief source, although small amounts were imported from British Guiana. In 1938, for example, 230,000 tons out of 250,000 tons came from France.

The German occupation of France altered all this and the deposits in the Gold Coast were rapidly exploited so that, by 1945, Britain was importing 148,000 tons from the Gold Coast, out of its total requirement of 163,000 tons. Gold Coast resources have been estimated, by an American authority, to be in excess of eighty million tons.

During the war, the bauxite was shipped to reduction plants in England and elsewhere, but considerable economies might be achieved if the bauxite could be reduced to aluminium in the Gold Coast itself. To be a satisfactory financial proposition, an aluminium reduction plant must have available an abundance of cheap electric power; and plants have been sited in Norway and the North of Scotland to take advantage of the hydro-electric power available. If the Volta River could be harnessed and enabled to produce a sufficient power supply, there is no reason why the production of aluminium should not take place in the Gold Coast itself.

Extensive investigations have been put in hand by the West African Aluminium Company Limited, and measurements of the flow rate of the River Volta are being taken. Preliminary work of this character is necessarily a slow business; and four or more years may elapse before it is completed. If the investigations are successful, another three or four years of construction work would be necessary before production could commence.

The plan proposes to harness the waters of the Lower Volta by the construction of a dam just above Senchi. This would impound a large volume of water, which would flood the river basin as far north as Kete Krachi, thus making the river navigable for barges over a considerable distance. The catchment area is estimated to be about 170,000 square miles, over which the average rainfall varies from thirty to fifty inches per annum. The station would be a low head one; and large slow-speed

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water wheels would be installed on the dam itself. The power generated would be supplied to the reduction plant nearby to which bauxite would be transported from the concessionary areas.

Initially, it is proposed to quarry bauxite at Mount Ejuanema only and carry it by aerial ropeway to a tributary of the Volta, to be loaded into barges and shipped downstream to the refining plant. From Yenahin, to be developed later, the ore would have to come part of the way by rail and a further stage by barge before following the same route. Below the dam, it is proposed to develop the port facilities of Ada, through which, in the construction stage of the plan, the contractor's heavy plant, equipment and materials could be brought into the Colony.

The surplus power would, of course, be available for industrial and domestic purposes throughout the Gold Coast, though it must be remembered that long-distance transmission and distribution is expensive; and that, where loads are small and intermittent, it might well prove cheaper to generate supplies on the spot for local needs. Hydro-electric power is not necessarily cheap power, and the balance of advantages in the case of the Volta River project may not prove easy to determine. Whatever the result, the time spent in the preliminary investigation will not have been wasted.

WEST AFRICAN TALKING POINTS

Ample Career

ONE clear perceptible thread running through the Lords' debate on conditions in the Colonial Service was the fact that uncertainty as to its future was felt. Lord Tweedsmuir bluntly stated that we have come to a turning point. Unless we could offer, to the Colonial Service of the future, some prospects, some security and some really reasonable terms of service, the right sort of people would not be forthcoming.

It was Lord Milverton who took up the cudgels for the Colonial Service. His aim, he said, was to encourage the recruit to the Colonial Service, and his words were directed to this end. "No person," he said, "who knows anything of the subject, can believe, in the lifetime of anybody joining the Service today, that the Service will not provide an ample career; there is a long way to go before these Colonies will be able to do without the advice, help and support of the British Services." There has been no clearer statement made as to prospects in the Colonial Service. The fact that it was made at all shows how real has been the reluctance among potential recruits. Were this not so, there would have been no need for encouragement.

Even in his earlier statement that "there never has been a time like the present when we need and must have the best and, for the moment, we are getting the best," Lord Milverton leaves room for the suggestion that the best might not be continually forthcoming. His opinion on the duration of prospects should encourage many would-be applicants to persevere in their intentions of entering the Colonial Service.

* * *

Potential Danger

ONE other remark of Lord Milverton deserves especial scrutiny. "The Colonial Civil servant of today," he said, "goes to meet the difficulties of the task a far better trained man." Few would quarrel with the accuracy of this statement. Lord Listowel's account of the progress made since the Devonshire report is confirmation by itself. But this very excellence of training contains a potential danger which Sir Alan Burns, by virtue of his status as a Colonial, was peculiarly qualified to emphasize when he spoke to a Summer School of Colonial Civil Servants at Oxford last September.

There was, he said on that occasion, "a danger in Courses such as this one, lest the Course be regarded as more important than the Colonies for whose benefit it is devised; and worst of all, would it be if anyone began to think that the Colonies existed for the benefit of the Colonial Civil Service."

The time is long past, he went on, when we can get away with the attitude that "Daddy knows best." "We are there in the Colonies to help and to educate; and we can only help by a thorough understanding of the Colonial point of view, so far as it is possible for us to understand it. But we certainly will never understand, unless we take the trouble to try to understand."

Lord Listowel did make passing reference to the fact that Colonials were being included in the new courses for Colonial Civil Servants, but if there is to be any criticism made about the Lords' discussion, may it not be fairly said that, in spite of its high level of debate, the one thing lacking seemed to be practical consideration of the real potential of Colonial peoples themselves.

The emphasis which Sir Alan Burns made last September, that our rôle must change from an executive to an advisory one, seems not to have been made at all; although Lord Milverton did say that "the natural corollary of our policy is that the Colonial Administrative Service, recruited from this country, should be a diminishing body because, as they train the people of the countries to administer their own affairs, it is obvious that the need for so many will slowly diminish. . . .

* * *

Paper Brakes

TWO points made by Lord Rennell are of the first importance. For years now, Colonial Administrative Officers have been complaining of the deluge of paper work which cramps their activities. The late Sir Selwyn Grier, who had a distinguished career in Nigeria, attributed no small share of this paper work to the misfortune of blindness which afflicted his last years of energetic life. Not long ago, another Governor told an audience in Trinidad that his time was so taken up with official literature that he had no time for reading.

And yet there are people who profess to be satisfied with the existing state of affairs by which (to look no further for examples) the ordinary Parliamentary Question can create additional work for the administration already struggling with returns. Lord Rennell's remarks are most refreshing and timely. Sooner or later, the battle of paper has got to end. It might as well be sooner; because there can be no success resulting from a state of affairs where "Administrative Officers are finding themselves tied up in their offices with not enough time to get around their districts and with no time at all to get into contact with the people whose affairs they are supposed to administer."

The other part concerns the suggestion for interchanging personnel between the Foreign and Colonial Services. Important at any time, such a policy would seem to be imperative today when international co-operation in Africa is admitted to be the first essential of almost any step forward; with the possible exception of political progress, although this too has been perceptible in recent years.

* * *

Capital Equipment

MR. SHINWELL did not overlook Colonial interests in his chairman's speech to this year's Labour Party Conference. He signposted three fields of enterprise Great Britain must cultivate to ensure survival. Coal, he argued, must cease to be used mainly as a fuel to be burned; it must be exploited as a source of new raw

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BRITISH WEST AFRICA AND TRADE POLICY

By F. V. MEYER.

TRADE policy can be defined as Governmental attempt to change the pattern of trade from what it would be in its absence. It can take the form of interference with, or control of, values or quantities. In British West Africa's import trade, values are interfered with by means of Imperial preference, quantities were controlled in pre-war days by textile import quotas and at present import licensing.

Preferential tariffs were introduced in the Gambia and in Sierra Leone in 1932. But neither the Gold Coast nor Nigeria ever had a preferential tariff. The Gold Coast could not discriminate in favour of the Empire owing to the Anglo-Dutch treaty of 1871, which provided for equality of tariff treatment for British and Dutch goods, and thus automatically for all goods coming from countries enjoying most-favoured-nation rights. Nigeria could not give anything either, in view of similar provisions in the Anglo-French treaty of 1898. When this treaty was denounced by the French in 1936, Nigeria legally became free to introduce a preferential tariff, but made no use of this legal right.

Save for textiles, this liberty was surrendered once more, in the U.K./U.S. trade agreement of 1938. The result of this difference in tariff policy in the four West African Colonies was that the Empire's percentage share in the import trade of the Gambia and Sierra Leone was higher in the 'thirties than in the 'twenties, while the reverse holds true for the Gold Coast and Nigeria. It is probable that the principal foreign countries lost about half of their export trades to the Gambia and Sierra Leone, on account of the discriminating tariffs in these two dependencies.

Quantitative import controls were resorted to in 1934, when imports of Japanese textiles were subjected to quota regulations. The above-mentioned treaties prevented the application of such measures to imports from most-favoured-nation countries, so that Japan had to be deprived of her most-favoured-nation rights in British West Africa, to makes these quotas legal. After 1936, Nigeria applied quotas on all foreign textile imports. It was decided that the Gold Coast should do the same which, in view of the Anglo-Dutch treaty, meant that British textiles had to be quotaed as well.

The results were disappointing for the British textile industry: British exports of quotaed textiles continued to decline and the benefit of Japan's exclusion went chiefly to India and Hong-Kong. The textile quota system was allowed to lapse after the outbreak of war and is not likely to be heard of again. Imperial preference may become important again in the Gambia and Sierra Leone, but has become overshadowed in importance by import licensing, first introduced as a war-time measure and thereafter continued in view of the balance of payments difficulties of the sterling area.

Imperial preference, as applied to Colonial exports, was of comparatively little value to British West Africa. None of the Dominions offered anything substantial. Of the United Kingdom preferences, the cocoa preference was valueless. The Empire has an export surplus in cocoa, and as long as the preferential market cannot be charged more than the foreigner (who pays the world price) such a preference cannot be exploited. The same applies to vegetable oils and oilseeds though, in this case, it is conceivable that the preference avoided some diversion of demand to substitutes for West African vegetable oilseeds and oils. Only the banana preference was of definite value; it stimulated some expansion of the banana industries of Nigeria and the Gold Coast. But even in 1938, bananas ranked only eleventh amongst British West Africa's principal exports.

The war-time bulk purchase arrangements made Imperial preference of purely nominal importance. Bargains were struck between Governmental agencies for fixed quantities at prices determined by the administration after consultation with interested parties. It is intended to make bulk purchase a permanent feature of trade policy, as applied to British West Africa. Marketing Boards have been set up in Nigeria and in the Gold Coast, to take care of all exportable cocoa and vegetable oilseeds and oils. Such centralized selling agencies are bound to be in a strong bargaining position *vis-a-vis* buyers who take only part of the crop as long as attempts to introduce substitutes can be frustrated.

In West Africa, these bulk purchase arrangements are coupled with price stabilization schemes which affect not only the producer, but also the United Kingdom consumer. Thus, the Ministry of Food

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...ge price realized during the ... all destinations, including, of ... American market. This means ... world prices, the U.K. consumer ... deferred inflation" in cocoa prices. ... has travelled a long way from ... preference was its chief weapon ... foster exports by trade diversion ...ire producer's income by a margin ... days of bulk purchases designed to ... and to combat inflation in the United ... As far as British West Africa is concerned, ... system was of little or no value, since the ... has an export surplus in the more important ... African exports. It is precisely this fact which now puts British West Africa into a more favourable position than most other British Colonial territories.

In foreign countries, British West Africa was faced by such obstacles as the American tariff, French Imperial preference and quotas, and German exchange control, to mention only the most important trading Powers of pre-war days. In the United States, principal British West African exports, if not admitted free of duty, were all covered by the trade agreement concessions given under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements programme. On the whole, the American tariff is not very restrictive on British West Africa. German exchange control put a value-quota on imports into Germany; such action, by one of British West Africa's chief markets in pre-war days, probably intensified the unfavourable trend in West Africa's terms of trade in the 'thirties. Most restrictive was French trade policy; the measures introduced in the 'thirties probably eliminated more than four-fifths of British West African sales to France.

WEST AFRICAN TALKING POINTS

The Stage is Set

WHILE distinguished West African visitors have, through the good offices of the British Council, been learning about the British way of life (especially in Richmond, Yorkshire) Sir Stafford Cripps has been speaking to the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce about "accomplishing our object without having to cut down our standards of living." There was, he said, a long way to go and only a short time in which to get there. The main theme of his speech was the necessity to improve efficiency of production by a greater adoption of new techniques and, of course, by hard work.

There was no doubt that we could succeed, but it needs all our efforts of brain and muscle to win through. There seems to be a new note of emphasis since Sir Stafford told the African Governors, last November: "it is to your contribution to the righting of the world unbalance, that we must look; and in order to give you the chance of success, we must put behind you all that we can in the way of capital goods supplies."

To many Europeans and Africans, these words of Sir Stafford seemed at the time to be placing too much reliance on Africa as a solution for what was, in effect, a European problem. To-day, in view of the European Recovery Programme under the Marshall Plan, the axis has changed and the emphasis is once more on Europe. Europeans, like Africans, must be the final architects of their economic salvation.

"If we are to get over this huge unbalance between Europe and what is substantially the Western Hemisphere," Sir Stafford told the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, "we must increase Europe's dependence upon itself by increasing its production of its own needs, in foodstuffs in particular, and by increasing the exchange of commodities internally in Europe." Africa is not ruled out, but Europe, too, has a contribution to make towards the righting of the world unbalance. The stage is set for Western Union and for the development of the Commonwealth.

* * *

Commonwealth and Western Union

FIELD-MARSHAL SMUTS, in his eve-of-Empire Day speech, posed the obvious questions: "Can Britain," he asked, "be a leading member of both Commonwealth and Western Union? Will the Commonwealth suffer from such a dual relationship?" One thing, said Field-Marshal Smuts, was quite certain: "Britain will be necessary for both Commonwealth and Western Union."

That, surely, is the only answer to a question which is obviously being asked throughout the Commonwealth to-day! Geographically, the United Kingdom is a part of Europe and, in an air age, separation by water can no longer have the significance it had when Britannia ruled the waves. That is why Mr. Bevin, strong advocate and supporter of Commonwealth development though he is, cannot consent to a policy which would isolate Great Britain from the remaining democracies of Western Europe.

There must be Commonwealth development and there must particularly be Colonial and African development, but it must be planned as part of an overall plan, in which not only the Commonwealth but also the Western European countries (especially France and Belgium) must be consulted at every stage. And it would be foolhardy to overlook the United States, where interests in European recovery naturally extend to include the development of the Colonial territories which are administered by certain of the European countries.

Canada, said Field-Marshal Smuts, has long found loyal membership of the Commonwealth compatible with close co-operation with the United States and has thus set a precedent for the Commonwealth as a whole. Canada, besides, has provided the world with an object lesson in Anglo-French toleration. In Africa, French and English are also drawing together in understanding and exchange of knowledge with reference to the great challenges presented there. In Liberia, the Americans, from the beginning, have shown and continue to show great interest in the development of that section of the Continent. There is much to be learnt from the Belgian Congo.

Surely, the idea of Western Union and Commonwealth development is a complementary idea! and surely the fulfilment of one is dependent on the fulfilment of the other! Those who advocate Western Union as an end in itself, and those who advocate Commonwealth exclusiveness as a practicable achievement endanger the fruition of a purpose which must be achieved if either idea is to survive at all.

* * *

Nigerian Ways of Life

TOMORROW, cinema goers in London will be able to see *Challenge in Nigeria*, Number 19 in the series: "This Modern Age" news magazines produced by the J. Arthur Rank organization. It is a documentary film and it presents Nigeria as a country as large as Italy and France put together, and a country whose population has doubled in the last 50 years of peace. Beginning with the Hausas in the north, answering the Moslem call to prayer, the film shows, in turn, the Pagans of the Jos plateau, the Ibos and the Yorubas.

It is a challenge, because it does not dwell much on the life of the city dweller, except to comment that one in every three of the houses in Lagos has been condemned; but harps on the disease and poverty of a country with great resources. It shows pyramids of stationary groundnuts and grounded railway wagons. It cries out for more doctors and more nurses. Attention is paid to Dr. Azikiwe; and there are glimpses of the Legislative Council, Provincial Assemblies and Native Administrations.

WEST AFRICAN MARKET NOTES

Fibres in Coast Colonies

By the Commercial Editor

THE issue of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation's annual report and that of the Commonwealth Economic Committee's *Industrial Fibres* draw attention to the apparent neglect of fibre culture in West Africa and, therefore, of the need to expand it not only in the interests of the whole world, which is desperately short of fibre, but also of the Coast Colonies which are in need, above all other things, of a more widely spread agricultural net than the one they enjoy at the present.

World production of fibre, in the latest year for which full details are available, is about 20,000 million pounds weight in 1946; whereas the peak year was 1940, when nearly 29,000 million pounds were produced. Of these totals, approximately 15,000 million and 19,000 million pounds, respectively, were of the chief apparel fibres, such as cotton, wool, rayon, staple and silk; and both represented peak values for the same years. Cotton naturally furnished the lion's share of these totals, at 11,686 million and 14,559 million pounds respectively, again marking peak figures for those years.

The Coast Colonies have but a small share in these huge totals; and they enter but one field in the full range of industrial fibres, being confined to cotton alone. If coir can be called an important fibre, it appears that something might be done about it, seeing that coconut culture is not unknown in West Africa. Little can be expected as regards wool, rayon or silk culture in West Africa, but some information might well be forthcoming as to the possibilities for flax, hemp and jute culture. Surely, these have been considered, at some time or another, as potential products for the variety of climate enjoyed by the vast expanses of the West African Colonies.

Room for Expansion

We appear to be facing cotton alone, therefore, as a practical proposition for a worth-while expansion in production. So let us see what has been done in the past! The maximum production of cotton, in Nigeria, was achieved in 1941, when 73,400 bales of 400 pounds weight, were produced. The next best year was 1940, with 50,900 bales. It is important to note that 1940 was the peak year for the world and, as the season in Nigeria is from mid-June to February, it is a reasonable assumption that that year was also the real peak for Nigeria.

When we calculate Nigeria's contribution in terms of million pounds, the world basis, we find 1940 with 20·4 million pounds, and 1941 with just under 30 million pounds out of an Empire total of 300 million and 353 million pounds, respectively; and this was out of world totals of 13,441 million and 14,559 million pounds, respectively. It is fairly clear that not only is the Empire but a small producer of cotton, but that Nigeria is only a small contributor to Imperial supplies. It follows that, in Nigeria in particular, there is an immense potential for a big increase; and such an increase is not only of vital importance as a dollar saver, but it will be recognized as one of the major planks in the platform for extending the agricultural interests of West Africa.

Vital Factors

The picture, however, is anything but bright and the reasons reflect the current world shortage of almost everything needed by modern civilization. First in importance is the growth of African spinning and weaving, which has followed naturally upon the big increases in the prices of imported products. This factor has reduced the amount of Nigerian cotton available for export. Next is the competitive demand for labour which is gravitating towards those industries which give the best reward in wages. Chief amongst these is the culture of groundnuts, with rich rewards for the African farmers in the high prices ruling. The price of cotton has, of course, advanced too, but not sufficiently to offset the greater attraction of groundnut culture.

Finally, there is the important factor of trained specialist staff, of which there is a world dearth; and this, humanly enough, is attracted to those industries or products which offer the best advantages. Certainly groundnut culture throughout Africa and cocoa specialization in the Gold Coast could scarcely fail to induce agricultural specialists to leave cotton.

Nevertheless, those who are interested in cotton culture, sure that Nigerian varieties can hold their own against the best in the U.S.A., and take whatever is likely to be offered, can hope that the authorities will be alive to the dangers of any one-sided economy, such as groundnut culture in Nigeria and cocoa growing in the Gold Coast, taking too firm a root in those Colonies.

Rhodesian Gold Subsidy

Further details are now available as to the operation of the Rhodesian scheme to aid gold mines, intimated in last week's issue. The cost of the scheme to pay a subsidy of 27/6d. per fine ounce to gold mines is £695,000. To raise this sum, there is to be a special surcharge, to be called "Gold Industry Contribution," and to be levied upon all income-tax assessment for the year ended March 31, 1948. All income-tax payers will be liable, including public companies, private companies, and ordinary individuals; and it is understood that the profit-making gold mining companies will also pay the contribution.

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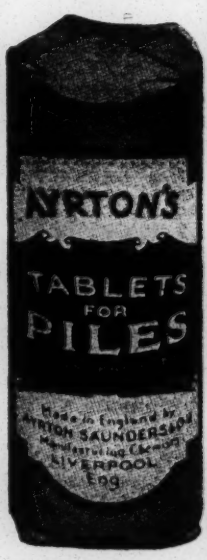

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million cwt. in 1946, there would again appear to be reason to expect that soon West Africa will take an increasing share. The more recent news that the authorities are offering £64 per ton for Gold Coast coffee is bound to act as a stimulus to any such effort. British imports, in 1947, were 887,000 cwt., of which 383,000 cwt. came from the Empire (mainly East Africa).

Finally, a work on spices, for Sierra Leone was chief Empire source of ginger before the war, with an average of 44,000 cwt.; and Nigeria was the lowest, with 5,000 cwt. out of a total Empire contribution averaging 134,000 cwt. per annum (1937/42). Sierra Leone fell away to only 20,000 cwt. in 1946 whilst Nigeria had disappeared altogether. Seeing that world exports before the war reached 287,000 cwt. and were only 121,000 cwt. in 1946; the West African Colonies can make headway in this ginger-starved world.

Accounts and Dividends

Elder Dempster Lines Holdings

The directors of Elder Dempster Lines Holdings, Limited, have decided to recommend payment of a final dividend of 8½ per cent., less tax, in respect of the financial year ended December 31, 1947. This, if approved at the forthcoming annual meeting, will make 12½ per cent. for the year (same) and will be payable on July 1. The net profit for the year is declared as £189,114 (£172,008).

Konongo Gold Mines

The directors of Konongo Gold Mines Limited have decided to recommend, at the forthcoming annual general meeting which is to be held on June 15, the payment of a first and final dividend of 10 per cent., less tax, in respect of the financial year ended September 30, 1947. This dividend, if approved, will be payable on June 25 to all shareholders on the registers at the close of business on Thursday, June 3, when the transfer books were closed and will reopen on Tuesday morning, June 8. This recommended dividend is thus a repetition of the 10 per cent. paid in respect of the previous financial year. The directors report that the net profit for the year was £124,590 (compared with £115,711 for the previous year) and out of this sum, depreciation of buildings, etc., takes £16,573; also £3,209 has been written off shares in the F. P. H. Hostel Limited; and £1,386 has been written off stores.

Barclays Bank (D.C. & O.)

The directors of Barclays Bank (DC&O) have declared an interim dividend of 4 per cent. on the A stock and B shares, in respect of the year ending September 30, 1948; in both cases, income tax at the standard rate of 9/- in the £ will be deducted. Payment will be made on June 16, to all stockholders and shareholders on the registers on June 1. The stock registers were closed on June 2 only. This declaration repeats the interim dividend declared for the previous financial year, when it was followed by a final dividend of 4 per cent., less tax, making 8 per cent. less tax for the full year.

Mining Taxation

The mining and oil industries, through their trade and technical organizations, have been pressing for some time for reform and some measure of co-ordination in the taxation which they are called upon to pay. The scales are so varied in the different overseas countries as to cause real perplexity and they are also so harshly imposed as to cause hardship that, at the moment, is so gross as to hinder, if not forbid, further exploratory work, which is itself so necessary for the betterment of world conditions.

With this in mind, the British Overseas Mining Association submitted a request to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on February 26, urging that depletion allowances for mines might be included in the Finance Bill. This representation has been rejected and no reason has been given; so the Association has issued a memorandum on the subject, in which disappointment is expressed that a tax anomaly is being perpetuated, and a serious handicap to British enterprise overseas, in competition with foreign countries, is being imposed.

The memorandum continues: A depletion allowance is intended to amortize the capital spent in acquiring mining property or rights. Since mines and oil-wells are wasting assets, there can be no net profit from operating them until the whole of the capital expended in the land, development, works, equipment and buildings has been recouped. A partial recognition of this long-ignored fact was given in the Income Tax Act of 1945, which made allowances, out of the taxable profits, so that most of the capital sunk in a mine or well could be amortized over its life.

Nevertheless, the 1945 Act failed to grant any allowance for depletion, possibly because of the impending controversy over coal nationalization. Sir John Anderson, however, admitted that this failure could be regarded as "a hiatus which ought to be filled," and that this "was important, from the point of view of competition between this and other countries, where the incidence of taxation may be different."

The absence of a depletion allowance means that the cost of acquiring the mineral or the right to extract it, must still be amortized out of taxed profits. Some 40 years ago, when all tax rates were low, and concessions were relatively cheap, this was not a serious matter; but in these harsher times, with more exact knowledge and mounting costs, these items represent a rapidly increasing proportion of the total capital outlay, in some cases more than one-half.

British mining companies, working overseas, are now exposed to severe competition, particularly from the New World; and this is largely because the U.S.A., the world's largest mineral consumers, are seeing their native sources dwindling and naturally are looking for suitable alternative supplies; and this applies not only to oil but to the base metals, chiefly lead and copper. Now Canadian and U.S.A. companies enjoy a depletion allowance and this puts them in an unfair position vis-a-vis British companies.

Further, many British gold-mining companies, well-established in their field, have to face rapidly advancing costs with no increase in the price of gold. They are operating either at a dead loss or on a rapidly narrowing margin that is dangerous. Despite this, gold is one of the greatest of the dollar-earning exports of the sterling area. Excluding South Africa, gold mined in the sterling area, in 1947, reached 90 million dollars; it is important, therefore, that these mines should not be forced to close down. It is not contended that a depletion allowance would solve all the problems that gold mines have to face but, at least, it would make a contribution that would be welcome.

The B.O.M.A. rightly complains that all mining taxation is illogical; for if a purchaser agrees to pay the vendor of the concession a royalty instead of a capital sum, that royalty can be charged as an operating expense for taxation purposes. Further, if the operating company explores its own property, the cost of prospecting is also allowed. But if the company buys the land from another company that has done the prospecting, the purchase price is not allowed. This unjust taxation handicap should be removed.

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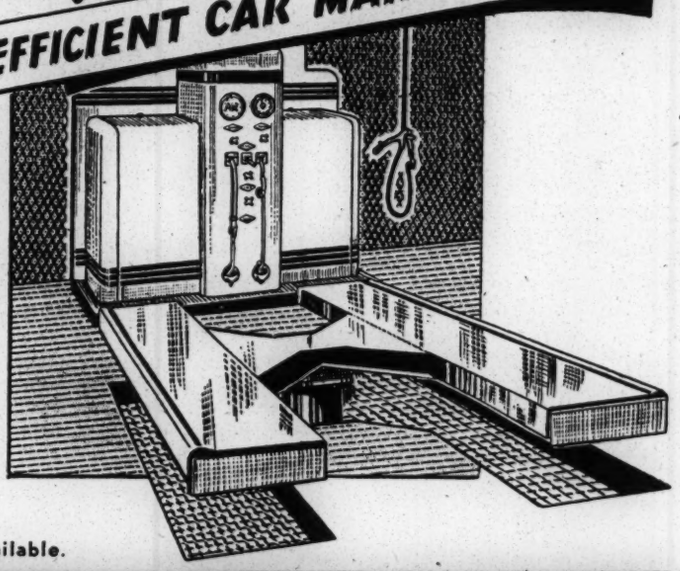

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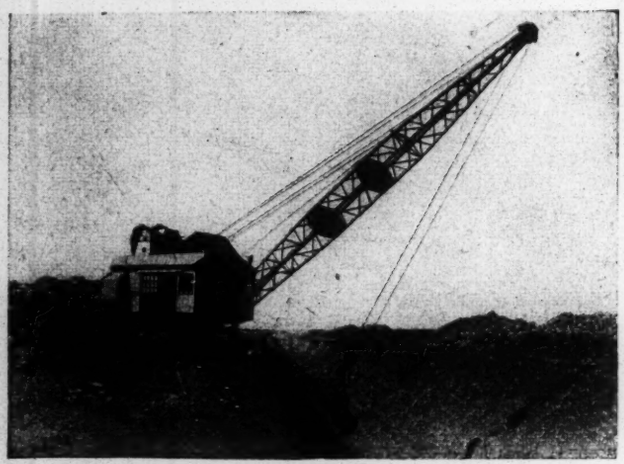

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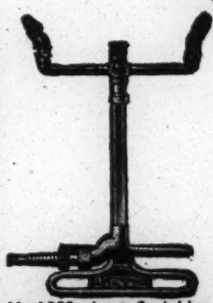

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Colonial Development Corporation

ONE of the Corporation's major activities will be the development of agricultural production. In the field of agriculture, not only has clearing work to be carried out and seeding or planting operations, dependent upon seasonal conditions, completed but many tropical agricultural and tree crops may take from five to ten years before coming to maturity. For these and other reasons, the Corporation wishes to discourage expectations of early productions on a large scale but it hopes to apply to its task the utmost sense of urgency which is compatible with solid and permanent achievement.

Agricultural projects may include corn crops, rice and other cereals, cotton and citrus fruits; some of these schemes might be for large-scale mechanized farming; but in addition, the Corporation will examine closely the possibility of stimulating and improving existing production by the provision of machinery and other supplies for small-scale Native producers. The current timber shortage makes the investigation of lumber and forestry schemes a matter of urgency. In the realm of animal husbandry, there will be schemes for rearing cattle, pigs and poultry. Fisheries development will not be overlooked.

Development of public utilities has been provided for under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts and, normally, this field will be one for the Colonial Governments. In particular cases, however, where the circumstances are appropriate or where the Corporation can be of particular assistance, it will be prepared to undertake schemes; for example, a hydro-electric project which is part and parcel of a manufacturing or processing scheme, might well be undertaken by the Corporation.

All projects adopted by the Corporation must be economically sound. In deciding to go ahead with any particular scheme, a major factor will therefore be whether that scheme will be economic and self-supporting once the development and constructional stages have been passed. The economies of the Colonies would, in the long run, only be weakened if they were saddled with permanently struggling and insolvent enterprises.

In view of the urgency of the economic situation, however, the Corporation will, in the initial stages, give some preference to short-term projects, or to those intended to expand existing production. A further and equally important test will be the dollar-earning or dollar-saving potentiality of a project, and whether it will produce commodities in short supply. No preference will be given to projects merely because the Corporation can operate them without the participation of private concerns; indeed, the Corporation will often prefer to operate in partnership with commercial interests on the spot.

It is envisaged that such arrangements might take the form of joint subsidiary companies, in which the equity capital would be shared and in which the Corporation would take a direct and active interest in the control of operations. The Corporation may also act on an agency basis for Colonial Governments and will, in due course, make available to them, at pre-arranged fees, the services of highly qualified technicians for investigations and advice.

Later on, it may be possible to provide equipment and staff on an inclusive cost basis for schemes not being undertaken by the Corporation itself.

(Extracts from a booklet prepared by the Colonial Development Corporation.)

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GOLD AND THE GOLD COAST

THE forthright comments of Major-General Sir Edward Spears in his annual statement to shareholders of Ashanti Goldfields Corporation sharply refocus attention, on the situation in West Africa generally and on that of the Colony's gold mining industry in particular. After the record gold output of 882,241 oz. achieved in 1940/41, production fell away during the war and there was little that shareholders could do but forget about their holdings and hope for better times when hostilities ceased. To date, they have experienced nothing but disappointment.

What is behind the story of the sorry progress which the industry has made towards rehabilitation during most of the past three years? The root of its present troubles is, quite simply, oppressive taxation—plus an unsatisfactory Native labour situation superimposed on a post-war inflationary set-up that was already making the costs position a delicate one for most of the producers. There was a confident belief, at the end of the war, that despite obvious difficulties the industry, within two or three years would, of its own volition, recover most of the ground lost during the later war period. That this has not been possible has been mainly due to the unexpectedly difficult African labour situation which has developed—and this at a time when a not particularly understanding or benevolent Government attitude has been discernible.

Until 1946, there was little indication that things were going to turn out like this. Then came the Harragin report on conditions of employees in the service of the Colonial Office in the Gold Coast. This not only granted increased rates of pay but made them retrospective. That this was of no importance to the gold mining industry has since proved a fallacy of the first order. The increased Harragin wage awards were applicable mainly to Europeans, but their effect generally was electric. Before long, came the Korsah report on conditions of African employees in Government Service and this also recommended increased pay. Although comprising one of the Gold Coast's major industries, the gold producers were not invited to these discussions, which were conducted under the surveillance of the Native judge, Korsah. But what the Harragin report had started the Korsah rulings multiplied tenfold.

Every African on the Coast began to think in terms of increased wages and back-pay and it was inevitable, last year, that the mines employees' union should come forward with the exorbitant demands of two years' arrears of pay plus increases, despite the fact that during the war years—and without any solicitation—better conditions and increased wages had already been granted by the industry. On the basis of these demands, the annual cost to the mining industry would have been of the order of £600,000—a clearly unrealistic figure contrasted with the industry's post-war earning ability. The upshot was that a Native labour strike on the gold mines broke out at the end of September, last year, and persisted for fully a month, the matter of increased pay being referred to an arbitrator, Mr. William Gorman, K.C. Once more, the result was higher wages . . . . and shorter working hours.

Wherever gold is produced, it has been the unvarying experience, since the end of the war, that costs have been steadily rising while the price obtainable for the mines' product has remained fixed. In West Africa, this situation has been seriously aggravated not only by the higher wages which have now been granted to African workers (to say nothing of the swollen cost of plant and machinery and the like) but also by the imposition of heavy tax scales. It might have been thought that any mine, as a wasting asset, should enjoy favourable consideration in the matter of taxation—though there is seldom any indication that Government officials share this view.

The West African producers, in the past few years, have been subject to particularly savage imposts. First, there is the Gold Coast export duty of 17/5½d. per ounce produced, while remaining earnings are subject to profits tax, doubled retrospectively to the beginning of 1947, plus normal income tax and Gold Coast tax. Ashanti Goldfields Corporation alone of the West African producers has to bear a 5 per cent. Gold Coast royalty; but even allowing for this, it is a measure of the scale of taxation which the industry bears that the Corporation was mulcted by Government imposts last year to the extent of two-thirds of its earnings.

It was well back in 1947 that the industry first made representations for the removal, or at least an amelioration, of the gold export duty—the most severe of the imposts with which the producing mines are burdened. It is a tax which is at once unscientific, since it automatically lifts the payability plimsoll line and thus discourages the working of lower grade ores; and at the same time is inequitable, since it is levied on revenue and not profits. Even if only to be replaced by a fundamentally sounder imposition, it is a tax which should by now have been removed without any of the dilatoriness and seeming indifference which has characterized the attitudes of both the Colonial Office and the Gold Coast Government during the past six months or so. Technically, it is a matter for the latter to decide upon, since it is the Gold Coast finances which stand to be affected by any modification of this important revenue item; but to suggest that the Colonial Office here could or ought to be unaware of this vital problem, and that it has no part to plays in resolving it, would be taking a tragically naïve attitude towards the subject.

The pity of it all is that there has been so little recognition of the importance to this country of Colonial gold production or that it is necessarily anything to which priority or urgent consideration should be given. Even now, it is not known when the Gold Coast budget will be presented nor to what extent the gold export duty has come under consideration. All in all, it is as unsatisfactory a state of affairs as could be found anywhere. Meanwhile, the investor, who for the most part has shown more than ordinary patience with his West African gold holdings, is still left groping in the dark. As Sir Edward Spears has lately said: "It is not fashionable to-day to consider the shareholders," although it is only axiomatic . . . . that the industry could never have existed without their support.

Is, then, all hope lost for the holder of West African gold shares against this sombre and discouraging background? Certainly, it would seem true to say that he should be prudent with his more immediate expectations, for experience has shown that officialdom is for the most part lethargic and unrewarding. At the same time, it would seem much too pessimistic to suppose that the industry cannot in due course regain its feet. Native labour is less efficient by a long way than it was pre-war; taxation is high—preposterously so; and costs so far have shown no sign of coming down. But the mining managements concerned have not been deterred in pressing on as far as is humanly possible with the exploitation of their properties; certainly from more than one mine has come news in recent months of what by normal standards could be considered exceptionally encouraging developments; and finally, it is a reasonable view that, even if further delays are seen, something *must* be done before the year is out not only to solve the more general of the Gold Coast's problems but equally to take basic steps to assist the gold-producing industry.

There is no reason why, in a matter of two or three years, its pre-war prosperity should not be regained. That must depend to some extent on the good will and common sense of the Government departments concerned. But in the interim, the advice to shareholders must be to exert still further patience. On a six to nine months' view, the market appears more likely to improve than the reverse; for such a situation has been reached that any developments at all can hardly be other than of general benefit to the gold producers.

(The above article, under the heading of *The Joyless Jungle*, by a Special Correspondent, was published in *The Investors' Review*, for May 22, and is reprinted here with due acknowledgments).

is a possible basis for an arrangement with America which would be of great benefit alike to her, to us, to the Colonies and, by its effect on the general balance of payments, to the world as a whole."

Recognition of the importance of Sir Arthur's conclusions does not imply endorsement of them. What is needed is realistic consideration and quick decision on the greatest single problem affecting the British Empire's future.

* * *

Reminder on Mass Education

THE Colonial Department of the Institute of Education, London University, sponsored a three-hour exhibition last week on mass education. It was a simple affair, arranged mainly by Colonial students using pencil and paper to illustrate photographs which had been taken in Colonial territories. Students from each of the territories represented (including the four British West African territories) were responsible for their own section of the exhibition.

There were several pamphlets, particularly from Jamaica, where the quantity and diversity of reading matter reflects the progress of literacy. In the African sections, photographs concentrated mainly on the practical instruction by word of mouth in the fields or in the classroom. Much attention was paid, in the Gold Coast section, to a scheme for mass education which was drawn up by an African.

Two main impressions derive from this exhibition. The first is the awareness of the Colonial Department of the Institute of the value of interesting the students in schemes which are ultimately theirs. An off-shoot of this is the understanding and interchange of ideas which develop between Colonial students from so many parts of the Colonial Empire. The second impression is the realization of how little achievement there seems to be available for recording, although the signs of progress are obviously there.

Long before the war ended, mass education had been spoken of as something capable of achievement on a grand scale. Reports have been written and U.N.E.S.C.O. has taken a hand in the work. Apart from isolated instances of minor successes, here and there, it would seem that expectations have, by and large, exceeded actual results. The stumbling-block would appear to be the different ideas that are entertained by individual exponents as to the meaning of mass education. Some seem to mean literacy; others, instruction in fundamentals like diet, sanitation and the elementary rules of hygiene.

* * *

Free Men

HOLLAND'S relation with Curaçao and Surinam may more happily be contrasted with Britain's relation to the West Indies than with those existing between Britain and the African Colonies and Protectorates. In view, however, of the British Nationality Bill and the proposed new status of citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies, the recent Round Table Conference at the Hague between Holland, Curaçao and Surinam is noteworthy.

During this conference, it was decided, in principle, to unite the Netherlands territories in Europe and the Western hemisphere in one kingdom which, in its turn, would closely co-operate with the United States of Indonesia in a Netherlands-Indonesian Union to be headed by Queen Wilhelmina. As soon as this united kingdom consisting of Holland, Surinam and Curaçao has become a fact, an imperial government will be formed, in which ministers from Surinam and the Dutch Antilles will be included and which will be responsible to an imperial parliament, consisting of members of the Dutch, Surinam and Curaçao parliaments. All this will be based on an Imperial constitution in which all matters of mutual interest will be laid down.

"There are indications," said Radio Hilversum, recently, "that these far-reaching plans will come to fruition in a not too far distant future. Holland will then continue to exist in the Western hemisphere, but she will have no Colonies there. The Dutch flag will continue to fly over these territories, accepted by the population as a symbol which will enable them to devote themselves in complete independence to what they consider their own interests. The impartial and supreme leadership of the House of Orange will remain.

"The centuries-old ties will not be torn to pieces, but the populations of Curaçao and Surinam will be enabled to carry out their own tasks; and not only will Surinam and Curaçao be able to build up an independent life in the midst of the Americas but, in European affairs also, they will be a factor of no mean importance. It will be clear from this that, in these circumstances, one can no longer speak of Dutch Colonies in the Western hemisphere. Those living and working in these former Colonies have become completely free men, whose rights are equal to those of the inhabitants of the Mother-Country, and whose word is of equal value and importance."

* * *

For Builders

ONE feature of the exhibition were drawings by a firm of architects who are making plans for schools and other buildings in West Africa. Several factors likely to receive wide application with regard to new constructional work of this nature in West Africa are revealed by consideration of the development plan for a community centre at Ogwafia, Udi division. The use of imported materials, for instance, is to be avoided; and the construction is to be such that it can be begun by the people of Ogwafia with the minimum of supervision and without the use of expensive plant.

As the use of imported steel is not possible, resort was made in the drawing to the use of local timber; and since this use of timber makes the structure liable to attack from termites, it is isolated from the ground by raising it on concrete stools. For reasons of finance, the building consists of a series of structural bays, to enable erection to be undertaken in stages as and when funds and conditions permit.

* * *

Appropriate Moment

LORD TREFGARNE (the Chairman) and Members of the Board held a short party in London last Monday, to mark the foundation of the Colonial Development Corporation. There were no speeches. Guests included men distinguished in the service of the Empire.

A booklet available to the guests sets out the origin and functions of the Corporation. The Board is already considering many projects submitted by Colonial Governments and it invites more. The proposed plans may be large or small, run by Government agency alone, or in conjunction with private enterprise.

But the Board insists that every project should be economically sound, since the Corporation must each year balance its revenue and outgoings. But the hour is urgent and priority will be given to short term projects aimed at easing the immediate difficulties.

The Board asks Press and public not to expect details during the first stages of any venture, and promises to give fullest information at the earliest appropriate moment.

The trouble about that is that official boards too often delay the "appropriate moment" too long and first, perhaps garbled, reports come from other sources.

Meanwhile, anybody with a serious Colonial plan requiring financial and skilled assistance is invited to apply to the Corporation's Controller of Plans at 33, Dover Street, London, W. and is told the kind of preliminary information the Board wants.

WEST AFRICA AT WESTMINSTER

Mineral Royalties in Nigeria

LAST week, Mr. Skinnard asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has now inquired into the position as regards mineral royalties in Nigeria? and when action can be expected on his findings?

Mr. Rees-Williams said: "I take it that the hon. Member is referring to the inquiry by a mining engineer, regarding the mineral potentialities in a certain area of Northern Nigeria. This inquiry has now been completed. Its object was to enable negotiations to be begun between representatives of the Nigerian Government and representatives of The United Africa Company regarding the reversion to Government of the share of mineral royalties and mining rights in this area which the company held as successors to the old Royal Niger Company. These negotiations are beginning, but complex technical problems are involved and they will inevitably take time to complete."

Agricultural Vacancies

Mr. Hurd asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies how many vacancies there are at the present time for agricultural officers in the Colonial Service?

Mr. Rees-Williams: The number of outstanding vacancies for Agricultural Officers proper, which Colonial Governments have asked us to fill, is at present 85.

Mr. Hurd: Is the Minister satisfied that the Colonial agricultural service is attracting a due proportion of university students from this country? and, if not, will he review the terms of service?

Mr. Rees-Williams: We have filled 50 vacancies already, which compares very favourably with the pre-war position, and I am satisfied that, as at present devised, it is satisfactory.

Administrative Officers

Since January 1, 1946, there have been 470 administrative officers posted on first appointment to Nigeria, Gold Coast, Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. There had been eleven resignations and two transfers. These figures were supplied by the Earl of Listowel, in the House of Lords, in reply to a question from Lord Rennell.

Congo Basin Treaties

Mr. Prescott asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if consideration is being given by His Majesty's Government to revision of the Congo Basin treaties? and in particular, the position of Japan under such treaties?

Mr. Bevin: It has for long been recognized that these treaties require revision, to bring them into line with modern requirements, including the needs of the Charter of the United Nations. The question is now under the consideration of the various Departments of His Majesty's Government concerned; but the hon. Member will appreciate that it is a matter which requires much study and that other Governments besides His Majesty's Government are directly and equally concerned. It is not, therefore, possible at present for me to give any further indication of His Majesty's Government's views on the matter. The position of Japan in relation to the Congo Basin treaties is under consideration, in connexion with the Japanese Peace Treaty.

Tariffs, Preferences and Trade

Lord Broughshane asked for an assurance that no agreement with America or any other foreign country "will be ratified which, in any way, restricts the freedom of Great Britain to enter into tariff or other arrangements with any Dominion or Colony" and would the Government undertake that most-favoured-nation arrangements shall not apply within the British Commonwealth and Empire?

In his reply, Viscount Hall said: "I presume that the noble Lord has in mind the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade negotiated at Geneva last year, and the Charter of the International Trade Organization drawn up at Havana by the International Conference on Trade and Employment. Both these agreements provide for most-favoured-nation treatment between the countries parties to them, but there is an exception for pre-existing preferences, including preferences within the British Commonwealth. The preferences saved in this way are subject to any modifications resulting from negotiations between the parties to the agreements. These negotiations were designed to bring about the reduction of tariffs and the reduction or elimination of preferences on a reciprocal and mutually advantageous basis. The agreements also provide that, subject to certain possible exceptions, existing preferences shall not be increased and no new preferences shall be introduced.

"The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade incorporates extensive lists of reductions of tariffs and preferences resulting from the negotiations held at Geneva last year between the participant countries. It has not yet been brought finally into force, but has been applied provisionally, from January 1 last, between certain countries, including the United Kingdom, United States of America, Canada and Australia. The Havana Charter is not in force, pending its acceptance by a prescribed number of Governments. Before His Majesty's Government takes steps to accept the General Agreement finally, or to accept the Havana Charter, there will be opportunity for Parliament to debate those instruments."

West African Hardwoods

Increases in hardwood imports from British overseas territories were detailed by the President of the Board of Trade. "The pre-war imports," he said, "from the Gold Coast were only 413,000 cubic feet; last year, they were 3,240,000 cubic feet. For Nigeria, the figure before the war was 1,129,000 cubic feet; last year, it was nearly three million cubic feet."

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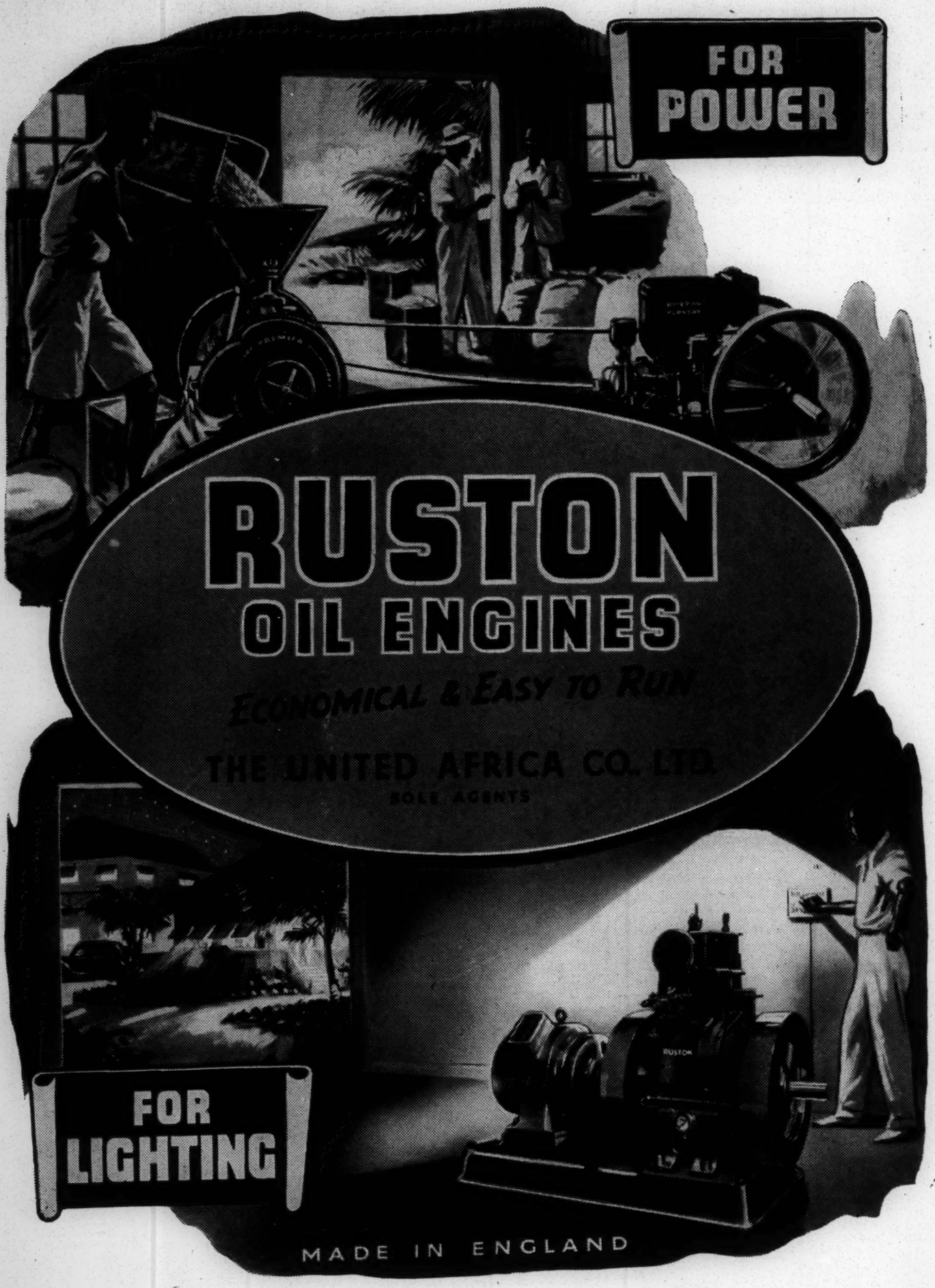
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Vexatious Taxation

THE continued absence of any word, from the Gold Coast, about the representations that have been made to the taxation authorities there, since February, in particular and, in general, since the price of gold has been more or less stabilized at 172/3d. per fine ounce, brings into prominence the recent issue of a memorandum, by the British Overseas Mining Association, concerning its efforts to get some relief, however modest or trifling, that will help gold mining companies in their real anxiety.

This memorandum reveals that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was asked, in late February, for some compensating relief whereby gold mines could earn a depletion allowance on the lines of what is given to competitive mining companies whose centres are in the New World. This effort by B.O.M.A. has failed, but no reason has been given for the decision against the mines whose interests are abroad but whose centre is London. It is fairly clear that British mining companies are being asked to put up with unjust conditions.

It is bad enough to have to face increased costs, increased wages, and still keep up a high standard of welfare work; all of these would, in any other industry, be followed by an advance in the price of the commodity to the public. But gold mines, overseas, are not allowed to increase the price of gold no matter how much the cost of production rises; and this constitutes a hardship for which only taxation relief or allowances can do justice.

The gold mines of West Africa, several years ago, started welfare plans ahead of anything ever seen in their area or elsewhere. Their pioneer efforts were warmly approved and much appreciated; and it is interesting to see that the Government welfare services are still lagging behind those of the mining companies.

In addition, the mines have started training schemes, so that Africans can take up posts of responsibility; again, the mines are ahead of the authorities. Surely, the time has come when, whether as depletion allowances, subsidies or some fair scheme of taxation (applicable to all and not imposed as a penalty on gold mines), the gold mines should be encouraged in their good work.

WEST AFRICAN MARKET NOTES

New Avenues for West African Trade

By the Commercial Editor

TRADERS will give a cordial welcome to the publication of any statistics concerning the production, trade and consumption, throughout the world, of such produce as sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, spices, tobacco and rubber; but when these are compiled so carefully as the Intelligence Branch of The Commonwealth Economic Committee has done, and given us the war years, in so far as details are knowable at the moment, in the compact form of pages (i) to (x) and pp. 102, in a volume entitled *Plantation Crops* (H.M. Stationery Office, price 5/- net); and, what is more, brought in as much of 1947 as possible of the post-war period; then the trading community has every reason to be grateful, in these days of scarcity of newsprint and official reticence about world trade figures.

West African Produce

The chief interest of West Africa in this volume will naturally be in the direction of cocoa, with a slant towards rubber and perhaps a glance in the directions of coffee and spices. Taking cocoa first, seeing that West Africa is the world's greatest production and export centre, the British Commonwealth during the ten seasons covered by this record (1937/38 to 1946/47) has consistently produced over one-half total world cocoa; and this figure is probably even larger because the Gold Coast and Nigeria, which together account for all but 3 to 6 per cent. of the Commonwealth total, can give only export figures as distinct from production figures.

Cocoa Future

Chief reason for this is that cocoa, in West Africa almost uniquely, is a family or tribal culture, still largely grown in conditions of shifting cultivation, which do not lend themselves to accurate assessment of production. This is not a serious matter because, so far as trade is concerned, it is better to take export figures, seeing that these do give the volume available for consumption overseas. Still, it is interesting to see that, in the Cameroons, peasant farming is working alongside plantation culture; and that, in the Belgian Congo, a British firm is introducing plantation methods. The outcome of these, together with the growth of co-operatives in Gold Coast and Nigeria, will be of considerable interest. The marketing authorities of these areas are refusing to accept cocoa beans below Grade 2; and the governments are encouraging growers to improve their crops.

Total world production, in the decade under consideration, averaged 570,000 tons. Naturally, the export total, each year, did not tally with production, there being adequate reasons for sharp fluctuations. Thus 1938/39 was the best year for production, with 705,000 tons; and 1942/43 was the poorest, with 440,000 tons; yet exports were 736,000 tons in 1939 and as low as 389,000 tons in 1942. It is even more interesting, however, to note that world exports of cocoa were but a modest 250,000 tons in 1913 and were double that figure by 1931. The chief importing countries were, and still are, the U.K. and the U.S.A. the latter taking the major share, thanks to its greater population.

A trend, which has previously been noted in this column, and cannot be over-stressed, is that the Gold Coast economy is too much linked with cocoa production. Thus, in 1938, as much as 41 per cent. of total domestic exports of the Gold Coast was due to cocoa, a percentage exceeded only by Grenada, with 47 per cent. These figures dropped, in 1942 (the poorest year for world cocoa) to 20 per cent. and 28 per cent. respectively. Since then, however, they have risen, for the Gold Coast, to 47 per cent., whereas preliminary figures for Grenada give only 26 per cent. With the sharp increase in cocoa prices since 1946, whereas gold has stayed still, it would scarcely surprise us to hear that 1947 and 1948 will, despite the decline in output raise the rates to really alarming proportions.

Room for More Rubber

Turning now to rubber, we have been actively pursuing production figures for Nigeria, with little success; so we read with considerable interest that Nigerian exports were 3,000 tons in each of the years 1937/1940; declined to 2,000 tons in 1941; rose to 7,000 tons in 1942 and 1943; to 9,000 tons in 1944; and to 11,000 tons in 1945 and 1946. In the table on page 90, giving these figures there is a curious mistake by which a note (b) for Nigeria and Liberia appears to have a double meaning. These small totals are seen in due perspective when we remark that total world production was averaging 1,200,000 tons in the years 1937/41. The years of Japanese occupation (1942/45) are not statistically accountable, but 1946 gave a world total of 838,000 tons. There is clearly room for increased Nigerian culture of rubber and it is not obvious why Gold Coast should not join in the pursuit.

Coffee, whose expansion from 205,000 cwt. exported in 1937 from French West Africa, to 717,000 cwt. in 1946 appears to indicate that the area can grow coffee, a fact to which at least one Gold Coast mining company can give good witness, does not seem to enter this statistical analysis. With world exports at the rate of 33

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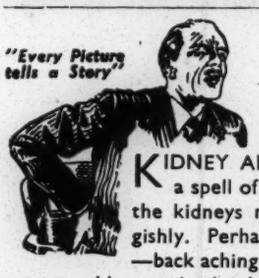

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GROUNDNUT PROPOSALS FOR WEST AFRICA

IN considering the possibilities for mechanized agriculture in the areas which we visited in West Africa, we examined the opportunities both in existing areas of production and in land at present not under production. As regards existing areas of production, we are of the opinion that the introduction of mechanized methods is not immediately feasible; as in the opinion of those whom we consulted, both African and European, the drastic reorganization of present farm holdings which would be involved would not be accepted voluntarily by African farmers until they had received a clear demonstration of the benefits of such a step. Moreover, we feel that there is at present a lack of experience in the application of mechanical cultivation to crops in Tropical Africa and that, although there is every reason to undertake bold experiments it would not be morally proper to disturb existing agricultural communities until experimentation has established the lines on which mechanization could be successfully applied to the farming operations.

At the same time, we regard the introduction of some degree of mechanization into the peasant agricultural economy of West Africa as a matter of vital necessity. For any immediate development, we have turned to the opening up of new areas. West Africa is comparatively densely populated; and the land suitable for cultivation from the point of view of soil and climate, which is at present sparsely populated or uninhabited, is small in area compared with land already under cultivation. In each of the territories we visited, however, we found tracts of land of some extent which, for reasons such as the lack of water for domestic purposes, the presence of tsetse fly, or the reduction of population through the activities of slave raiders in bygone days, are now not being cultivated but appear capable of development.

Development Areas

These areas are: In the Gold Coast—(i) an area in Western Gonja, comprising some 2,000 square miles in the vicinity of Damongo; and (ii) an area in Northern Ashanti, again approximately 2,000 square miles, to the east of the Attebubu/Ejura road.

In Northern Nigeria—(i) an area in Bornu of approximately 2,000 square miles on both sides of the Maiduguri/Potiskum road centring on Damaturu and extending both northwards to Lantewa and for some distance to the south of the road; and (ii) an area in Kontagora, of approximately 2,000 square miles, lying to the west of the projected Kontagora/Bokani road and extending some way towards the Niger River.

In the Gambia—(i) an area of approximately 30,000 acres in West Kiang; and (ii) an area of approximately 5,000 acres in Upper Niume.

Establishing Communities

The invention of the bulldozer to clear the bush, the use of well-boring machinery to secure water at depths beyond the reach of African methods and the employment of the tractor to extend the area of land cultivable per head of population, make it possible to bring these tracts into production. Mainly for political, but partly for technical reasons, we consider that the best method of development in these areas is by the establishment of a number of village units, at first comprising paid labour but ultimately practising collective or group cultivation assisted by mechanization.

We aim, therefore, at the eventual establishment of communities in which increased production will be achieved through mechanization and higher efficiency. A considerable degree of specialization of labour will be an essential element. In this way, not only will a better and more assured food supply be secured, but the wealth of the community will be enhanced and, at the same time, the fertility of the soil will be raised to a higher level.

Mechanization Imperative

We are hopeful that these units will serve as a demonstration, to village communities elsewhere, of the practical benefits of mechanization in agriculture. We were pleased to find, among articulate opinion in the territories we visited, every desire to see mechanization introduced into Tropical Africa. It is, in fact, imperative, if the risk of starvation is to be avoided, that such a development should take place speedily. At present, agriculture in these territories is carried on nearly exclusively by peasant producers.

It has been the deliberate policy of Governments in the past that this structure of society should be maintained; and the idea of private "plantation" development arouses in the minds of West Africans in British territories an almost instinctive feeling of repugnance. But the great majority of peasant producers have no implements beyond the hand hoe and the cutlass, and the limit of productivity has already been reached with these primitive methods. We suggest, therefore, that unless a greater acreage per family can be brought under cultivation and a higher degree of efficiency in production achieved, peasant agriculture cannot provide both the food which Africa itself requires and will require in increasing measure, and the export crops by which its national wealth can be maintained and increased.

It is true that, in Northern Nigeria, it has been the accepted policy for some years that a system of mixed farming, involving the use of cattle as draught animals and a source of manure, should be introduced. It has been conclusively proved that, by these methods, a farmer can increase his acreage under tillage threefold and substantially increase his wealth. There has been much competition among farmers to obtain the oxen necessary to set up such mixed farms. But the establishment of a general system of this kind is bound to be slow, since the number of cattle is limited, their rate of reproduction low, and the turnover in working beasts high.

We feel that this policy has been overtaken by developments in the use of machinery in agriculture and that more speedy results are to be obtained by the introduction of mechanical tillage, leaving the place of cattle in the farming economy to the important roles of providing meat, milk and manure. As a first step to this end we would suggest that Governments concerned should establish experimental units in all main producing areas at which a suitable technique of mechanization in respect of local crops can be worked out and demonstrated to African farmers.

Economic Revolution

The introduction of mechanization into peasant agriculture would represent not only an agricultural but also an economic revolution. So far, the economics of agricultural experts from West Africa have been governed by the fact that they are no more than a "spill-over" from subsistence farming and involve no overhead charges over and above those arising from marketing, processing and transportation. The increased production made possible by mechanization would carry with it increased returns, but it cannot be assumed that the increase would be clear gain to the producer. Out of his total income, he would have to meet, in addition to previous charges, the operating cost of mechanical equipment and renewal charges on it. Clearly, unless there is a reasonable hope that prices keep above the level necessary to meet these charges and give the producer at least the income he attained by hand cultivation, it would be wrong to embark on a policy of the kind suggested. In this connexion, the importance of research and other measures designed to increase the efficiency of the producer and lower his costs of production, needs no emphasis.

We would point out that mechanization is not the only solution to the problem of increasing productivity. Artificial manures have not hitherto been used by peasant cultivators in Tropical Africa because of their cost in relation to the price formerly received for the cash crop and the physical difficulties of distribution to individual farmers of the quantities required. The development of "placement" planting, however, has increased the efficiency of artificial manures to the extent that their use by peasant farmers now appears a practicable and economic proposition.

Recommendations

The Mission recommended:

(*a*) The progressive development in the Damaturu area in the Bornu Province of Northern Nigeria, and in the West Kiang and Upper Niume areas in the Gambia, of production of groundnuts with the aid of machinery and with the use, in the first instance, of paid labour but with a view to the eventual establishment of group cultivation by village units. (The rate of development in Bornu is dependent on the restoration to full working capacity of the Nigerian Railway.)

(*b*) The establishment, at first, of large-scale experiments in the Northern Ashanti and Western Gonja areas in the Gold Coast, and in the Kontagora area in Nigeria, with a view to:

(i) determining the practicability of large-scale production of groundnuts in the "middle rainfall" belt of West Africa; or

(ii) finding a rotation suitable to the climate and use of machinery; or

(iii) investigating the possibilities of production in that belt of other oilseeds suitable under local conditions for mechanization, e.g. sunflowers, soya beans or cotton, and ultimate large-scale development in these areas.

(*c*) The establishment, in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, of local Government-controlled Corporations in close association with a United Kingdom-based Development Corporation to undertake development of the areas selected in these territories, and the leasing of the areas in the Gambia to a United Kingdom-based Development Corporation for development in association with a local Advisory Committee.

(*d*) The use of superphosphates in existing areas of production in Northern Nigeria where lack of phosphate is a limiting factor to yields of groundnuts.

(*e*) The establishment of demonstration units (based on mechanized cultivation) in present areas of production for the growing of annual crops, especially oilseeds and cotton.

Twenty-Five Million Pounds

The proposals under (*a*) and (*b*) above will result in the ultimate establishment of 1,120 new villages, each consisting of 20 families, in each of the areas selected for development in Nigeria and the Gold Coast. For purposes of supervision, these villages would be divided into groups of 20 with a headquarters for each group where mechanical workshops would be situated and certain technical, administrative and social services performed. There would also be a central headquarters for each area of development which would include a stock farm and base workshops.

In the Gambia, the proposals provide for the establishment of 30 villages with a central administrative headquarters. The Mission estimated that the proposals will involve a total capital expenditure of the order of £25 million and will result ultimately in an annual

ASPECTS OF COMPANY LAW—4

Accounts

BY A LEGAL CORRESPONDENT.

THE main reason for Company Law revision in England was that the relationship between management and ownership of limited companies had tended, during recent years, to become, in many cases, obscure, and that it was now necessary to restore and revivify that relationship. A second reason was to incorporate the recommendation of the Cohen Committee to provide adequate legal safeguard for the modern system of holding and subsidiary companies.

The system of accounting adopted by the new legislation is designed to ensure that every balance sheet and profit and loss account must give "a true and fair view."

A change of first-rate importance is that, in future, a company has to present a consolidated balance sheet and a consolidated profit and loss account. That this revision was not introduced by the revising legislation of the 1920's was due to the fact that the methods of operating through subsidiary companies, now widely practised, had not been developed.

In the case of a company having subsidiaries, it is the scope and not the form of the information presented that counts. Directors are allowed to decide the answer to their individual accounting problems provided that, if they decide against adhering strictly to one consolidated statement, the method they devise discloses an equivalent amount of information. In certain cases, approval for this departure is reserved to the Board of Trade.

In preparing the accounts, fixed assets must be distinguished from current assets, an explanation being included to show how the fixed assets were determined, so that their real worth may be ascertained.

Reserves, provisions, liabilities and fixed and current assets must all be clearly classified.

Unless, in the opinion of the Board of Trade, disclosure should not be made, the aggregate total of the capital reserves and the revenue reserves and provisions must be shown separately and the reasons for any changes in these totals as regards the preceding year must be disclosed.

Trade investments, quoted investments (with their market value) and unquoted investments, all require separate headings; so do bank loans and overdrafts; and the net amount, after deduction of tax, which is recommended for distribution as dividend.

The basis on which the charge for income tax is computed is another informative innovation to be incorporated in the profit and loss account.

There are many other minor items now to be included which all help to clarify the picture.

The 1947 Act defines a subsidiary company as one in which another company controls the composition of its Board of Directors, or holds more than half in nominal value of its equity share capital. Shares or powers held in a truly fiduciary capacity do not count.

Auditors' duties have now been extended to include reports on whether they have obtained all the information and explanation they deem necessary; whether, in their opinion, the accounting system is adequate; whether the balance sheet and profit and loss account are in agreement with the books of account; and to give the information required by the Act. It is for Auditors to decide what is necessary.

They are entitled to receive notices and other communications relating to any general meeting, to attend such meetings, and to speak at them on any part of the business which concerns them as Auditors.

They hold office from one Annual General Meeting till the next, and will be reappointed without any resolution being passed unless they have ceased to be qualified for appointment, or they have given notice in writing of unwillingness to be reappointed, or a resolution has been passed at the meeting against the reappointment.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Hydro-Electric Power for the Gold Coast

Sir—I have read your front page article, by Mr. F. J. Erroll, M.P., in your issue of the 22nd ultimo, and advise you discourage this scheme for harnessing the River Volta. In the early months of 1925, when acting for the Gold Coast Government in another matter, I was asked to look into the possibilities of such a scheme, which I did, jointly with the late Mr. (later Sir) Albert Kitson and strongly advised against it. For the months of February, March and April, 1925, the flow at Kpong was so small the salt water from Ada backed up almost to the foot of the rapids. With such a small fall, continuously, any useful amount of power would be quite impracticable.

Mr. Kitson and I discussed fully, with Mr. Murray Morrison (the then General Manager of the British Aluminium Co. Ltd.), the question of using Gold Coast bauxite; and my recollection is he considered the only feasible way of doing so, by his Company, was to bring the bauxite to Europe. He was fully alive to the danger, in wartime, of relying on French bauxite. I favoured working the bauxite west of Bibiani and bringing it to Takoradi by aerial cableway. The quantity of bauxite required could have been greatly increased by using it in the manufacture of high aluminious (quick setting) cement and this increase would have justified the aerial cableway.

Owing to the shifting sand bar, at the mouth of the River Volta, Ada is useless as a port, except for small craft. I have often, at high tide, bumped badly on the bar, in one of the Volta Transport Corporation small steamers drawing only eight feet.

Yours faithfully,
LEWIS A. SMART, M.I.Mech.E., M.I.E.E.

Constitutional Club,
London, W.C.2.

Mr. Erroll's Reply

Sir—In reply to Mr. Smart's letter, it must of course be realized that the scheme outlined in my article is a private venture and not one which is calling for the use of Government funds, at any rate so far.

The Company seems to be adopting the right course in taking measurements of river flow over a period of three years before going any further. These will either confirm Mr. Smart's experience of twenty-five years ago or else provide data suitable for the furtherance of the scheme.

As regards the mining and processing of bauxite in the Gold Coast, world prices and markets have altered considerably in the last quarter of a century and there may well be scope for development in the Gold Coast in the next ten years, where it would not have seemed wise in the 1920's.

Yours faithfully,
F. J. ERROLL.

House of Commons,
S.W.1.

"Death Penalty in the Colonies"

Sir—If the death penalty is abolished in Britain, it should not be abolished in the penal codes of West Africa, particularly Nigeria where I belong. "An eye for an eye" still represents our conception of what is just, and it would be extremely difficult to convince the Natives that the execution of murderers is contrary to natural justice.

Furthermore, murderers who are found guilty in Kano, in Northern Nigeria, are executed in the open markets. At Enugu, in Eastern Nigeria, Chiefs and tribal headmen are invited by the Government to see for themselves and carry the news home about the execution of those condemned to death. This method, however, has extremely lessened the cases of murder in Nigeria.

We are not yet ripe to abolish the death penalty.

Yours sincerely,
E. NJOKU NWANSI.

151 Kingsley Road,
Liverpool.

COMPANY MEETING

KONONGO GOLD MINES

Increased Production

Mr. Robert Annan's Speech

The fourteenth annual general meeting of Konongo Gold Mines, Ltd., was held on June 15, at Chartered Insurance Institute, 20 Aldermanbury, London, E.C. Mr. Robert Annan, M.Inst.M.M., chairman of the company, presided.

The Chairman said :—Dealing first with the profit and loss account the mine working profit at £124,590 was lower by £8,948 than in the previous year. Mine expenditure was higher by £17,504 and other expenses by £2,178, against which there was an increase of £7,969 in gold sales and a reduction of £2,749 in export duty, the lower rate of duty having applied to the full year instead of the seven months in the previous period.

In the appropriation account, the provision for taxation is increased by £22,344 due to the introduction of profits tax and to there being no E.P.T. repayments for inclusion in this year's accounts. Your directors recommend a dividend of 10 per cent., less tax, which will absorb £34,059 net, leaving £41,928 to be carried forward.

Since the close of the financial year, a payment of £38,440 has been received on account of the company's claim for refund of export duty which, at September 30, 1947, amounted to £61,037. The sums recovered in this way are subject to taxation.

Operating Results

Work on the property continued without interruption up to the end of the financial year when a strike, lasting from September 29 to November 3, brought all operations to a stop. Tonnage milled amounted to 118,450 tons.

Actual working costs amounted to 38/- per ton compared with 39/3d. in the previous year, but "back pay" granted under the Gorman Award amounted to 1/6d. per ton, bringing the total up to 39/6d. per ton exclusive of development and making away with all the benefit of the economies effected during the year. As the Award rates were made retrospective for six months, the effects in a full financial year will be proportionately greater and, pending further experience of the cost of sickness and holiday benefits, cannot be precisely estimated.

Mine costs for the past year including the cost of development and £8,878 for back pay under the Gorman Award came to 44/6d. per ton milled or 103/5d. per ounce of gold produced.

The distribution of our revenue is as follows : Out of each 20/- received we pay—

	s. d.	s. d.
In wages	5 11	
For supplies and services ...	6 2	
London office	4	
Total costs		12 5
Taxation	4 9	
Dividend	1 6	
Retained for depreciation, etc.	1 4	
		7 7
		20 0

Based on profits before depreciation, taxation absorbs 12/5d. in the pound.

Development

Since the end of the financial year, the 15th level has been completed and I regret to say that the results, in the aggregate, are no better than they were on the 13th, what we have gained at some points having been lost at others. While the ore-body is still split into separate shoots of restricted size, the values are still good and it is clear that mineralization of the vein has not ceased. We have therefore started work on sinking a winze to the 17th level in the first instance, with the object of exploring the vein again at this horizon. The length of ore developed on the 15th level is, as I have said, substantially the same as on the 13th and the amount of ore developed between these levels is approximately 40,000 tons averaging 12·9 dwt. per ton ; payable development on the 15th level itself averaging 15·1 dwt. over 42 inches.

Future Operations

In addition to further exploration of the Odumase vein in depth, future development is being directed to testing of lateral extensions of this vein hitherto unexplored.

The 9th level crosscut has been extended from the Akyenase workings towards Boabedroo and is being continued into Lyndhurst ground for the account of the Lyndhurst Company for the purpose of testing the downward extension of the Boabedroo ore-shoot. It intersected this vein, which is certainly the same as the Odumase, at a point 460 feet north-east of the Konongo boundary, and driving is in progress in both directions along the vein. As recently announced by the Lyndhurst Company, the south-west drive encountered ore at a point 255 feet from the crosscut and the next 105 feet averaged 21·8 dwt. over 98 inches. The face was at a point 100 feet from the common boundary in Lyndhurst ground and was still in ore when this information was received. While it is still too early to estimate the significance of this development to our company, it is an encouraging sign of the possibilities on the Odumase vein and its further progress will be followed with interest.

Ore Reserves

At the end of the year the developed ore reserves amounted to 257,912 tons with an average value of 11·5 dwt. per ton.

Taxation

On the question of taxation I regret that I have nothing new to report and we are still without information on the intentions of the Government on this vital matter. It is gratifying to have received the long delayed settlement of our claims for refund of export duty, but this ill-conceived tax still remains as a serious handicap to the industry.

The report and accounts were unanimously adopted.

NEWS FROM THE MINES

Taquah & Abosso Mines.—Output and profit for the month of May : Ore crushed was 24,000 short tons (same for April), yielding 5,545 (6,005) ounces of fine gold, valued at £47,756 (£51,718), or an average of 4·62 dwt. (5·004 dwt.) per ton. Outgoings were : Working costs and general expenses in West Africa, £41,753 (£40,984), averaging 34/9·53d. (34/1·84d.) per ton ; Gold Coast Government export tax, £4,840 (£5,242) ; development, £6,000 (same) ; London expenses, £800 (same) ; realization charges, £554 (£600) ; making a total of £53,947 (£53,626) and leaving an estimated loss of £6,191 (£1,908) before charging for depreciation, etc.

Naraguta Tin Mines.—Output of tin concentrates, for the month of May, was 23¾ tons (27½ tons for April).

Naraguta Extended Areas.—Output of tin concentrates, for the month of May, was 5½ tons (6½ tons for April).

Naraguta Karama Areas.—Output of tin concentrates, for the month of May, was 12¼ tons (20½ tons for April).

Rukuba Tin Mines.—Output of tin concentrates, for the month of May, was 1¼ tons (same for April).

South Bukeru Areas.—Output of tin concentrates, for the month of May, was 7½ tons (11½ tons for April).

Tin Fields of Nigeria.—Output of tin concentrates, for the month of May, was 2¾ tons (5½ tons for April).

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Accounts and Dividends

South Bukeru Areas

The accounts and report of the directors of South Bukeru Areas, Limited, for the year 1947, show a profit of £7,558 compared with £7,062 for 1946. Revenue was £32,170 (£29,965) made up as to tin accounts, £31,200 (£28,731); columbite, £536 (£764); and sundries, £434 (£470). Expenses were: Working costs, £19,015 (£18,611); Nigerian Government rents and royalties, £4,067 (£2,892); London, £1,530 (£1,400); making a total of £24,612 (£22,903) and leaving the profit indicated.

Allocations for this profit were: Taxation, £3,500 (£2,683); dividends, £1,375 (same); property reserve, £1,000 (nil); contingencies reserve, £500 (same); depreciation reserve, £356 (nil); dividends equalization reserve, nil (£750); prospecting, £621 (£655); buildings, £307 (nil); making a total of £7,659 (£6,963) and leaving a debit of £101 (credit of £99) which, with the credit balance of £1,773 (£1,674) brought in, makes a total credit of £1,672 (£1,773) which it is proposed to carry forward to the current year's accounts.

The report states that output of tin ore was 105¼ tons (117¾ tons for 1946) and output of columbite was 4 tons (5 tons); all but three tons of tin ore came from sections outside the proved areas. The reserves at the end of 1947 were just three tons lower at 107 tons (110 tons) showing that nothing has been added during the year. On this point, the report says that further close prospecting is necessary on the areas to assess what additional tonnages can be added to the reserves. Production for the current year, to end-April, was 45 tons, compared with 47 tons for the corresponding period of 1947; and there are hopes to maintain the output.

Meeting at Winchester House, E.C.2, on Thursday last, at 3.0 p.m.

Ariston Gold Mines (1929)

The accounts and report of the directors of Ariston Gold Mines (1929), Limited, for the year ended September 30, 1947, show a profit of £153,587, compared with £207,378 for the previous financial year. Gross revenue was £685,905 (£664,705), made up as to: Bullion less gold premium duty and realization charges, £682,841 (£659,682); interest, £844 (£5,023); and sundries, £2,220 (nil). Outgoings were: Mining costs, £456,373 (£365,162); superannuation scheme, £4,003 (£813); depreciation, £28,433 (£29,798); London expenses, £11,962 (£10,814); concentration scheme, nil (£27,731); written off development, £31,547 (£23,009); to make a total of £532,318 (£457,327) and leave the profit indicated.

Allocations from this credit were: Taxation, £72,000 (£96,513); dividends, £117,563 (£99,000); directors' additional remuneration, £5,000 (£2,000); making a total of £194,563 (£197,513) and leaving a debit balance of £40,976 (credit of £9,865) which, with the £118,912 credit brought in (£109,047), make a total credit balance of £77,936 (£118,912) which it is proposed to carry forward to the current accounts. The balance sheet note points out that no credit has been taken for the gold premium refund due to the Company for the period of seven years ended September 30, 1947; the amount is

"Worth Pointing Out"—
By "The Searcher"

Ariston Gold Mines (1929)

THERE have been so many adverse factors affecting the gold mining companies of the Gold Coast that the hopeful factors are likely to be overlooked ; and the recent issue of a full, almost pre-war size, annual report of Ariston Gold Mines (1929) Limited rightly draws attention to them.

Chief among them will naturally be the development results to the north and to the south of the main Ariston mine. The Company has included a map, showing a section through the North Shaft and including the old Broomassie mine, still further to the north. This old mine has not been working for years, and it was developed only as far as the No. 10 level, though a winze was sunk from No. 9 level to what would have been No. 12 level.

Amongst the achievements of the old Broomassie mine was the treatment of 254,367 tons of ore and the recovery of 231,132 ounces of gold, equal to 18¼ dwt. per ton. The Ariston Company has now, in its drive north from the North Shaft, on No. 17 level, reached a point just below the old Broomassie No. 12 level ; and has, in a series of crosscuts, established a value of 25·3 dwt. over 22 inches, following other lesser values. There is good reason to believe that still better values will be found as the Broomassie Main Shaft is approached.

The next feature is the important find that, on the way to the old Broomassie mine workings on the No. 17 level and No. 20 level of the Ariston workings, just north of the North Shaft, valuable ore was discovered which appears to prove a new orebody ; and it outcrops at about 1,800 feet to the north of the North Shaft.

Its direction is such that it will probably be struck by No. 24 level, as it advances past the North Shaft horizon. As a shorter cut, Ariston is going to sink a winze from No. 17 level, about 300 feet from the North Shaft and this should cut through the orebody between what will be No. 23 level and the No. 24 level.

To the south, there are hopes of a new orebody which may be connected with the Gold Coast Main Reef Ekotokroo section.

Finally, a new joint power station (in which Bremang and Main Reef will be associated) is to ensure adequate supplies of electricity at reduced rates.

WEST AFRICAN MARKET NOTES

Colonial Contribution to World Needs

By the Commercial Editor

THE issue of the *Report of the West African Oilseeds Mission* (Colonial No. 224. H.M.S.O. price 1/6d.) though belated, has been worth the patience of the reader. Its principal virtue is that it is a fact-facing document; and its authors have evidently taken to heart the experiences which have befallen the "parent scheme" in East Africa, now so much in the news. The latter, first in the field at the suggestion of the Managing Director of The United Africa Company, has had more than its expected period of teething troubles. The lay Press, on the other hand, has been abundantly unfair, alike to the originators, to those who had the burden of initiating the enterprise, and to the Government which, under its corporate body, has now assumed the task of completing the scheme.

The chief objection appears to be that the cost has exceeded the estimates, but those who use such an argument can have had scarcely any contact with the world of reality, in which an ultimate cost in excess of estimates is quite commonplace. Indeed, the West African gold-mining companies in recent weeks have had parallel experiences after the most careful of planning in a field in which they are experts. The plain truth is that world costs have risen and it is by no means certain that they will not rise further. The critics, however, have shown their bias by not admitting that, whilst costs have doubled, the likely cash returns from the scheme have more than doubled. The scheme is evidently still financially sound and that fact must not be overlooked.

This is not the only problem that has faced the Oilseeds Mission, as its report reveals; and the modesty of its approach to these problems is to be warmly commended. If any particular point can be singled out for comment, it is surely the way in which the Mission has taken up the thorny problem of getting the goodwill of the African farmer in those areas of Nigeria which are already cultivating groundnuts on a fairly extensive scale—in fact, faster than the railway can deal with them, last season or even this season. Of course, the rise in price has stimulated African interest to excellent purpose; but despite this, the world shortage of groundnut oil and products is acute. The question of haulage to the ports is being actively tackled, so that of enlisting still more African help has become of prime importance.

The Mission evidently has in mind the experience of the U.A.C. in the direction of improving palm oil and palm products nearer the coast. Despite all its endeavours to educate African farmers in the task of improving palm oil and products, there is still a long way to go before success can be seen faintly on the horizon. The African peasant farmer is suspicious and will have to be convinced that the new method is an improvement upon the old method. The U.A.C. has done good work in that direction but there is still a hard core of antipathy to change. This the Mission recognizes as applicable to groundnut culture.

It has not recognized, however, that the African farmer of groundnuts may need more than convincing experiments, even on his own doorstep. In saying that, we hope we are proved to be wrong; and in any case, we like the idea of a doorstep lesson in the "magic" of mechanized cultivation for, upon its success, in educating the reluctant peasant farmer, will depend the success of the major schemes that are planned, according to the *Report*.

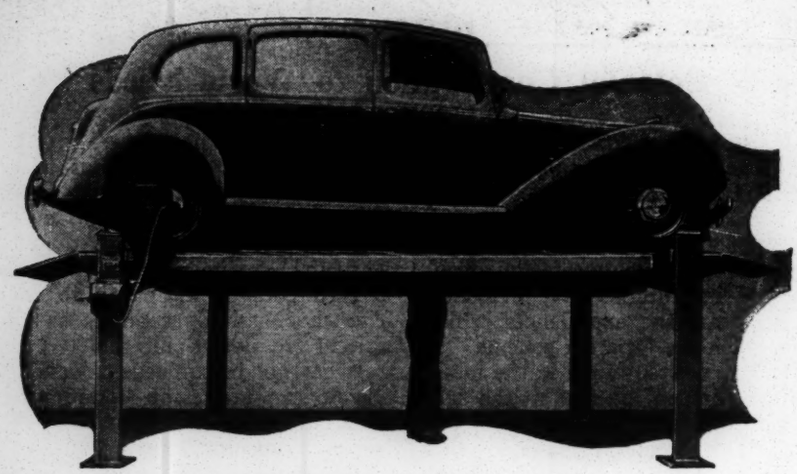
The next factor that makes an appeal, is the decision not to disturb the present agricultural balance (which, whatever its faults, viewed from the world angle, is still delivering the goods) until such time as these experimental attempts have shown their value in practice. To be sure, the mechanization of the industry is the best way to get the maximum of output in the shortest possible time; and this decision (not to disturb current methods) has forced the Mission into new areas where groundnuts have never been grown before. Here a certain risk has to be taken and much pioneer work will have to be put in; but the effort, cost what it will, must be made if the Colonial Empire is to contribute, as it can in its own agricultural field, to the extent that the Mother Country has contributed to world needs in the way of political and commercial enterprise.

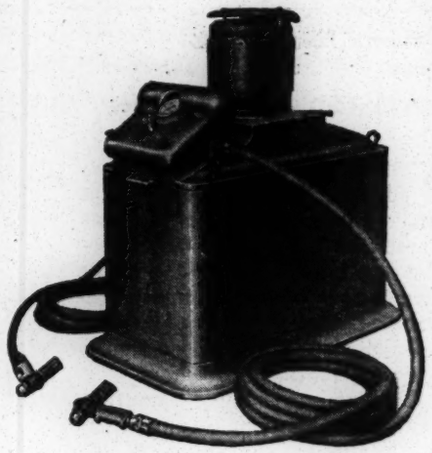
Those who have the interests of the world generally, and of Africa in particular, at heart will surely endorse the conclusions and recommendations of the West African Oilseeds Mission.

French Togoland Trade

The total imports into French Togoland, for the 11 months ended November 30, 1947, were valued at 514·6 million C.F.A. francs, compared with 251·2 million for the whole of 1946. The total of exports from French Togoland, for the 11 months ended November 30, 1947, were 292·9 million C.F.A. francs, compared with 137 million for the whole of 1946. In both cases, trade has more than doubled in the year.

France, as was to be expected, supplied the largest share of the trade in both directions, the actual amount being 55 per cent. of the total imports and 55 per cent. also of the total exports. The chief items imported were cotton and jute goods, clothing, foodstuffs, medicinal preparations, wine, household goods, metals, paper, petroleum and petrol. The chief items exported were coffee, cocoa, palm kernels, groundnuts, copra, tapioca, hides and dried fish.





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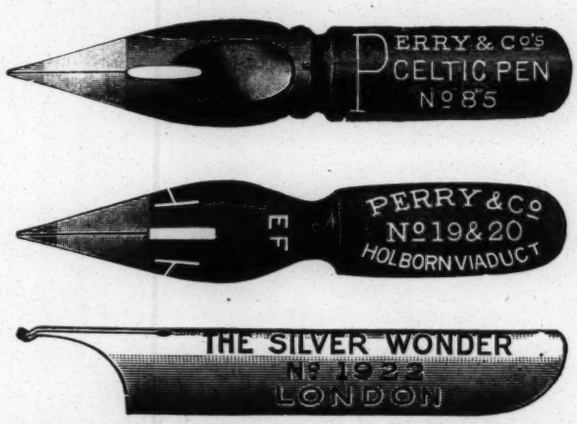

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THE PALM OIL INDUSTRY IN NIGERIA

WHILE the oil palm grows all over Southern Nigeria, it is in Benin and the provinces lying thence eastward, where no alternative crop such as cocoa or cotton has been evolved, that the whole native economy is centred round the palm. With the cessati n of tribal wars and the improvement in hygiene, the population, which in many places already reaches 1,200 to the square mile, is yearly growing greater. Coupled with this, the soil is far from rich and the population would be hard put to it to raise sufficient crops merely to provide for their own subsistence. Starvation is always only round the corner. It is no exaggeration to say that any cessation of the trade in palm products, or even any considerable diminution, would lead to such a collapse of the local economy as to result in three or four million people being reduced to famine conditions.

The oil from the palm is not only an export crop but forms a basic part of the native dietary. The extent of this domestic consumption is fluctuating and unknown, but some attempt to estimate it is necessary, if it is desired to measure the degree to which present African practice fails to make full use of the country's agricultural resources.

According to the Report of the Oilseeds Mission of 1946 (Colonial Paper No. 211 of 1947) the weight of the kernel of the oil palm fruit equals 10 per cent. of the weight of the fruit; and oil, 28 per cent. of the weight of the fruit. From other information, and from our own experience, we find that the kernel content is about 14 per cent. by weight, and the oil content 20 per cent.; and these are the figures we have adopted in the calculations which follow.

The African utilizes palm oil for his own purposes, but has no use for kernels. For this reason, the export of kernels in any year greatly exceeds the amount which would be proportionate (assuming 20 per cent. oil to 14 per cent. kernel) to the quantity of oil exported.

The following figures are worked out on the basis of kernel exports:—

AVERAGE FOR 10 SEASONS 1936/7 TO 1945/6

	Thousand Tons
Weight of kernels exported	314
Estimated weight of fruit harvested... ...	2,250
,, ,, ,, total oil content ...	450
,, ,, ,, palm oil produced by present means of extraction*	252
Weight of oil exported	140
Estimated weight of oil consumed locally ...	112

These figures cannot in the present state of our knowledge of palm oil production be verified, but there are reasonable grounds for assuming that they are of the right order of magnitude.

At the beginning of the century, Nigeria was virtually the sole provider of the world's requirements in palm oil and kernels. How gravely the situation has since deteriorated, and is likely to deteriorate in the near future, can most vividly and convincingly be shown by the following figures, which give the production for export of the various oil producing countries in 1928 and 1938, together with estimates for 1948.

The Nigerian estimates for 1948 have been based on recent experience, and represent the maximum exportable production that may reasonably be expected to be obtained with present methods of extraction.

In the case of the Netherlands East Indies and Malaya, the 1948 figures are nothing but intelligent guesses, assuming a continuation of the slight recovery from the effects of Japan's occupation made in 1947. The Belgian Congo estimates are based on the current rate of production and purchases for export.

I. OIL PRODUCTION (for export).

COUNTRY	1928	1938	1948 (est'd)
	Tons	Tons	Tons
Nigeria	128,000	110,000	140,000
N.E.I.	25,200	217,500	50,000
Malaya	1,166	55,000	50,000
Belgian Congo ...	19,200	71,500	90,000

* Nine-tenths by native method: efficiency 55 per cent.
One-tenth by hand presses: efficiency 65 per cent.

II. KERNEL PRODUCTION (for export).

COUNTRY	1928	1938	1948 (est'd)
	Tons	Tons	Tons
Nigeria	249,000	312,000	325,000
N.E.I.	2,900	45,000	10,000
Malaya	200	9,400	6,000
Belgian Congo ...	68,000	90,000	70,000

Figures of oil production show how rapidly and surely the N.E.I. and, to a lesser extent, the Belgian Congo and Malaya, challenged and overhauled Nigeria in the 10 years before the war.

These figures, however, do not reveal the full seriousness of the menace. It might be deduced that Nigeria had little to fear, having at least succeeded in retaining a market for her own products. This, however, is not Nigeria's doing, but is due to the fact that world demands have hitherto expanded sufficiently rapidly to continue to absorb, not only the Nigerian oil production, but also that of the Far East and the Belgian Congo, as well as greatly increased quantities of other oils, vegetable and animal, the supply of which, in direct competition with Nigerian palm oil and kernels, was also markedly growing in pre-war years.

The real weakness of Nigeria lies in the fact that the output of her competitors is of far higher quality than her own. The quality of oil is dependent on the percentage of free fatty acids which it contains—the higher that percentage the lower the quality. There is little doubt that, in the post-war years, the entire output of the N.E.I. and Malaya, as well as the greater part of the Belgian Congo output, will contain less than 3 per cent. free fatty acids; whereas in Nigeria, the only export oil to reach that standard will be the relatively negligible quantity produced on the plantations of The United Africa Company Limited.

Although there has been a considerable improvement in the quality of Nigerian oil in the last few years, the average percentage of free fatty acids is still about 16 per cent.; and one quarter of the production is in excess of 25 per cent. f.f.a.

It becomes, therefore, an absolutely vital question for Nigeria whether demand will keep pace with increased supply and, in particular, whether there will be a demand for low grade oil. If not, Nigeria will either find that her oil fails to command the same price as that of her competitors in the world, or indeed that she cannot even dispose of the whole of her crop at any price.

Hitherto, palm oil has held its own with competing products, partly, because of its cheapness and, partly, owing to great technical advances which have enabled increasing use to be found for it in the edible field, provided it is of a sufficiently high quality.

There is the serious risk that Nigeria will find herself excluded from all but the soap markets. Even in these markets, the soap-maker, given an option of low or high f.f.a. oil, would also prefer the former for the lower cost of bleaching, and often on account of the larger glycerine recovery.

The Nigerian Government has discarded the solution which has commended itself to other countries, that is to say, to the Dutch and the Belgians as well as to the British Far Eastern Dependencies. All these Administrations have taken the view that the interests of the country demand, above all, efficiency of production. With this achieved, they hold that not only will the material prosperity of the country as a whole be advanced, but also that of the native inhabitant, because nothing is so likely to induce him to follow efficient means of cultivation and production as the example in his midst of a European, scientifically-based, and ordered organization.

In the N.E.I., rubber production was first in the hands of European planters. By 1939, half the total production was from peasant sources and the high standard of production would never have been reached without the example and the competition of the European. Also, these Administrations took the long term view that the good must inevitably oust the inferior product and, apart from the intrinsic advantages of concentrating on the production of the former, they ran the severe risk, if they did not do so, of losing their market to their competitors.

The Nigerian Government has rejected this solution, mainly on politico-social grounds, less certainly on economic grounds. The problem, therefore, is how, within the terms of this decision, the undenied advantages of plantation production can be secured.

(The above article is the first of a series of extracts from "The Future of the Nigerian Palm Oil Industry" prepared by The United Africa Company Ltd., to whom acknowledgements are made).

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COAL FROM NIGERIA

By F. J. Erroll, M.P.

THE shortage of coal in Britain has naturally focused attention upon the extensive deposits which exist in Africa. The well-exploited seams in the Union of South Africa, and the famous Wankie Colliery in Southern Rhodesia are frequently quoted as examples of the abundant natural resources of the African continent. Less well-known but equally extensive are the deposits in Tanganyika, although current interest in the East African groundnuts scheme is naturally now causing inquiries to be made regarding the commercial possibilities of mining these reserves.

It is surprising, therefore, that comparatively little publicity should have been given to the Nigerian coalfield at Enugu. The colliery was originally developed to provide locomotive coal for the Nigerian Railways, and bunkers for ships visiting ports in the Niger Delta. Output has expanded steadily over the last twenty years, but has been limited by the high cost of transport and by the Government policy of the day, which rightly declined to spend funds on the development of the colliery in excess of what was then considered to be the maximum foreseeable demand.

The fuel crisis in Britain, the inadequacy of Ruhr coal supplies to Europe, and the substantial developments within Nigeria itself have necessitated a complete change in the hitherto cautious policy of the Government. The colliery management, always drawn from the best technical and managerial resources of Britain, has been fully alive to the situation, and has not hesitated to recommend a policy of vigorous post-war development. Thus, in the Annual Report of the Colliery Department for the year 1946/47, the Manager asserts that "these collieries, with their present staff, are capable of producing and maintaining an output at least twice as large as our present output. . ."

At present, the annual production is restricted to about 660,000 tons, largely owing to lack of transport capable of moving the coal produced. As at present developed, the collieries are capable of maintaining an output of 1,000,000 tons per annum without any increase in staff, and with very little additional equipment. In a matter of six months, the collieries could be made capable of producing and maintaining an output of 1,500,000 tons per annum; while in two years, if the necessary staff and equipment were forthcoming, the collieries could be expanded and made capable of producing an output of 3,000,000 tons per annum. These are big figures, especially when the strenuous efforts of Britain to raise output in her mines are considered.

In almost all underground sections of the colliery, favourable and rapid progress can be reported. In the new West Area, accelerated development work has led to an output of 500 tons per day; while in the New Obwetti mine, daily output at the beginning of 1947 was at the rate of 2,500 tons, with favourable prospects of an increase. It is typical of the frustrations which the management is experiencing that a new ventilating fan, ordered in 1943, only arrived at the end of 1946. Similar delays with other equipment have been experienced, but it is to be hoped that deliveries will improve in the future.

In contrast with the disappointing output per man shift from British pits, the Nigerian underground worker has greatly improved his rate of production. In 1945/46 hewers on an average cut 40·7 cwt. of coal per man shift; but during the period 1946/47, the daily average had risen to 47·8 cwt. Of the total labour force of 5,365 in 1946/47, some 73 per cent. were employed underground, comprising 954 hewers, 1,019 tubmen, and 1,921 on ripping and repairs. Work in the collieries is popular and well paid, so that there is usually a waiting list for jobs. This has a stimulating effect on the mine workers who know that others are waiting to take their jobs should they reduce their effort.

As part of its programme for developing the resources of Africa, the Colonial Office asked Messrs. Powell Duffryn Research Services Limited to send a team out to Nigeria to report on the possibilities of the coalfield. Their report is believed to have been received by the Colonial Office, but it is not yet available for publication. Only too often, the good intentions of the Government to ensure a full survey of development possibilities, before commencing on a positive programme, have led to a disastrous period of inaction. It is to be hoped that the practical suggestions of the colliery management on the spot, for an immediate

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increase in output, are not being shelved while the outsiders' report is being leisurely considered in London by Civil Servants with little or no experience of colonial mining and fuel problems.

Whatever happens, there are certain definite limitations to the expansion of Nigeria's coal production. The first is the nature of the coal itself. The ash content is high, in common with most African coals, and this makes it less suitable for ships' bunkers. Coke, produced from this coal, has a high friability, but the raw coal has a calorific value of some 12,000 B.Th.U. per pound. Secondly, railway transport charges are extremely high. While the coal sells at Enugu for about 11/6d. per ton, by the time it reaches Kano the cost has risen to about 60/- per ton.

Apart from the railways, coal consumers are scattered widely over Nigeria and, except for several generating stations, individual requirements are small and not likely to increase very rapidly. Transport to the coast is expensive and, owing to its variable quality, Nigerian coal probably could not compete in world markets. In fact, Nigerian coal presents the familiar African story of natural resources ready for easy development, but too remote from large markets. Whatever the technicians may say, world competitive conditions finally decide the rate of development of any natural resource.

WEST AFRICAN TALKING POINTS

Colonial Austerity

THIS week-end, Mr. Creech Jones was due to address the Fabian Colonial Bureau on Colonial Policy in the last few years. Anticipation of his remarks which will be noted in our next issue would be foolhardy, but it will be surprising if the Secretary of State contents himself with those "pats on the back" which have been ready snares for so many Labour politicians in the post-war years. An interesting effect of British Colonial policy, since the Labour Party came into office, is the evident disillusionment of so many Colonials in this country many of whose votes helped to swell Labour's majority. Henry Swanzy (Editor of the Royal African Society's *African Affairs*) outlines the reasons for this in: "Africa and the British Political Parties" in *Soundings* this month.

"In the strict sense," he writes (extending the application beyond those Colonials resident in the United Kingdom), "what these groups of politically conscious people overseas had been doing was to use the Opposition as a pressure group to advance their own interests and, what is more, their way of life. The English Socialists were flattered by these attentions, which they quite honestly related to their own view of the world." But, continues Henry Swanzy, the apparent deviation of the "Labour Imperialists" is not really a deviation seen from the objective standpoint of truth, which is the need for material developments in the Colonies as a basis for self-government; it is the previous propaganda statements based on emotion and without a true insight into all the facts, material and psychological, that are mainly to blame.

What, he then asks, is the major political development of the last few years from the Colonial side? The substitution, he answers, of the Fabian Socialists by the Communists as the English nucleus of African sympathizers seen through the eyes of the African. A reading of the Communist pamphlet *The Way Ahead*, he says, suggests that it is almost exactly the same as the Fabian Socialists before they came into power. "There is the same insistence on development, side by side with the best elements in the African peoples; the same human belief that all the sins of omission and commission in the past came from the short-sighted greed of the Imperialists; in short, the same lack of experience and even sometimes of elementary honesty in considering facts for their own sake."

It is debatable how far Colonials have actually turned towards the British Communists as alternative champions of their "cause." But Henry Swanzy's remarks plainly suggest that the time has now arrived when the isolation of British Party Politics from Colonial political development is becoming most difficult if not impossible. It is the Conservative Party which has lost no occasion since Labour came to power to claim that Labour Colonial policy has continued along a line of development about whose main lines there was little Conservative opposition. Labour politicians and party propagandists have frequently attempted to take credit for some new policy only to find that Conservative spokesmen vied with them in sharing the credit.

So far from liquidating the Colonial Empire and "freeing the Colonial peoples," Labour spokesmen daily revile the Tories for having neglected the Empire. This washing of British political linen is duly given prominence in the Colonial nationalist organs. It is a luxury which the British Parliament and the people they represent may with benefit forgo.

* * *

In a Nutshell

BRITISH Colonial policy in the last few years has been outstripped by the British economic position. An enterprise like the East African groundnuts scheme, the cost of which is now considered likely to be twice the original estimate, would have been unthinkable in times of normal Colonial development based simply on terms of gradual political and economic advancement. However much official Government spokesmen stress the undoubted advantages which will accrue to Africans from schemes of this magnitude, it has never been pretended from the beginning that the driving force behind their execution is not the shortage of fats with particular emphasis on the needs of the British housewife.

Nor can British Colonial policy be free from the effects of dollar shortages and the dollar earning capacity of certain well-known Colonial products. There, in a nutshell (a suitable repository at such a time) are the two handicaps of British post-war Colonial policy. They are handicaps which would almost certainly have provided obstacles for any other British political party that might have been in power.

* * *

Commonwealth Complement

THE Colonies, particularly the African Colonies, are so patently assets of the overall British economy (to say nothing of British prestige) that greater vision than is conjured up by the formulæ of "trusteeship" and "leading peoples to self-government" is an urgent priority of British Colonial policy now. Nor is "partnership within a commonwealth of nations" sufficiently practical to give more than rhetorical persuasiveness to an idea which is strictly limited in its application. Whatever slogan is finally put forward, the word "complement" should not be despised; because it precisely describes the relation which to-day exists between Great Britain and Africa where the majority of the sixty million British dependent peoples live.

It is a serious underestimate of African intelligence to expect him to overlook the real gain which Great Britain is openly seeking from her African connexion. It is no less an insult to African intelligence to suggest that Africa stands to gain nothing but exploitation from Great Britain's new intensive interest in Africa. Yet African intelligence is persistently being insulted on both these counts. Whatever the failings and the advances in British Colonial policy during the last few years, the rallying cries of the future must be "self-interest," at the lowest, and "mutual benefit" at the highest end of the scale. Paternalism is a deadweight and a negation of policy.

over

THE NIGERIAN PALM OIL INDUSTRY

THE agricultural aspect has not been overlooked by the Nigerian Agricultural Department. In 1928, it began to encourage the local farmers to replace existing groves by small palm plots, with a view to introducing a high yielding strain of palm, and adopting more up-to-date methods of cultivation and maintenance. It has, however, been uphill work, partly owing to the African's reluctance to spend time and money on cultivating palms, the return on which is deferred for some years, when the wild palm can be cropped for nothing; and partly owing to the paralysing impact of land tenure laws and customs. Without security of tenure, no individual is likely to undertake long-term improvements. As a result, 7,996 farmers have established plots which cover a total area of only 14,864 acres (1943 figures).

Cultivated Palm

The cultivated palm has these advantages over the wild palm: The palms are evenly concentrated at an ideal density and, therefore, one farmer can tend a larger number; they do not grow to as great a height as the generality of forest palms, consequently, the fruit can be gathered with much greater ease. For these reasons, a bigger concentration of oil is found in a given area, and the fruit can be harvested not only more cheaply but also with greater rapidity to the vast improvement of the quality of the oil. As a result of seed selection and breeding, the cultivated palm bears more bunches of fruit and the bunches themselves have a higher oil content.

The Fourth Annual Report 1942/43 of the Nigerian Agricultural Department's Palm Oil Research Station assesses the yield of the cultivated palm as showing a 50 per cent. increase in oil and a 25 per cent. increase in kernels. Experience in the Far East, as well as in the Belgian Congo, confirms an oil content of 30 per cent. as against that of 20 per cent. in Nigeria's natural palmeries.

Let us contrast the position of (*a*) the farmer with 10 acres of cultivated palms, treated at a neighbouring Pioneer Mill, with that of (*b*) the farmer who harvests the wild trees and relies on Native methods of extraction.

(*a*) 10 acres of cultivated palms will give an average yield, from the 10th year onwards, of 20 tons clean fruit and from this will be extracted:—

	£ s. d.
5 tons of oil under 5 per cent. f.f.a. and selling at £32/5/- per ton	£161 5 0
1·6 tons of kernels selling at £21 per ton ...	33 12 0
	194 17 0
Less milling costs (oil £4/15/-, kernels £2/7/6d. per ton)	27 11 0
	£167 6 0

(*b*) From a corresponding acreage of average natural palmery, the farmer would harvest approx. 7½ tons* clean fruit and would extract by Native method:—

	£ s. d.
16½ cwt. oil averaging 16 per cent. f.f.a. selling at £30 per ton	£24 15 0
21 cwt. kernels selling at £21 per ton	22 1 0
	£46 16 0

* Throughout Nigeria's oil palm belt, there are great variations in the density of stand or number of wild palms per acre. In seeking a fair average, we have taken the figures appearing in the O.P.R.S. 4th Annual Report (Appendix VIII) for the Palm Grove experiment at Gkiadolor in Benin Province, which the Government Agricultural Officers regard as representative of the usual type of palm grove found in the Benin Province. Here, yields recorded over a period of 13 years (1930/42) put the average at approximately 15 cwt. clean fruit per acre. We have assumed, as earlier in this paper, a total oil content of 20 per cent. and kernel content 14 per cent. in natural palmeries; and Native oil extraction methods 55 per cent. efficient.

Nigerian Productive Capacity

Sufficient has been said in the preceding paragraphs to indicate the great accession of wealth which would accrue to Nigeria if it were possible to improve the agricultural and mechanical skill and practice of the African peasant. It has also been seen that, on the one hand, progress has been, and is likely to be, painfully slow unless a new spirit prevails; and on the other, and even if the Nigerian Government achieved complete success on its present lines, Nigeria would still be at a marked disadvantage compared with her competitors.

We have assessed the fruit harvested at 2¼ million tons which, expressed in terms of today's oil and kernel market prices, is worth £14 million. If extraction were undertaken by a factory plant, which would enable 93 per cent. extraction to be achieved; and if, at the same time, every palm at present harvested was a cultivated rather than a wild palm, the total value of the oil and kernels marketed would reach £28·5 million; that is to say, at a time when everything possible is needed to improve the standard of living, the potential wealth from oil palm cultivation could be doubled. This indeed, is an understatement. In the preceding paragraph, we have shown that, under plantation conditions, an African family, without stinting the cultivation of subsistence crops, could in fact cultivate and harvest a larger number of palms than in their wild state. In the estimate we have just given, no allowance has been made for this possibility.

African Plantations

Our proposal is that a tripartite syndicate should be formed in which the Government, the African and the European should each play the role for which each is best fitted. The Government would secure the land, provide the whole or a proportion of the capital for long term development and exercise safeguarding powers of oversight. The African would contribute his agricultural skill and labour, and the European the commercial and technical skill required for the management of the plantation and mill; and if this were needed, the marketing of the produce. The capital for the mill could also be supplied by the European interests.

Each plantation would form an economic unit, requiring an area of at least 10,000 acres, with 1,325 additional acres of farming land to provide subsistence crops.

The one great difficulty in the past has been that, in the principal palm areas, owing to the density of the population, no suitable land could be found which was not already under occupation or likely to be needed by the African in the near future. But areas certainly exist where suitable land, not open to these objections, could be found. The Government must be fully informed on this subject; but it is suggested, for example, that search might usefully be directed at any of the following districts—(1) Cameroons; (2) The area North of Ikang on the right bank of the Akpa Jafe River; (3) Ahoada district in Owerri Province; and (4) The land on the right bank of the Niger south of Asaba.

In all these regions, it is reasonably safe to say that, owing to the sparse population, anything up to 100,000 acres could be set aside without causing hardship to the local inhabitants. In the Cameroons, of course, much larger areas are available. All possess good outlets to rivers and shipping ports. The labourers and settlers would be found by colonization, and by emigration from more thickly populated parts of Nigeria.

During the period of development, the settlers would work as labourers and subsist on the daily wages paid and capitalized by the Syndicate, supplemented by the produce raised on their farming lands. The plantation would be divided into 10-acre plots and, from the sixth year (or whenever the produce of the palms on each plot began to exceed the value of the daily wage) the plots would be leased to the settler and his family, who would henceforward be no longer a wage earner but a proprietor and responsible for the maintenance and harvesting of his palms. He would deliver his fruit to the central mill for treatment, receiving an advance equivalent at least to his former wages, and the balance of the price due when the month's accounts were closed; and he would still enjoy the produce raised on his acre of farming land. Against this, until the ninth year, he would only be called upon to meet the rent on his 10 acres. From the ninth year onwards, he would be required to make, in addition to his rent, payments sufficient to amortize the capital cost of the development of the plantation.

Capital Cost

The estimated cost of bringing a plantation of 10,000 acres into full production would be approximately £360,000; of which £270,000 would cover felling and clearing, construction of roads, the planting and maintenance of palms, rents, general expenses, salaries and wages; and £90,000 would be needed for construction of the settlers' cottages and provision of buildings, and equipment for social welfare purposes. The mill, with a capacity of 2,000 tons of clean fruit per month, would cost approximately £120,000 to erect. The total capital expenditure thus required would amount to £480,000.

Settler's Budget

The following table shows the settler's budget from the sixth year when he relies no longer on a daily wage (@ 1/6d. a day = £27 per annum) but on the sale of his fruit, supplemented by subsistence crops from his farm land. As soon as the plantation is in full bearing, that is to say from the tenth year onward, it will be seen that his nett annual income amounts to £145/15/9d.

Year	Tons clean fruit per 10 acre plot	Income from fruit	Rent	Yearly Expenses Amortization	Total	Nett Yearly Earnings
		£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
6th	8	64 6 6	12/6d.	—	12 6	63 14 0
7th	12	96 9 9	12/6d.	—	12 6	95 17 3
8th	14	112 11 4	12/6d.	—	12 6	111 18 10
9th	17	136 13 9	12/6d.	14 8 0	15 0 6	121 13 3
10th Onwards	20	160 16 3	12/6d.	14 8 0	15 0 6	145 15 9

Please turn to Page 667.

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"IT is necessary to take a realistic view and people sometimes talk as if, in a matter of months, the Colonies could be made to flow with milk and honey. But we do not want to be regarded as pessimistic. There are, as we hope to show, great possibilities. But it will take time to bring them to fruition." With the spirit of these timely sentences running through its brief 23 pages, the Colonial Primary Products Committee (Chairman: Mr. C. G. Eastwood, who is Assistant Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies) has issued an interim report (Colonial No. 217) published last week.

"The Colonies," they write, "are not British estates which can be exploited by the United Kingdom for her own advantage. The primary concern of Colonial agricultural policy must be the benefit of Colonial peoples themselves. There are, of course, many possible developments which, while benefiting the Colonies, will also benefit the United Kingdom and the world at large. The Colonies, too, have an overriding interest in the stability of sterling on which their finances and their general economics largely depend." One of the general factors which the Committee proposes to discuss at future meetings arises from experience of the slump in the inter-war years, which tended to make primary producers, *entrepreneurs* and Governments cautious in responding to appeals for a great expansion in production.

Export Prospects

"In the Committee's view, the very large expansion of agricultural production in the Colonies, which His Majesty's Government wishes to see, will inevitably be retarded unless the producers can feel some assurance of a market for their increased production for a reasonable period of years and at reasonably remunerative prices." The Committee has done its best to cover production to meet internal needs and for export to all markets; but since the commodities chosen for early study have been for the most part those which are in short supply in the United Kingdom, the prospects of export to this country loom largest in the report.

At the present time, the United Kingdom is unable to supply goods for export to meet Colonial demands in full "but this difficulty must be overcome and, to do so, is an essential feature of our economic plans." Whereas the Committee had before it up-to-date analyses of the United Kingdom's present and prospective needs, it was obliged to examine the possibilities of expanding Colonial output of particular crops in general terms only; and was unable, even where some expansion seemed possible and desirable, to reach firm conclusions on how or where it could best be achieved.

Consequently, "the Committee has been very conscious of the preliminary nature of its deliberations and of the need for further detailed investigations, in consultation with Colonial Governments and, where necessary, through the medium of special missions of inquiry, before developments which seem *prima facie* to be worth considering are translated into concrete schemes." The Committee had to recognize that, as all economic progress involves competition for scarce resources, the encouragement of one line of development would normally require the establishment of priorities for the use of available land, labour and capital goods.

Establishment of Priorities

"It is sometimes imagined," it writes, "that by the introduction of new capital, new techniques and new incentives a change in the pattern of Colonial agriculture can be brought about and output vastly increased almost overnight. It is therefore, in the Committee's view, of some importance that several limiting factors should be fully understood. It must be borne in mind, in the first place, that the Colonies are already making a very substantial contribution to United Kingdom and world needs." One of the basic obstacles in the way of new development of all kinds in the Colonies is said to be the absence of adequate capital equipment in the form of communications, public utilities and the wide range of small industrial services upon which agriculture in advanced countries so vitally depends.

"Even if a plentiful supply of financial capital (through the Corporations being set up under the Overseas Resources Development Bill or through other Governmental or private channels) could be assumed, it would inevitably take time to remove this obstacle. The Colonies will suffer from much the same shortages as we suffer from in Britain —not enough new locomotives and wagons, not enough industrial plant or agricultural machinery. They will not find it easy to translate new financial capital into new capital goods. The process of development (with the benefits it could bring to the Colonies themselves and to the world as a whole) might be considerably accelerated if substantial supplies of such goods could be obtained from sources other than the United Kingdom.

Social and Political Obstacles

But apart from the shortage of basic capital equipment and labour, there are social and political obstacles which cannot be easily overcome. The introduction of any substantial degree of mechanization or of large-scale production to African Colonies will involve something akin to a social revolution. "The earliest success with mechanized methods may perhaps be achieved by group farming on a cooperative basis among peasant cultivators." A further point is made that, in the case of foodstuffs in particular, the claims of the export market must frequently compete with the needs of the local market. "It must be expected that, with the increasing prosperity and rising living standards at which Colonial policy aims, there will be an increasing domestic demand for foodstuffs of all kinds.

"There is also likely to be some increase in the domestic consumption of raw material as a result of the development of local processing industries, although this is not likely to be a very significant factor for some time to come, and so long as capital equipment scarcity persists. It cannot therefore be assumed that increased production will lead always to an increase in exportable surpluses."

The Committee has worked to the following terms of reference: "to review, commodity by commodity, the possibility of increasing Colonial production, having regard, on the one hand, to the interests of the Colonial Empire and, on the other hand, to the present and prospective world needs and the desirability of increasing foreign exchange resources."

Meat, Pigs and Bones

Some of its findings relative to West Africa are noted here. It believes that, "taking a really long view, there are great opportunities for development of the meat industry in Africa, for internal consumption and for export. Before there can be any question of exports, some solution will have to be found of the difficulties caused by rinderpest. The building up of a carcase meat industry on progressive lines need not wait for this since "there are at present large unsatisfied demands for meat inside Africa itself, and all the cattle available may well be required to meet them. Such a demand exists in the Southern Province of Nigeria; as wealth increases, it is likely to rise and all the beef from the Northern Province will probably be required to meet it."

The Nigerian and Gold Coast Governments are being

asked to review the possibilities of expanding pig production for export. In East and West Africa, a considerable capital investment will be required; and development is likely to be very much more rapid if producers can be given an assured market. Production on a small scale was undertaken in West Africa during the war.

With regard to dairy products, "Nigeria's contribution might well be an export of clarified butter fat and ghee from the nomadic native herds which are distant from population centres." Africa's contribution to the world trade in livestock products has hitherto been mainly in the form of raw hides and skins. In 1945, exports of hides and skins from West Africa were valued at £813,000. A mission of United Kingdom tanners to examine local conditions and to establish trade contacts in producing territories has been proposed. A reasonably encouraging response in bones production has come from West Africa which has recently been visited by a representative of the largest United Kingdom bones importers.

Rice, Jute and Conophor Oil

In West Africa, a considerable expansion in the rice crop seems possible, for example, at Bida and Sokoto and along the lower reaches of the Niger River, in Nigeria; in the Volta River basin, in the Gold Coast; in the littoral areas, in Sierra Leone; and along the Gambia river. A Mission is now in West Africa, and it is also qualified to explore the possibilities of producing jute, particularly in Nigeria.

The Committee has been informed of the interest which the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation has taken in the development of cotton, and of the visit of two of their senior scientific staff to West Africa to survey selected areas for new cotton development in Nigeria and the Gold Coast. Experiments which have already begun on the new conophor oil from West Africa are expected to take two or three years to complete.

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WEST AFRICA AT WESTMINSTER

Gold Coast A.W.A.M. to Disband

THE Association of West African Merchants is a trade association and not a trading body, said Mr. Creech Jones, in reply to a question in the House of Commons last week. He had been asked by Mr. Parkin what official recognition is given to the Association and what proportion of the trade with West Africa is done through this body. "The second part of the question," he said, "does not therefore arise. On the first part, official recognition has been given to the Association to no greater extent than to any other lawful association of business or professional interests. I take the opportunity of saying that the Governor of the Gold Coast has recently suggested that the Gold Coast branch of the Association, which was formed during the late war on the suggestion of Government to assist in the administration of war-time economic controls, is no longer required and should be disbanded. The firms concerned are in agreement and will, I understand, take the necessary action."

Low Prices Active Policy

Asked by Mr. Gallacher what were the prices in the Gold Coast in 1939, 1945 and for the latest available date of printed cotton goods, linen, khaki drill and boots and shoes, Mr. Creech Jones said he had asked the Governor to supply the information.

"As well as communicating that information," said Mr. Gallacher, "will the Minister do whatever is possible to keep prices there down to the lowest minimum, as the wages of the African workers are very low?"

Mr. Creech Jones: "That is always part of our active policy."

Gold Coast Living Costs

Mr. Sorensen asked what is the increased cost of living in Accra today, compared with 1945 and 1939? to what extent wages have risen proportionately? and what is the approximate number of ex-Servicemen and others unemployed in Accra?

In a reply circulated in *The Official Report* Mr. Creech Jones said: "Figures are not available specifically for Accra. In the Gold Coast generally, the cost of living index is as follows: August, 1939, 100; November, 1945, 186; and November, 1947, 211. Wage rates for unestablished and daily paid subordinate Government staffs were revised on the recommendations of a commission last year with retrospective effect to January 1, 1946, and are now estimated to be, in Accra, 85 per cent. above the 1939 level. Increases have also been made in the wages of workers outside Government employment, but no detailed figures are available.

"In February, 1948, there were 4,620 unemployed ex-Servicemen on the register of the Labour and re-settlement advice centres in the Gold Coast as a whole. Of these, a number have refused employment offered outside the town in which they applied."

Industrial Development

Mr. Sorensen asked what industries have been established in the Gold Coast during the past five years? what mainly is their nature? approximately how many are employed therein including ex-Servicemen? and what is the prospective industrial development for the next three years?

Mr. Creech Jones said he could not give precise details, but he was obtaining them.

"Does the Secretary of State," asked Mr. Sorensen, "appreciate the fact that a large number of ex-Servicemen and others, who received training during the war period, expected to find civilian jobs, but cannot find them? In view of that fact, can he say what steps are being taken to increase the number of industries in order to absorb their labour?"

Mr. Creech Jones: A most vigorous policy has been

Keeping in Step

It was of immense importance that the three lines of advance should keep in step with each other. Political advance, not based on a proper economic development or bolstered up by an advanced social standard, is bound to fail. It was of vital importance that none of us should think too much in terms of the particular advance that interests us. The fault during the war, largely during his own administration, said Mr. Stanley, was that we had advanced the political side without raising the economic standard at the same time. This had been forced upon us by the war. The task of his successor was, and still is, to bring economic and social advances up into line with the political advances made.

Nigeria—Geographical Expression

There were many problems of constitution making, said Mr. Stanley, when attempting to assess some of the political problems of the Colonial Empire. The most intractable political problem was bi-nationalism. This was found in a number of Colonial territories like Mauritius and Fiji, but Nigeria provided another example. "There you have," said Mr. Stanley, "within that single expression—because Nigeria is nothing more than a geographical expression—three wholly distinct African races."

In communities where there was no interchange whatever between the varying units, if our own form of democratic government were adopted we would be faced with a permanent majority and a permanent minority. The problem of bi-nationalism was a problem for the community out there. They have got to break down their own divisions and become assimilated to one national hope. The problem could not be removed by anything done over here.

Power Without Responsibility

Difficulties of administration were greatest at a time when a good deal of power has been given to local legislatures, but before final responsibility has been transferred to them. It was not easy to see how we were going to get round the difficulties of power without responsibility. Making allowances for the personal problems of Jamaica, Mr. Stanley thought the experiment there was not working too badly. In African territories, there was the special problem of countries whose history was so recent. "You start," said Mr. Stanley, "with a more or less clean sheet of the form

over

Colonial Empire's Limitation of Resources

On the economic side, it was wholly mistaken to think that, in the Colonial Empire as a whole, we have a territory of great wealth which we have been engaged for many years in exploiting for the benefit of the taxpayers in this country. Not only was it not true that we exact any contributions for the Exchequer—on the contrary, the British taxpayer made contributions to the Colonies—but it was quite a mistake to think that this Colonial Empire is an immensely rich area. It was well below the average of the world in its mineral resources.

Its resources were far below those of America and far below those of the Soviet Union. With the exception of the Rhodesias, the Gold Coast, Trinidad, Malaya and a few others, the Colonial Empire, as a whole, remained an agricultural community. The first thing is to improve their agriculture. In any attempt you make, Mr. Stanley said, "you are always going to have a difficult conflict between maximum efficiency of the project and the impact upon the social customs and habits of the inhabitants of the territories. The groundnuts scheme was being carried on in an area practically devoid of population. You cannot do that sort of thing in a dense area without upsetting the land tenure laws and social customs.

In Southern Nigeria, for example, the only way in which you can get an increase of efficiency is by a combination of individual ownership and communal production. You cannot upset the whole land tenure system by grabbing a whole lot of land and employing a man as a wage-earner where previously he had been an owner. You might say to him: "this land is yours; the product is yours; but if you are to survive, we must regulate your production on some settled basis." You must try to bring home to the individual cultivator some of the simpler lessons of agricultural development.

Secondary Industries

Industrial development depended on the different opportunities of the different territories. "I, on the whole," said Mr. Stanley, "do not believe that you are likely to find in more than one or two areas opportunities for industrial development on the lines of the Black Country or East Lancashire in this country." He did not see either proximity to the raw materials or the markets. "What I do see," said Mr. Stanley, "is the development of secondary industries. I think this country should foster development of that kind in Colonial territories."

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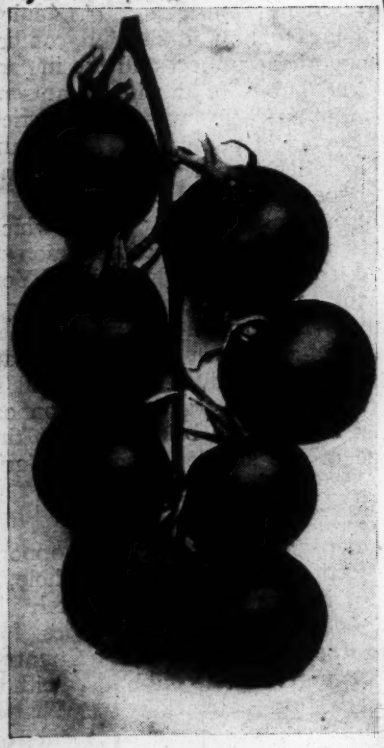
miracle will bring the same standards of social services that we have been able to build up here. Finally, said Mr. Stanley, the whole of our future position in the world is going to depend upon the relationships which we can establish with the Colonial Empire. He believed those relationships could be established on the basis of mutual self-interest and self-respect; but there would be need of skilful handling. A great responsibility rested on the

SUTTON'S SEEDS

FOR

WEST AFRICA



Our World-famous Vegetable and Flower Seeds are again available to our Customers in West Africa.

We shall be pleased to supply varieties suitable for cultivation in that part of the world and will gladly advise on receipt of enquiries.

SUTTON & SONS LTD.,

READING, ENGLAND

in June. In addition to other temporary and regular staff appointments, ten African assistants were appointed to take part in the teaching. They are: Messrs. T. Boatin, N. Ekanem, Said Hilal El-Bualy, G. E. Igwe, E. Kasonde, E. L. Lasebikan, G. J. Magembe, B. E. Malekebu, J. H. Nketia, J. Tafida Umaru. Languages taught by these assistants respectively are Iwi, Efik, Swahili, Igbo, Bemba, Yoruba, Swahili, Nyanja, Twi and Hausa.

Miss Green, with the help of the Igbo assistant, Mr. Igwe examines for the London matriculation, for the Cambridge School Certificate and for entrance to other British Universities, while Mr. Rowlands, with Mr. Lasebikan, acts similarly for Yoruba. The report notes: "for the first time, we have had regular African assistants; this has meant that the oral approach to language teaching has been notably strengthened."

The last two of the first eleven studentships for Africans ended this session with the return of two Northern Rhodesians. Three Gold Coast students (Twi and Adanme) sent by the Government of that Colony; and one Yoruba, who is a British Council scholar, have followed courses in Phonetics, Linguistics, and in the study of their own language. Another set of African students is expected in the next session.

Colonial Cadets in Training

The first post-war training course for recruits to the Colonial Administrative Service was started during the session and ninety-eight cadets began the intensive language course in June. During the first two terms, lecturers and African assistants prepared the closely integrated courses, and fully documented gramophone records were made in the recording studio. Mr. J. Carnochan, of the Department of Phonetics and Linguistics, gave classes in the phonetics of Yoruba and Igbo; and Mr. Trevor Hill, in the phonetics of Nyanja.

A number of wives of cadets applied to be admitted to the courses and the report welcomed this move "which incidentally was recommended in the Director's section of the Nuffield Report 'Nigeria.'" West African languages, in which teaching is required by the Colonial Governments, are: Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, Efik, Twi and Mende. The School has planned to initiate the study of the History of Tropical Africa. Of a total of 938 students at the School during 1946/47, no less than 33 were from West Africa.

West Africa

8

ECONOMICS AND INDUSTRY

Anti-Inflation Campaign and Boycott

In recent months, there has been a growing tension among the people of the Gold Coast due to the high cost of consumer goods. The more important suppliers of many of these goods are the big trading firms such as the Association of West African Merchants of whom the United Africa Company is an outstanding organisation.

A committee was formed in Accra to fight inflationary prices with Nii Kwabena Bonne III, Osu Alata Mantse, Accra as its Chairman. The Anti-Inflation Campaign that the committee was to conduct was a large order requiring advocates and speech-makers in towns all over the Gold Coast in order to instill in the minds of the people the idea of self-denial in the purchase of unessentials.

The Standing Committee of the Joint Provincial Council in session at Cape Coast issued a statement as to the attitude of the Chiefs towards the Anti-Inflation Campaign as follows:

> The Chairman of the Anti-Inflation Committee Nii Kwabena Bonne III, Osu Alata Mantse, Accra, sought permission and was granted an interview by the Joint Provincial Council in session at Dodowa on Saturday, 20th Dec., 1947, in the course of which he informed the Council of the intention of his Committee to devise ways and means of combating the incredibly high cost of imported goods; and further to tour the various States in the Colony with a view to seeking the active co-operation of the State Councils. The Joint Provincial Council after carefully surveying the unhappy situation gave the Anti-Inflation Committee its blessing and assured the Committee of the willingness of the members of the Council to discuss suitable measures to be taken at their respective State Councils.
>
> With regards to demonstrations in support of the boycotting which commenced on the 26th Jan., 1948, throughout the Colony the Standing Committee considers that the country is at liberty to stage non-violent demonstrations in conformity with customary practice as an indication of the country's utter disapproval of trading methods of the Commercial establishments.
>
> It is further emphasized that the Chiefs of the Colony are entirely in support of this national campaign against inflation and counsel solidarity among the people and the adoption of constitutional methods in this struggle. (Gold Coast Observer, Feb. 6, 1948)

The above statement was signed by 12 members of the Joint Provincial Council, 8 of whom are Omanhene, and was dated 3rd February, 1948.

On the previous day, February 2, the United Gold Coast Convention issued a statement in support of the boycott on imported goods with a view to compelling importers to lower the much inflated prices prevailing on practically all imported lines but particularly on cotton piece goods. There follow excerpts from the published statement:

> It is our view that the policy adopted by Government at the initial

stages of the last war to permit importers to make as much as 75 percent profit on cotton piece goods ought long ago to have been altered.

It is our view that in the absence of a rigidly controlled system of price control at one end and rationing at the other, any attempt to regulate importation without controlling distribution to the consumer does inevitably result in a system of hoarding and of blackmarketing.

The importers having taken advantage of this unfortunate policy have, in addition, created a system of conditional sales which enables them to dump unmarketable goods on a few favored traders who thus obtain large quantities of essential commodities at high cost to dispose of them at excessively inflated prices.

Consequently the masses of people, the consumers, have been the sufferers. By meansof Harrigan, Korsah and Mangin, it had been hoped that the salary and wage-earning classes could have coped with the inevitable rise in the cost of living which came about as a result of the war. But the methods adopted by the traders and importers have largely offset this advantage, and economic imperialism sponsored by Association of West African Merchants and such like combines have resulted in reducing the purchasing power of the £ in the hands of the wage earning class to something less than 7/6.

Until the Chamber of Commerce responds to the invitation by the Anti-Inflation Boycott Committee to reduce prices beyond the present excessively high levels, and until the Government introduces a policy to ensure greater and freer flow of goods than at present, it is our view that the boycott should continue and that, except in case of indispensable supplies, such as school books, milk, sugar, soap, bread, medicines etc. the self-imposed austerity measure of the masses of the people of this country to avoid the use of luxury goods imported from abroad, should be enforced throughout the length and breadth of the Gold Coast. (Gold Coast Observer, Feb. 13, 1948)

After January 26th, varying reports were made as to the effectiveness of the Boycott. In Accra, Cape Coast, Salt Pond, Nsawam, and Tarkwa the Boycott was immediately taken up in high spirit and "waxed strong" as time progressed. Dunkwa and the Anlo State were slow in starting, but through published demands, action was taken by Chiefs to proclaim the Boycott on imported goods. Thus, in the Anlo State the Boycott was declared for Jan. 26, but was not very effective until Feb. 9. Dunkwa's boycott was not declared until Feb. 11 but was effective from the beginning. Practically all the towns took measures to enforce the Boycott by arresting and fining any person caught breaking the Boycott. All during the Boycott, there were mild, peaceful demonstrations with Mass Meetings, and processions, much speech-making, and placards being carried. Thus, gradually through the efforts of members of the working committee for the Anti-Inflation Campaign, who visited may towns making speeches, it became quite effective with many towns reporting no buying and selling of imported goods.

On February 11, 1948, the Standing Committee of the Joint Provincial Council went to discuss the inflationary prices and the Boycott with the Colonial Secretary. It was learned that the Colonial Secretary had already asked the Price Committee un-

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der Chairmanship of the Accountant-General to report as quickly as possible on the claim that the sellers' margin included in the price of textiles was excessive. The Secretary of Commerce and Industry had also been instructed to examine the question. On Feb. 19, the Standing Committee received the preliminary conclusions of the Price Control Committee from the Colonial Secretary.

At a meeting in the Colonial Secretary's Office on Feb. 21 between the representative of the Joint Provincial Council and the representatives of the Boycott Committee, an agreement was reached and the Boycott was called off with effect on Feb. 28. The agreement included a reduction of 331/3 per cent on the overall margin of gross profits on textiles.

The terms of settlement of the Boycott were received by press wireless telegram at the Observer and published as follows:

> Conditional sales to be abolished; chit system also to be abolished; all goods to be displayed on counter for sale to all and sundry. There will be equitable distribution of goods, that Syrian cotton Merchants to receive only 7½ percent release from the firms; that the Native Authorities will see that the sales are made to individuals, so that the consumer can get the full benefit of the reduction. Price lists of all goods will be exhibited in the stores and gong-gong will also be beaten telling the public the prices to prevent exploiting by resellers. Broadcast by myself on Friday afternoon will follow. Nii Bonne. (Gold Coast Observer, Feb. 27, 1948)

Prior to this time, on Feb. 17, the first sign of violence in connection with the boycott occurred in Accra. Large crowds had gathered at the Supreme Court to witness the trial of one charged of being in possession of property unlawfully. After the adjournment of the case, the crowd moved to Station Road and High Street and damaged the premises of Station Mill, the U.A.C. Main Offices, Kingsway Stores, U.A.C. Lighterage Company and the Seaview Hotel. Stones were thrown, glass smashed, and managers threatened. The Police Commissioner who led in breaking up the crowd was hit several times by flying stones. The crowd finally dispersed about Noon, and there was official announcement by Government stating:

> Riots, or any other breaches of the peace will not be tolerated and if there is any recurrence of lawlessness, it will be necessary to impose a curfew on the affected areas. (Gold Coast Observer, Feb. 20, 1948)

On the same day that the Boycott was lifted (Feb. 28) a procession of ex-servicemen presented a petition and was held up by the police on the basis that the procession did not keep to the prescribed route. The men refused to turn back, and eventually, the superintendent-of-police opened fire causing two casualties. Then, the men bitterly turned back and rushed into town coinciding with the excited mobs thronging the Accra Streets. People had come to buy their goods on the day the Boycott lifted only to find that all prices had not been reduced by one-third, and many items were not available at all. The resulting crowds lost control; shops were looted, and before order was restored 26 people were killed.

As a result, thousands of West Africans demonstrated in London and Edinburgh. On March 7, in London, there was a mass meeting against the way the Gold Coast Government had handled the Boycott situation. After the meeting a petition was handed in at No. 10 Downing St. demanding that a Constituent Assembly be set up immediately to as-

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sume power over the affairs of the Gold Coast. The meeting also protested against the "distortion of fact" by the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in his speech in the Commons on March 1st when he attributed the demonstration by ex-servicemen to "communist incitement".

The Governor of the Gold Coast has broadcast a statement that he would see that a thorough and impartial investigation would be made not only into the recent disturbances but into the underlying causes. The Secretary of State for the Colonies has accepted the Governor's recommendations that a Commission of Enquiry should be appointed from outside the Gold Coast. This Commission of Enquiry, however, cannot begin its work until, "in the opinion of the Governor", normal conditions have been completely restored.

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With world cocoa price £200/250 a ton, Nigeria's Marketing Board pays farmers £62 10s and Gold Coast pays £74 13s 4d. Swollen shoot has devastated 10% of Gold Coast farms, 1% of Nigeria's.

JAN 1948

(c) Gold Coast: - Only 123 of 821 registered, voted in Dec., 1946, elections of Sekondi-Takoradi municipality.
38.6% of registered voters at Accra voted in March, 1947, elections.

1946, Dec.

47/pc/138

March 1948

United Gold Coast Convention, a Nationalist move ment, called upon the Chiefs to vacate their seats in Legislative Council in favor of educated commoners - object (alleged) the sooner to qualify for self-government. Chief's reply indicates they are not in sympathy with abdication idea. Accra Press is highly indignant over alleged statement by their ex-governor, Sir Alan Burns, in recent speech in New York, that it is mainly semi-educated Africans who are clamoring for independence. Sir Alan, it is reported, says he was misquoted by the New York Times.

6

12 - W. AF

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In French West Africa also the labor movement has taken on new strength and force, particularly in the general strike of African railway workers which has tied up all railway transportation in French West Africa since the early part of Oct., 1947. The strike is comparable to the Nigerian railway strike of 1945 in scope and importance as 12000 Africans are participating in the strike and supporting their union. The strike arose in the demand of the workers for "Equal pay for equal work". This particular principle was ignored at the instance of the British at the last ILO conference, 1947, but was supported by the Pan-African Trade Conference of April, 1947 (See African Transcripts, No. 12 p. 210) A new phase in the development of organized labor can be implied in this strike as the object of the strike is the creation of equal wages and service conditions for both Whites and Africans which so far has met complete refusal in all parts of Africa.

13 - W. AF.

42/9c/237

West Africa

Wa's

time a week.

for Gradeway

& passenger "Depes".

Mine operators accept arbitrator's decision and pay increases retrospective to April 1; Ashanti Goldfields Corp. lost £24,900 net by maintenance cost on idle mines during strike.

March 1948

W Africa

42/9c/257

15 — Nigeria's Agricultural Bill withdrawn due to Native criticism.

A Coal Mission from Britain is investigating ways to modernize Nigerian collieries to increase output above last year's 668,000 tons.

JAN. 1948

-10- W.AS-43 March 1948

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Western Africa

The Gold Coast is pushing its groundnuts scheme in the Northern Territories; acquires 3 agricultural stations; rice, cotton, potatoes, fruit, cocoanuts are also being fostered.

Brigadier Sachs has completed his investigation. West African Court of Appeals sets aside the conviction of Robert B.S. Ofie (editor of "Spectator Daily") on criminal libel and orders restitution of £100 fine.

Gold Coast Government faces £1.5 million deficit due largely to salary increases; taxes and import duties will probably be raised; however, as of April 1, 1947, the country's accumulated surplus was £8 million.

Timber controls have been relaxed, permitting shipment to any destination; 2500 tons a month of rail space has been allocated to timber. 24

Sierra Leone's proposed "Police Ordinance, 1947" has aroused great popular disapproval; viewed as the first step towards a Criminal Code; the main objections are: (1) finger-printing of all persons taken into custody, whether innocent or guilty, (2) requirement of police license for gatherings in any public place - which means license needed for weekly Bible Class!

1947 deficit is about £244,000 due mostly to increased salaries; increased import duties planned for 1948. Income tax ordinance of 1943 is amended, so that Sierra Leone Development Co. (iron mining) is no longer exempt; this done at the behest of the British Government. 1946 gross revenue was £909,926. 25

The Gambia proposes a broadened representation and unofficial majority in Legislative Council. Approval received for appointment of Africans to high Civil Service posts; Treasury, Customs and Post Office to be staffed entirely by Africans in forthcoming reorganization. Five officials and three unofficials appointed to Executive Council. African Judge, Mr. E.S.B.Betts of Sierra Leone comes to preside over session of Gambia Supreme Court in its criminal juridistion; he is Senior Puisne Judge of Sierra Leone, and acted for nine months as Chief Justice. 26

-6- Central Africa

041/26/24

8

MARCH - 1948

Gold Coast people feel that Government discriminates against them in allocation of consumer goods because of their political "mediocrity"; politically clamorous Nigeria earns considerably fewer dollars for Britain but gets relatively much larger allocation, hence Nigeria's cost-of- living is 25% lower; Press advertises this, also the obvious remedy. People also blame Government inertia for not checking inflation; organize mass support for more savings, and boycott of non-essential imports.

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of sq. miles in Nigeria, Gold Coast and Gambia.

June 1946 1947

West African cocoa surplus was £9.6 million thru 1946; estimated £ 15 million more in 1947; these sums go to Gold Coast and Nigeria Cocoa Marketing Boards as stabalization and benefit funds - except Gold Coast will devote £850,000 of hers to Achimoto College.

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and intend, to know them, [illegible]
for the welfare of the different regions as a whole. [illegible]
must have a wide exchange of Colonials, coloured and white, coming over here to us, just as we, technicians of different kinds, should go over to them. I will write a series of articles about this one day soon ! However—this is a digression. So—back to Imperialism, and backwards !

P :—There you are—backwardness is an economic question. The conscious policy of Imperialism is to keep Colonial economies backward and Colonial peoples ignorant. As long as such countries remain mere agrarian appendages to the "mother country," that is, sources of raw materials and also markets for manufactured commodities, there is no need to educate the people.

42/9C/59

[illegible]

LORD TREFGARNE explained why the world must look to Colonial areas to play the part in redressing the dollar-sterling gap. Their products—food and raw materials—are more acceptable to the United States and some other areas than manufactured goods. The total value of imports of manufactured goods into U.S.A. in 1947, from all sources, amounted to some £250 million. The total imports of food and raw materials were upwards of £1,150 million or more than four times their imports of manufactured goods from all countries.

The United States imports of coffee alone, in 1947, were more than three times the total imports of British manufactures. The American imports of cocoa were £38 million; and of rubber, £79 million; of tin, £16 million; and of other metals and ores, £129 million. If the world could achieve a 5 per cent. increase in its exports of food and raw materials to U.S.A. or if a favourable turn of 5 per cent. in terms of trade for these commodities could be obtained, that would be equivalent to increased dollar earnings amounting to more than 100 per cent. in exports of British manufactures to U.S.A. Sterling is likely, therefore, to gain more from Colonial products than from manufactured exports to America.

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WEST AFRICA

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Bowing to the Storm . . . . Heaven Helps Those . . . . Inquiries

ON January 3, *The Board of Trade Journal* published a list of commodities the imports of which Colonial Governments have been asked to continue to restrict, to help the sterling pool. It was on August 21 that MR. CREECH JONES, then at sea on his way to the Montego Bay Conference, sent a message to all Colonial peoples about the British economic crisis. Since that date, there has been a hue and cry throughout the British Colonies as well as from almost all interested quarters in the United Kingdom. The week ending January 3, the Colonial Office publicly bowed to the storm and issued a statement. The statement notes *inter alia* that "it is no part of the Government's policy that Colonial territories should be pressed to practice austerity, simply for the sake of austerity, when neither supply nor balance of payments considerations

Muddled Action

not to be dictated to as irresponsible people." It almost staggers belief that the Colonial Office, surrounded on all sides by advisers and experts from all parts of the scattered Colonial Empire, could ever have expected that the West Indies would take any other attitude. And yet apparently something of the sort was hoped for.

Criticism has not been wanting from Africa and, of course, the relaxations from austerity are applicable to the British Colonies there. Yet here the tasks of the advisers were even more onerous because of the unlikelihood of general African opinion being sufficiently aroused to appreciate the full implications of the policy of "calamitous restrictions." And even if organized African opinion were alive to anything like a full appreciation of what a policy of restrictionism would mean to the *status quo*, let alone the future development of their country, they have nothing approaching the degrees of responsible government prevalent in the Caribbean where the talk is now of Dominion status.

Colonial officials arrived from other lands, in compensation. But the moment that Colonies are obviously set on the road to self-government, every leakage of potential man-power from the Colony to the Colonial service as a whole is an irreparable loss to the particular colony.

SIR DONALD died on London, an exile from his native country. There were occasions when he might have returned to the Colonial Service of British Guiana. He made other decisions and, as a result of those decisions, he has left "footprints" in a much larger world. His work in Tanganyika and Nigeria will not be forgotten. At the same time, he never lost interest in British Guiana; and the offer of his insignia of the "G.C.M.G." to a British Guianese society is indicative of the affection he felt for the Colony which gave him birth. His marriage to a West Indian, and his assistance and advice freely given to all West Indians who consulted him after his retirement, were other obvious signs of his interest in the territories among which he was born.

At the same time, by the very facts of his career SIR DONALD was more than a great Guianese. He was a great Colonial Civil Servant. His country's loss was this country's gain; and there will be few Africans, in Nigeria or Tanganyika, who will not admit that, in this particular case, their countries shared in the United Kingdom's gain. The career of SIR DONALD CAMERON and of other Colonials is a heartening example for those who champion the rights of Colonials. At the same time, it is an example to Colonials that fame is not lightly bought, but must be earned.

Primary Sorter

Less than two years ago, an Information Bureau was opened at the Headquarters of The Royal Empire Society in London. Yesterday, the Bureau moved into new offices in the Meath Room of the same building. The occasion was duly marked by a small ceremony and it is worth recording here. The activities of The Royal Empire Society are well-known throughout the British Empire and it is not surprising that this new development of an Information Bureau should have been initiated by a Society which has based its activities on such a wide basis and has not been slow in adapting itself to the changing tempo of progress within the Empire. The need for an Information Bureau has been felt by thousands of people in this country, particularly with reference to the British Colonial Empire and to Africa especially.

Other societies like The Imperial Institute, The Victoria League, The Royal Society of Arts and many more have been, and still are, of great assistance to those seeking information about the British Empire. The great houses in London, like Australia House, South Africa House and others; and the specialized agencies like The West India Committee, have for many years been most helpful to inquirers, but a primary sorting house has been much desired. It is that function of the primary-sorter of inquiries that the Information Bureau is equipped to fulfil; and we have no hesitation, from personal experience, in recommending its resources to visitors.

Secondly, what Miss Huxley has to say about the new African and the political future is not without bearing on present conditions in West Africa. It is a commonplace to think of West Africa as an entirely African slice of the continent, without any settler population as such. Actually, the time is overripe for emphasis on the importance that the first settlers in Sierra Leone, the West Indian infiltration and perhaps even the Syrian and European "settlers of long residence" have played in the development of political thought in these communities.

Political privilege certainly was the basis of the Liberian State; and the main quarrel between Colonial educated peoples and the metropolitan governments has always revolved around this question of privilege. Colonials who have arrived at one or other of the privileged stages claim that they are by experience and permanency of residence better qualified to administer Colonial affairs; metropolitan governments reply: "Yes, in your own interests, but the under-privileged go to the wall."

It is the smooth transition between metropolitan control and Colonial legislative supremacy that will decide finally the success or failure of this policy of compromise. Meanwhile, minorities in all Colonial territories still need to realize the harsh dictum that only by their own efforts will their positions be safeguarded!

Chocolate Story

DOUGLAS Woodruff's *The Story of the British Colonial Empire*, which was published in 1939, is still without peer as an introductory textbook for British readers who want to acquire a rapid acquaintance with the British Colonies. It is lavishly illustrated and full of humorous sketches which add zest to the racy narrative.

A World-wide Business (price 5/-) which has been published by the University of London Press, in association with Cadbury Bros., is very reminiscent of this earlier volume although its Colonial content is mainly confined to Gold Coast and Trinidad. It tells the story, by means of photographs, maps and charts, of the many activities which are involved in the production of a bar of milk chocolate. Although it is intended primarily for use in County Colleges and the upper forms of Secondary schools, *A World-wide Business* will appeal to a far greater public.

The importance of cocoa not merely as a dollar earner but as food for Britain has recently been further emphasized by the spread of swollen shoot disease. There must inevitably be millions of consumers and others who are in greater or less degree likely to be influenced by the future of the cocoa tree. The special knowledge which this volume discloses, because of its association with the business organization pre-eminently experienced in the cocoa industry, is available here in an easily assimilable form.

prices, and receive back from the natives any moneys they have paid to him as purchasers of his crops.

In 1937-38, the farmers of the Gold Coast held up their crop, and at the same time the entire population carried out a boycott of British goods. This was the only direct means they had of opposing the "squeeze" that the monopolies were working on them. Of course, a Royal Commission went out and made its report, and then came the war—no settlement was reached. Now the British Government buys the cocoa crop at a fixed price agreed upon by the Chairman of the Cocoa Board at the Ministry of Food, who, not by chance I am sure, turns out to be Mr. John Cadbury.*

The situation with the palm industry in Nigeria is practically the same; only, in this case, United Africa is alone in the field. Since 1924, the price has been depressed to such a level that the Nigerian farmer finds it almost impossible to live. Ground nuts maintain economy in Gambia. Without this crop the Colony would be bankrupt, since the export-tax on the product is almost the sole source of revenue.

N:—All of this certainly gives an idea of how it is with agricultural matters in Africa. Now tell me something about industry.

P:—Exploitation in the mines has reached a considerable degree of intensity, especially in the Gold Coast and the northern part of Nigeria. Around these mines are centred large industrial populations completely divorced from the soil. Here conditions approximate those in South Africa as far as wages and labour are concerned. There is no Colour Bar as in the Union of South Africa, for the simple reason that there are no white workers. Most of them are Africans, and as mining develops there is a growing tendency to squeeze the peasants off the land. Tin and coal are the minerals chiefly mined in Nigeria; gold, diamonds and manganese in the Gold Coast; and diamonds and iron ore in Sierra Leone.

In Nigeria the mineral rights belong to the Government, who took over from the Niger Company in 1900. This Company has now merged into United Africa Company, which has a 99-year lien on more than half of the mineral rights. Coal mines at Enugu are operated by the Government, while private companies have been granted concessions to work the tin mines of the Bauchi plateau. In Sierra Leone mineral rights are also vested in the Government, which makes concessions to companies working deposits. A monopoly to exploit diamonds for 99 years was secured by the Consolidated African Selection Trust in 1934, at a fixed annual rental of £7,000. The Sierra Leone Development Company, a British concern, works the iron ore at Marampa, one of the largest iron mines in Africa.

Under the Ashanti Concessions Ordinance of 1903, mineral rights in the Gold Coast remain with the native authorities, but negotiations in connection with concessions are supervised by the European District Commissioners and the Government has control over all moneys derived from these sales. The concessions are not worked on a royalty basis, but at a fixed rental, often as low as £50 and nowhere exceeding £400 a year.

Natives employed in these mines form the largest proportion of industrial workers in West Africa. Wages are incredibly low, and despite constant demands for increases to meet the rising cost of living, as well as recommendations from various Commissions, there has been no increase. In the Government-owned coal mines, rates vary from 5s. 8d. to 15s. 5d. *a week* for the different grades, and it is estimated that a married surface-worker with a wife and two children spends, say, 2s. in rent and 7s. in food, against a wage of 5s. 8d. In the privately-owned tin mines the average weekly wage is 3s. 6d. for regular

* In a White Paper, issued in September, 1944 (Cmd. 654), it was revealed that the British Government made a profit of £3,676,253 between 1939 and 1943 on its cocoa marketing.

labour. Casual labour is paid as little as 2s. 8d. Women and children employed at the coal mines receive even less than the men.

N :—Just as they do in the cane-fields and cocoa woods of Trinidad, although the women do the same kind of work and certainly have the same expenses in the way of food as do the men. What sort of general conditions are there in these mining centres ?

P :—The all-round conditions are as pitiful as can possibly be and social legislation is practically non-existent.

N :—And what about the prosperous class that exists in West Africa ?

P :—The more well-to-do of the farmers have been able to send their children to better schools or to provide them with higher education either locally or abroad. These educated or "Europeanised" Africans constitute the intelligentsia of the West African colonies. They represent the vanguard of the national and progressive movements which to-day are voicing increasingly the political and economic aspirations of the African people. This is a natural development.

Among all subject peoples, whether in Africa, India or the West Indies, it is always the middle-class intellectuals who form the most articulate section of the native races. And as industrialisation, such as it is—mining and small-scale factories—begins to develop, a working class, as distinct from the peasantry, is brought into being.

N :—Is it possible for this prosperous class to open up in an industrial way ?

P :—Well, it can buy property and become relatively rich as landlords. But as for opening mines and the like, no ; it is handicapped by impossible conditions. Imperialists are not in the Colonies to further the fortunes of the native bourgeoisie. In East Africa, for instance, where copper and other minerals are found, the rights belong to the South Africa Company, which allows financial interests to work the minerals for an annual royalty of something like £500,000. This is the case in Northern Rhodesia, where, before anything else, this sum is set aside for payment to shareholders outside the Colony ; all it gets back is one or two shillings in the pound income tax. As the companies are registered in London, their income tax is due there. Hence the Colony is poor. So you see it is all a vicious circle.

N :—Then how to get out of the vicious circle ?

P :—It is one of the greatest problems of our time. I can see no hope of solving it, of improving the condition of the native peasantry and proletariat—in Africa, India, West Indies, and in other Colonies—of civilising them, raising the level of their culture, education and physical situation in general, under the present system. If the progressive sections of the British people realise that there is no forward march for them under the existing system, how much, how very much more is this so in the Colonies ! Only a very radical and complete change will better the conditions of the Colonial peoples. I have already said what I firmly believe to be the solution : *full political representation, economic security, the widest social and educational reforms.*

N :—This seems to me the very point of our talks. I would like to hear you expand this "Charter for the Colonies."

P :—A Charter ? If you like. Anyway, the application of Clause 3 of the Atlantic Charter. Now, thinking of the Colonies individually, I would suggest the following immediate measures :—

For the African Territories :

(*a*) Economic, political and social equality, in all Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated Territories. (*b*) Abolition of forced labour. (*c*) Abolition of indenture. (*d*) Abolition of Pass Laws, Colour Bar and all racial disabilities. (*e*) Freedom of the Press. (*f*) Freedom of assembly. (*g*) Freedom of speech. (*h*) Freedom of movement.* (*i*) Drastic limitation of company profits.

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* See *Appendix*.

also on the West Indies—as shown in his excellent *Warning from the West Indies* (in Penguin edition). Of South Africa he writes :—

"The Union of 1910 made no extension of Native Franchise. Instead, a long series of legislative measures openly defensive of white privileges, and repressive at least of black aspirations, culminated in the Native Franchise Act of 1936. In this Act Cape influence prevailed only to the extent that Native interests are now directly represented by a maximum of seven Europeans, elected on a separate register to a Parliament of approximately 200 members. The South African Union is therefore a dominion of a white democracy over a politically powerless black majority."

P :—That speaks for the political side ! And you know there is a law which prohibits the Native from engaging in skilled or semi-skilled work.

N :—What is the attitude of the white workers to this discrimination ?

P :—It is unfortunate, but true, that the white workers in South Africa were largely instrumental in placing Colour Bar regulations on the statute book. In 1924, the Nationalist Party—the political organisation of the agricultural section of white South Africa, which is largely Boer—contested the general election under the leadership of General Hertzog. Chief opponents of the Nationalists were those of the South African Party, the organ of the industrialists and mining financiers, who are mainly British. The leader of this party was then General Smuts. Incidentally, this is why Smuts is such a favourite of the City of London. In order to strengthen their chances of success, Hertzog and the Nationalists made an alliance with the South African Labour Party, led by Colonel Cresswell. As the price for the support of Labour, Hertzog promised that his government would introduce racial legislation to protect white labour against the competition of coloured labour. This coalition, Nationalist-Labour, did win, and among the first Bills introduced in the South African Parliament after the 1924 general election was the Colour Bar Act, which laid down that the mining companies must employ only Europeans in all the better-paid jobs. As a result of this discrimination the European worker has been guaranteed a minimum rate of 20s. a day, while the average wage of a Negro miner is 2s. 6d. !

Colour Bar regulations spread to other industries ; to-day they cover all forms of occupational vocation in which white workers are engaged, such as dockers, railwaymen, etc. Similar legislation exists in Southern Rhodesia, which, unlike the Union of South Africa, is under Dominion Office supervision as far as legislation affecting Africans is concerned.

In March, 1942, the Kenya Government, with the approval of the Colonial Office, legalised forced labour for plantation purposes, and in the East African colonies Colour Bar exists in practice. Africans between the ages of 16 and 55 are now liable to be called out for work on the white settlers' plantations in the Highlands for an average daily wage of 3½d. This may be implemented up to 7d. a day where rations are provided by the employer.

Since the loss of Malaya and its tin resources, similar laws have been introduced in Nigeria. Here natives between 18 and 45 are liable for forced labour in the tin mines. Generally speaking it can be said that the land problem here, in West Africa, is not as acute as in South and East Africa.

Do not think that this is owing to any particular virtue in Imperialism. Nothing of the sort. It was a dispensation of providence ! It had its origins in the devitalising climate of the West Coast and the fact that prophylactics did not come into use until fairly recently. You remember how this part of the Dark Continent was always referred to as "The white man's grave." And since Europeans did not migrate in any number to West Africa there has been little alienation of land for plantations. This circumstance it is which has made these territories the "model" colonies in Africa. Not the kind-heartedness of Imperialists, but the *mosquito* has rescued 28 million natives of Nigeria, Gold

Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia from the worst effects of European colonisation. There are only about 9,000 whites in West Africa, mainly traders, officials, missionaries, commercial agents, etc.

Generally speaking then, the land in West Africa, or at least what is on the surface of it, has not been alienated,* and the African native races, most of whom have access to more of it than those in any other part of the whole continent save, possibly, Uganda, are responsible for the carrying on of agriculture. However, they have been induced to restrict their production to commercial crops, to the virtual exclusion of food crops. This has received official sanction. Consequently, all necessities such as milk, rice, flour, sugar, meat and even fish are imported in canned form !

Land tenure of course varies. In the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, for instance, all land is controlled by the Government and the peasants are tenants-at-will of the Crown. The Egba chiefs, of whom you will doubtless remember the Alake of Abeokuta, are its custodians in Yorubaland and other Southern Provinces. In their capacity of native administrators, they allot sections of it to the people in accordance to their needs, these allotments being worked in conformity with traditional usage. Under the Native Lands Acquisition Ordinance of 1917, land may not be disposed of to non-members of a tribe. In many places, however, tribal custom has broken down, as in the regions round the capital, Lagos, and many chiefs and influential natives own large cocoa properties worked by hired labour. Similar native landlordism is developing in the Gold Coast—an inevitable development wherever a money-economy is introduced.

N :—Taking it by and large, would you say that West Africans have avoided the worst features of colonisation ?

P :—No subject people can escape the depredations of Imperialism. They are bound to feel them one way or another. If West Africans have not suffered widespread alienation of their land, nevertheless they are as badly exploited as are their brothers in East and South Africa. In their case, not as agricultural labourers, but as producers for the foreign market. While left in possession of their lands because of climatic conditions, they have been encouraged by the British Government to cultivate almost exclusively commercial crops, as I have just said. Gold Coast and Nigeria are the two largest cocoa-producing areas in the world. Nigeria and Sierra Leone are great exporters of palm oil and palm kernels, while Gambia produces ground nuts (peanuts). Production is carried on by native farmers with the assistance of their families, usually on small lots. *But the marketing of these crops is in the hands of the Monopoly Combines.*

Among these, United Africa Company, a subsidiary of Unilever, has perhaps the widest tentacles. Its ramifications absorb the whole of West African economy. There is nothing too small or too large for this millionaire concern ; it spurns nothing in which it sees profit. In the Gold Coast it has united with the lareg chocolate firms, J. Lyons and Co., Cadbury Bros., and others, to form a "pool." At the beginning of harvest this "pool" fixes the prices it will pay the natives for the season's cocoa crop. Working hand in hand with the local banks, shipping and insurance companies and the West Africa section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, the "pool" strangles the African farmer.

Besides being buyers, these large companies are also sellers. They own and control the sale of food, clothing, tools and all the manufactured commodities which the African farmer is obliged to buy at their stores. They fix their own

* In February, 1944, the Governor of Nigeria passed a bill through the local Legislature giving the Government the right to take possession of all minerals discovered on land in the possession of Africans. This law strikes at the very foundation of the native land tenure system, and is being strongly opposed by the entire Nigerian population.

AFRICA

RUARY 21, 1948 Registered at G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

nomic Grouping . . . . Fifty-Fifty

standard of life to a stage comparable with that of the more highly developed countries of the world?

Does history, that gauge of human experience and conduct, provide any other means of development of backward countries than by the penetration of external ways of life which are commonly accepted to be more forward than those of the country which is penetrated? Do West Africans, who complain of the British "yoke," forget that Britain and France and Belgium, even great Germany (that breeding ground of racial philosophy) were under the Roman "yoke" for centuries? Do West Africans deny that those ideas, the very language and expression of democracy on which they rightly base their claims to self-government have come to them by that same road which led to the emergence of the European Powers at a position from where, they, like Rome, have been instrumental in bringing new ways of life to primitive peoples? They can hardly do so, since few peoples in the world can ever have been so avid of Western knowledge and education than are themselves.

It is against this background that we must interpret the statement that SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS is reported to have made to the London correspondent of the *Paris-Presse*: "that Africa, an area rich in raw materials, should be brought to combine its resources with Europe, which was above all a manufacturing area, and thus form an economic whole." Such a scheme would undoubtedly profit the European countries as well as the African continent "whose natural resources would be consequently developed and whose standard of living would be progressively raised."

* * *

"Colonialism is dead. We do not disown our past and the proud achievements of bygone days. But a nation must be strong enough to make a new beginning. We shall

monwealth, India and Pakistan are Dominions within the British Commonwealth. In the Caribbean, West Indian islands which have been federated on more than one occasion during their history are to discuss the possibility of grouping themselves with mainland territories into one unit or Dominion. In September, the unofficial members of African Legislative Councils are to attend a conference which is expected to last for nearly two weeks.

There, in abbreviated form, are the patterns of Colonial development now being followed by Holland, France and Britain. Holland has established a new relationship. It has been strong enough to make a new beginning.

Colonial Patterns

Colonialism is dead. The Queen has spoken. In France, where members of the French Parliament have for many years been drawn from Colonial territories, the President of the Union Française greets representatives from French colonial territories as citizens of the Union Française and extends to them fraternal greeting. In France, colonialism is not dead, but a new machinery has been created to interpret today the old conception which, according to Jaurès, forty years ago, is the spirit animating French colonial expansion: "To lead nations and races to a full knowledge of themselves is one of the noblest works which can be envisaged."

Nobody represents British Colonial territories except the British Parliament, which is closed to representatives from Colonial territories except those who, like Dr. Morgan and Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas, were born there, but have left. Government spokesmen have recently complained of the particular venom which is directed against Britain as a Colonial Power at meetings of the United Nations Assembly at Lake Success. They complain because they feel that, while Britain has nothing spectacular like the Union Française or the Netherlands Union, British policy of leading dependent peoples to self-government is a finer ideal than the assimilation of dependent peoples within a clearly defined unification of common status. They point to Ceylon's independence as an example of what the British method produces and Ceylon would seem to be a good example.

The British complain that their critics at Lake Success are like pots calling "black" to kettles, or glass-house

Cocoa Migration?

"AMERICANS," say the City Press, "are predicting a veritable deluge of cocoa beans before the year 1952.

They say that the British Government's cocoa monopoly is going to be broken wide open. Twenty-two American cocoa and chocolate manufacturers, who produce 95 per cent. of the chocolates of the United States, have combined together to fight the British West African monopoly.

"These big firms have organized the American Cocoa Research Institute, which is going to begin operations in cocoa growing in Costa Rica on the grand scale. The decision of the Americans arises from long-smouldering resentment at the controls by the British and other governments and at the enormous prices which they have in consequence had to pay for cocoa."

The story of Tette Quesi, the African blacksmith who brought a few beans from Fernando Po to the Gold Coast in 1879, tends somewhat to obscure the fact that cocoa originated in the New World. Cortes, the conqueror of Mexico, was the first European to tell other Europeans how to prepare *chocolatl*. Quite apart from any question of monopoly in West African cocoa, the plight of the cocoa trees in West Africa has been noticed by the British Government and it is likely that cocoa will be suggested as a suitable crop for buttressing the economy of British Honduras and of absorbing some of the British West Indian surplus population, when the Evans Commission makes its report shortly.

West African Cocoa

Mr. A. Edward Davies asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what reasons account for the recent drastic increase in the price of West African cocoa; and how far it is due to a lack of European supervision and pest control in the cocoa growing areas.

Mr. Rees-Williams: The increase is part of a rise in world prices for cocoa resulting from a decline in production accompanied by the maintenance of demand on the prewar level or higher. The decline in output in British West Africa is due partly to disease and partly to exhaustion of old cocoa areas. The only effective means of eradicating the disease so far discovered is to cut out the trees affected, and that task is being vigorously tackled by the Gold Coast Government; but as it takes some years for new trees to come into bearing I fear that the degree of success of that campaign is not a very material influence on the current price.

important is that the case for such services should be clearly presented.

There is a tendency, in all Colonial territories, that the interests of the emerging newly educated classes are more emphatically represented than the interests of those who have fallen by the wayside. The accident of external sovereignty over Colonial territories complicates this otherwise normal tendency of the growing communities. That is an added reason why the case for social services must be so clearly presented. It is common knowledge that, although facilities exist for training Colonial students in this work, local governments cannot guarantee jobs to Colonial students who have successfully completed such courses.

There is a parallel with the nursing profession, where it is known that, although nurses are badly needed in Colonial territories, certain Colonial Governments cannot guarantee jobs to their own citizens when qualified. One can only suggest priorities to Colonial Governments, since they are well acquainted with their own problems and handle them according to their own decided views of their comparative merits. It would not be fair to suggest to prosperous Africans that they should imitate the system of voluntary welfare work which has reached such a high level in the United Kingdom. Not only geographical differences of climate but also the completely diverse conceptions of the family which distinguish Briton and African make such suggestions unrealistic if not unfair.

More and more, as the impact of European capital and European investment is felt in Africa, there will undoubtedly grow up concurrently with such development a series of social services which will tackle the problem of African poverty and disease in the only way that it can be tackled effectively, namely by preventive services. In the meantime, the local governments may well look ahead to the demand there is bound to be for adequately trained social welfare officers. Perhaps they are already negotiating with the regional university colleges with such aims in view. If not, they may find that a service which must, by its very nature, contribute to the consolidation of the already existing civic conscience may have been overlooked for to-morrow, just as the requirements of the technical service have been overlooked to-day.

WEST AFRICAN TALKING POINTS

Focus on Nigeria

WITH the Parliamentary Committee which has been examining Nigeria's budget on behalf of the Select Committee on Estimates back in London, political observers expect to get a report in about three months' time. Speculation on what the report might contain would be sterile. In the current issue of *Tribune*, however, Mr. H. D. Hughes, M.P. (a member of the Committee) gives some lively political impressions and high lights two facets of the Colony's economic problems.

Mr. Hughes argues that the transfer to Cocoa Marketing Boards in the Gold Coast and Nigeria of surplus funds acquired by the West African Produce Control Board, marks the end of "one form of economic abuse"; he clearly favours the diversion, for local use, of surpluses arising from the difference between world prices and prices paid to producers over the whole field of commodity trade. Mr. Hughes pleads also that capital equipment for Colonial development should have a higher priority than at present.

These are two matters in which West Africa is as interested as the Ministry of Food and the Board of Trade.

* * *

West African Exhibition ?

AFTER the Whitsun recess, Mr. Keeling is to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will arrange for an exhibition in London of West African furniture. This follow-up on a motion on the adjournment, which was mentioned in last week's issue, shows how keenly the question of West African furniture is still being discussed by those interested in its development.

At first sight, it would appear strange that the Secretary of State should be invited to make arrangements for an exhibition but since certain war-time restrictions still remain, the co-operation of Government Departments is necessary for the promotion of ideas which might at other periods have been left to private enterprise. But the fact remains that an exhibition of West African furniture and other West African manufactures would be a good thing not only for London but for other parts of the United Kingdom.

As far back as June, 1925, when the present King and Queen visited the Walled City Exhibition at Wembley, Royal approval was noted of the "timber exhibit, displayed in three panelled rooms of mahogany, teak and walnut." The then Duchess (who has recently been presented with a Nigerian snake-skin handbag by a young Nigerian) was "delighted with the silk-lined coats for women made up from African-woven cloth."

There is certainly precedent for having West African exhibitions in London and the idea, which has already been mooted of securing the patronage of H.R.H. Princess Marie Louise is a sound one. Besides her great affection for Africans and her continued interest in West Africa, the name of Princess Marie Louise will always be remembered in the Gold Coast where she laid the foundation stone of the Marie Louise Infants' Hospital and Welfare Centre in that year of Royal visits, 1925.

* * *

Food First

THE battle between Capitalism and Communism grows fiercer. Men still pursue shadows while the substance —Mother Earth—dies of erosion and neglect and the growing pressure of populations that must be fed. Mankind is being murdered in its sleep. This, the theme of Sir John Boyd Orr's latest pronouncement, marks the beginning of a campaign launched by the former Director General of U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization to awaken the world to sanity.

The campaign could have no abler spearhead than Sir John. He believes that facts speak louder than words. His work, ten years ago, on food, health and income, made Great Britain nutrition-minded and its author a powerful social force.

As a member of the General Committee of the African Research Survey, Sir John has always been interested in West Africa. He says: "There are great possibilities of developing West Africa as a food production centre. The first problem to be faced there is proper feeding of the Native population. The Colonial Office is doing a first-class job in relating the conditions and standard of living of the Natives to food production."

* * *

Three Developments from Gambia

GAMBIA'S Agricultural Department, in its report for the year ended May, 1947, tells of changes away from traditional concentration on the groundnut crop. Apart from experimental work on vegetables, fruit trees, bee-keeping, guinea corn and fodder crops, three developments are of particular interest from the point of view of improving nutritional standards and hence the productivity of the people, on the basis of local resources.

In the first place, a dairy industry has been established and, during the year under review, 7,992 lbs. of butter were produced (compared with 3,067 lbs. in the previous year and 1,200 lbs. in 1945). The cream for the butter is obtained in part from the Agricultural Department's own herd, and in part from the separators operated at milk-purchasing centres placed at points accessible to nomadic herdsmen. As more equipment becomes available, further buying and separating units will be set up.

West Africa, May 15, 1948 *Price Sixpence*

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CASE FOR SOCIAL SERVICES

WHEN LORD HAILEY expressed the wish that local development programmes in Africa had concentrated more decisively on poor nutrition, deficient water supplies and poor communications, he was speaking generally. Obviously, the erection of a top-heavy system of social welfare services, working down from the top instead of growing up from the bottom, is no way to remedy problems either in Africa or anywhere else. When, therefore, the Colonial Office announced, some months ago, that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had appointed an Adviser on Social Welfare to the Colonial Office, the announcement was met with a certain amount of suspicion that social welfare was too vague and unrealistic an approach to Colonial problems.

It must have been very gratifying for MR. CHINN, last week, in London, when he had the opportunity to speak up for his service before a small number of journalists interested in Colonial affairs. With foresight, he spoke mainly of delinquency among the young. But delinquency is only one aspect of the problems facing social services which are only at the barest remedial stage. They are like an ambulance at the bottom of a pit. Whereas what was wanted was a higher, stronger fence at the top. Now there are too many gaps, now the fence is too low. Local governments were calling on Colonial Development and Welfare Funds to organize preventive services, but the war and the serious post-war economic difficulties of the sterling area made their growth slower than was hoped.

LORD HAILEY is certainly right to emphasize the need for priorities in approaching Africa's problems, but his remarks may be interpreted in a manner which will react against the development of essential social services. While there is good reason to point out how vital it is that Colonial territories should not build up large social services which can only be financed from the pockets of the British taxpayer in the United Kingdom, this emphasis on economic reality must not disguise the absolute urgency of the claims which MR. CHINN justly makes for his sphere of Colonial influence.

What danger, in fact, is there of a top-heavy social service? What has MR. CHINN to say of the bad boys in the Colonies? In 1940, all Colonies were urged to set up Juvenile Courts. The war which accelerated the break-up of family and tribal units and the deplorable revelations made by the Royal Commission Report on the West Indies boosted the idea of social work which had only been tackled voluntarily and by private initiative before. Today, as a direct result, there are about 18 European Probation Officers and between 60 and 70 local Probation Officers in all Colonial territories. Approved schools have been set up in some 20 Colonies, usually by government but, in some cases, by voluntary bodies assisted by government funds. Remand homes and hostels have been set up in large towns.

In Nigeria, it has been necessary to set up two approved schools, both run on camp lines. In the Gold Coast, about six months ago, an approved school was inaugurated and is being run as a farm school. In the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone (where social services are said to be making considerable progress) and in Lagos, the British Ordinance for the treatment of children in need of care and protection has been adopted by the local governments and by other Colonial Governments. Not having the background of social services available in the United Kingdom, attempts are made only to deal with the worst cases.

For instance, in Lagos, efforts are being made to eradicate the practice of using very young girls for the purpose of prostitution. In brief, all that the Colonies can do today is to care for and protect only the most obvious and tragic cases of children in distress. Delinquency has increased in the coastal towns and urban centres of West Africa, as more and more young people drift in from the hinterland in their search for fortune and adventure. They readily fall victims of the undesirable elements which inhabit seaport towns all over the world.

Certainly, LORD HAILEY would be the last person to suggest that there is any danger of overloading the social services, so far as the treatment and care of African delinquents is concerned. Just as he made an exception in favour of expenditure on the new University Colleges, because they would provide qualified African staff, he would surely also have made an exception in favour of buying the bad boy and girl back for the service of the community! Yet there is little doubt that social welfare work is bound to be relegated to the background, so long as local governments are limited in their financial resources and there is a general tussle of interests all demanding priority. What is

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change. John Holt and the United Africa Co. claimed that the Syrian firm of A.G. Leventis had been favored. In its Report, the Commission gave its opinion that certain irregularities had occurred, some involving culpability on the part of Government officials. Based on this Report, Government entered action against those persons. Immediately the Report was published, however, a widespread storm of protest arose. It was claimed that the Report contains several completely erroneous statements on points vital to the enquiry, leading to equally improper and libelous findings. In the face of this, and in light of more investigation, Government had, in fact, publically to apologize to one person, and to suspend temporarily prosecutions instituted. The Press has made savage attacks on the (European) Association of West African Merchants, backed by statements and allegations; also many persons boycotted United Africa Co., etc. The Governor has asked the Secretary of State to send out a distinguished and disinterested jurist to conduct an enquiry into the whole matter.

The Gold Coast budget plans £7,700,000 expenditures, against estimated £8,200,000 income. Reserve is £6,444,000. Control of imports and exports is still necessary due to scarcities.

The Cocoa Marketing Board has been formed, under chairmanship of the Secretary for Commerce, with 3 officials and 8 others. A United Convention met at Salt Pond on 4 Aug., 1947. It is thought this body will replace the old Aborigines Rights Protection Society, and have paid staff and permanent headquarters. The Korsah Committee recommended increase of from 1d. to 6d. per day for unestablished men not covered by Harragin Report, starting in July with other benefits. The Maugin Committee is still considering teachers salaries. The clerks training center has been abandoned due to shortage of staff, but welfare and labor officers are to be trained.

Despite strong resistance from rate payers, Kumasi is being lent £16,500 at 2½%, for development.

(d) Sierra Leone: - Sierra Leone's 10-year plan totals L5.25 million. A 4-year Social Service Plan is now added.

New Joint Industrial Councils met for first time. With Whitley councils suggested by Harragin Commission, nearly every type of worker is now represented on wage boards.

Government has re-introduced disputed Freetown Municiple Ordinance, opposed by public opinion because of checks and balances dictated by experiences of 1920s.

Secondly, with the aid of a grant of £15,250 under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, a rice station has been established at Genoi, where experiments in mechanized cultivation are being carried out with the aim of making the territory self-supporting in rice. The Report emphasizes the importance of substituting machinery for the primitive and uneconomical African hoe, if improved yields are to be obtained and already over £44,000 has been granted under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts for the purchase of machinery to be used in experiments in mechanized cultivation.

Finally, the Agricultural Department has undertaken the agricultural work connected with the Human Nutrition Research Field Unit, which has been sent out to the Gambia by the Medical Research Council. This Unit has selected a village area of 1,200 acres, to which it proposes to apply mechanized agricultural methods, artificial fertilizers and modern techniques in order to discover what it is possible for an African village to do in the way of increasing food production and nutritional standards. Its work will be closely linked with that of the Medical Research Station which is being established at Fajara, and which will be concerned with the investigation and treatment of tropical diseases, with particular reference to the effects of malnutrition on the health of the people. Funds for both projects are provided under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts.

* * *

Relax—Within Limits

EMPIRE needs are not sacrificed by bilateral negotiations with foreign countries, said Mr. Bottomley at a Commonwealth Luncheon at Olympia last week. "We only promise supplies of scarce goods under these bilateral agreements, where it is the only way of obtaining goods or services that we must have from the countries concerned. In the longer run, we look to a great development of supplies to the U.K. from the sterling area; and our exports to the sterling area will have in the future to pay for these supplies." Meanwhile, the Colonies are still being asked to assist Great Britain during present difficulties.

"Last year," said Mr. Bottomley, "we asked the governments of Colonial territories to restrict their imports from all sources, including the U.K. Colonial Governments responded well to our request and we were able, at the beginning of this year, to suggest to them that their restrictions could be relaxed. However, we still ask them to limit their demands for goods which can be sold for dollars or hard currency, or which are made wholly or largely of dollar materials, or which are in short supply and can be used in trade negotiations in order to obtain essential supplies. We realize full well, taking the long view, that the countries of the Commonwealth and Empire are likely to remain, as they already are, our best customers. We have not forgotten either, the old saying that the customer is always right, and we shall do our utmost to supply him with what he wants."

* * *

Colonies Help Children

GOOD progress is being made in the establishment of U.N.A.C. committees in British Colonies, most of which will forward the proceeds of their collections to the Lord Mayor's campaign fund in London. Altogether, eleven British Colonial possessions have indicated their desire to take part in the U.N.A.C. campaign. In the Falkland Islands, the U.N.A.C. campaign is running during the month of April; and in the Seychelles, during the month of May. In Cyprus, the appeal day has been fixed for June 1. Other British Colonial territories in which campaigns will be organized are: Nigeria, Barbados, Aden, Nyasaland, Fiji, Tanganyika, Zanzibar and St. Helena. In the Malay States, in Singapore and Uganda, local welfare organizations are now being consulted, with a view to establishing U.N.A.C. committees. In Jamaica, Mauritius and Sierra Leone, a publicity campaign is being undertaken, asking people to contribute to the Lord Mayor of London's fund.

To-morrow We'll Sleep

AN estimated 300 million human beings are attacked by malaria each year, and three million die. It is not therefore surprising to learn that malaria was given one of the top priorities by the World Health Organization Interim Commission (W.H.O.I.C.) which is to be taken over by the new World Health Organization (W.H.O.) when the first World Health Assembly meets in Geneva on June 24. It is now believed that malaria can be completely eradicated by new insecticides and drugs.

D.D.T. or other insecticides are the primary weapons for striking directly at the roots of the trouble. If the mosquito spends part of its time indoors, the solution is simple, because house-spraying is sure, quick and inexpensive. Countryside spraying, as done in Greece, is effective against larvae in swampy areas as well as the adult carrier insect; but it is costly and time-consuming, must be repeated often, and kills harmless insects.

Anti-malarial drugs will not be given to the denizens of a malarious area, except in times of epidemic. Quinine, the bitter old stand-by, was abandoned some time ago for atebrin which, in turn, has taken a back seat to a series of new drugs, notably paludrine (an English development) and aralen (United States). Tangible results in experimental areas, the W.H.O. experts hope, will start movements which can go a long way towards convincing the governments as to the wisdom of a long-range anti-malarial programme —the only kind that pays.

The advances made during a year's hard work can be vitiated through neglect in a few months. In Greece, where the fact of the existence of malaria mosquitoes had become a part of the stoic folklore, the people of stricken areas reacted promptly and enthusiastically to the results of U.N.R.R.A.'s 1946 D.D.T. spraying programme, inherited by the W.H.O.I.C. in 1947. In Italy, where the W.H.O.I.C. is administrating U.N.R.R.A.'s old job, the people, as far back as the war years, had become convinced that D.D.T. stood for "Domani Dormiamo Tranquilli"—to-morrow we'll be able to sleep soundly.

Cheaper, more plentiful supplies of D.D.T. will help. It was synthesized as a chemical compound about 70 years ago, rested on the shelf until early years of World War II, when research for an effective insecticide was at fever pitch. A Swiss firm discovered its insecticidal talents, and remains the world's largest producer.

* * *

Stettinius-French Talks

REPORTS from Dakar mention some of the subjects which have been discussed in the Stettinius conversations with Mr. Bechard and Mr. Ramadier. Mr. Stettinius, who represents a group of American business interests in Liberia, has taken up again the question of building a railway to the iron ore deposit of the Bomi Hills and to the rubber plantations. He has been asking the French about the possibilities of opening up Haute Guinée.

Apparently, the French consider that a railway to the French territory will not be a paying proposition for many years, and they proposed a trunk road from Monrovia to N'Zerrore in Haute Guinée. By using 20-ton Diesel lorries, such a road would be capable immediately of handling the exportable surplus (half of it fats) of 20,000 tons actually available in Haute Guinée. The distance involved is approximately 250 miles. The railway between Monrovia and the Bomi Hills would cover 50 miles.

* * *

Happy Returns

THERE is exciting news from the Intelligence Branch of the Commonwealth Economic Committee. Sir Horace Hamilton announces that the Committee is to resume publication of a regular Market Bulletin and of the Factual Economic Surveys which, before the war, were essential to every colonial interest.

First in the new series are summaries on Plantation Crops and Industrial Fibres. Both volumes are now obtainable from His Majesty's Stationery Office at 5/- each.

AFRICA'S SECOND GREATEST ECONOMIC PROBLEM

By C. B. SYMES*

TSETSE flies, as many of you know, inhabit bush of a variety of types and densities over thousands of square miles of East, Central, West and South Africa. They live by sucking the blood of animals, including man and his cattle where these are convenient, and in this way they convey blood parasites that cause sleeping sickness in man and a similar condition (known in South Africa as "Nagana") in cattle. Next to malaria, they are undoubtedly the greatest economic problem of Africa.

There are 21 species of these flies, all with specific differences in their habits; but three things they have in common—they breed in the soil, the adult flies, when not in flight, sit about on and under leaves, stems and tree-trunks, and on the ground, and they alight on animals and on man to feed. There appeared to be two obvious ways in which to try contact insecticides—first to spray the bush so that as much surface as possible of leaves and stems and of the ground should be covered with a lethal deposit, and to spray cattle so that flies alighting on them to feed would make contact with the insecticide on hides and skin.

We have concentrated on the former up to now, whilst the Tsetse Research Department of Tanganyika has done certain trials of the latter method. For the treatment of bush, we selected certain small infested islands and headlands on Lake Victoria, cut the necessary fly paths through the bush, and made estimates of the densities of their tsetses by the usual hand captures. Then with the small portable knapsack sprayers, that were used for house-spraying, insecticide solution was sprayed on to the vegetation to a height of about six feet at places that had shown high concentrations of flies during initial surveys.

Effect of Trees and Sunlight

Five field experiments were conducted in this fashion. In the first two, which involved single applications of D.D.T. and benzene hexachloride each in kerosene and cotton seed oil, there was a drop in flies of 50 per cent. and 80 per cent. respectively during the week following the applications; then flies began to increase again. A third trial of the same kind, in which benzene hexachloride solution was applied over about 4 per cent. instead of 2 per cent. of the total vegetation, reduced flies by about 80 per cent. over some eight days after the spraying. Then they began to increase. (Total dosage of insecticide applied in these three trials worked out at about 1·9, 7·9, and 5 oz. per acre).

Laboratory estimations and studies, conducted side by side with the field trials, had by this time indicated that the insecticide solutions began to lose their toxicities in eight to ten days after the application to trees and shrubs, because much of the oil solution was being absorbed by their leaves and stems. It also seemed that there was an additional loss of toxicity through the prolonged action of sunlight either because of the high temperatures or of the action of certain ranges of light-rays or both.

No Fly for Nine Weeks

In the next two field trials, attempts were made to overcome this rapid loss by making four applications over a period of 55 days. This is approximately the period during which the larvæ of flies we were concerned with (*G. palpalis*), newly deposited in the soil, can complete their development into active adults. We were still treating only a very small percentage (not more than about 6 per cent.) of the total infested vegetation of course. (Total cost was between 14/- and 48/- per acre).

Results in both trials were a reduction of flies by over 96 per cent. In one of these trials, in fact, we could not find a fly for over nine weeks after the last application of insecticide.

Preliminaries to be Solved

These trials, with their accompanying laboratory studies, indicated fairly clearly that both D.D.T. and benzene hexachloride are lethal to tsetses and might well provide a method of elimination if we can apply them in such a way that they retain their toxicities on a large proportion of the vegetation for several weeks, preferably months. Studies are continuing with this aim in view. But there are important preliminaries to be solved on the way to the main solution. As you know, not all leaves and stems of plants have the same external features and textures. Some are hard and waxy; others soft and hairy. Some solutions stick well to one type, some to the other. Absorption of solutions by plants varies with types of leaf and stem surfaces. Again, some leaves have such long hairs that tsetses alighting on them rarely touch the leaf surface proper but only stand on the hairs. How soon we shall overcome these and other factors that influence results will depend largely upon the scale of effort than can be devoted to this work.

Smokes and Aircraft

For the treatment of a bigger proportion of vegetation than can be reached by ordinary ground sprayers, preliminary trials have been made with smokes, produced by grenades and canisters, containing one or other of these insecticides. From both D.D.T. and benzene hexachloride, we obtained kills of tsetses where the smokes got at them. But the kill was not complete because of inadequate spread through the bush, and the smokes were too light to leave insecticidal deposits on the vegetation through which they drifted. Escaping flies were therefore able to continue to breed and rebuild the fly population.

We are hoping to use aircraft experimentally this year for applications of insecticides to infested bush. It was thought not desirable to do this until we had made extensive ground studies. The South African authorities, as you may know, have conducted large-scale trials with aircraft over about 100 sq. miles of tsetse bush; by means of smoke containing D.D.T. emitted through the aircraft exhaust pipes they have apparently reduced tsetses almost to nil. A few remain in dense evergreen bush of water courses; and it is hoped that these will be dealt with by the use of smoke from generators distributed by hand. It is always the last two or three flies that present the greatest difficulty. Insecticide smokes produced by burning grenades and canisters and through exhausts are, of course, wasteful in that as much as 50 per cent. of the insecticide used may be rendered valueless by the high temperatures at which they are produced.

Must be Done Quickly

It will be no easy matter, even when we have learned how to use our preparations with good effect, to get them applied on an adequate scale and with adequate speed to major problems. Not only must millions of Native peoples, deprived of a large proportion of their energy and of their products, and ousted from millions of acres of fertile lands by tsetses and by insect-borne diseases and pests, be given full vigour and land on which to exercise it, but this must be done quickly, if they are to contribute reasonably to their own economic, social and political advancement, and help fill the serious deficiencies in world food supplies.

I am one of perhaps a few unorthodox people who consider that insecticides can be made to contribute more to this task in shorter time and at less cost than perhaps any other method if we can devote sufficient effort to it now.

* Extracts from a talk on "Synthetic Insecticides in Colonial Development" at the Royal Society of Arts, this week.

NUMEROUS ARRESTS IN GOLD COAST

Press Censorship Imposed

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT (Accra, March 9).

TOTAL casualties so far in the Gold Coast riots are 228 Africans wounded and twenty-one killed; thirteen Europeans wounded and none killed. Casualties have been confined to Accra, Akuse, Kumasi, Nsawam and Koforidua. Other towns have been quiet.

Following the state of emergency proclaimed by the Governor, troops were called in to help restore order. On March 3 Press censorship was imposed. Tamakloe (the General Secretary of the Ex-Servicemen's Union) was arrested the same day but was subsequently released and no charge was reported. Val Vannis (Organizer of the Freedom Defence Society) has been arrested; and also Clement (Manager of the Ausco Printing Press).

A group of ex-servicemen held a meeting again last Saturday, demanding an answer to their petition. A policeman took two of the leaders to police headquarters to meet the Senior Army Officer, who gave an assurance that the petition was receiving the Governor's attention. The crowd became somewhat restless during the absence of their two comrades but were calmed by Colonel Whitcombe (the resettlement officer) and others. There were no incidents.

Concealed Convention Meeting

Troops have occupied two hotels, the Government Girls' School and two main shops as Headquarters and billets. They have installed their own telephones. Many Europeans, who have enrolled as special constables, patrol the residential areas by night. They are armed. Large quantities of loot have been recovered by the police and military; and numerous arrests have been made for concealing a Convention meeting at Sekondi-Takoradi which was banned by order of the Government. The reason given for the ban was that such meetings have led to disorder and to breaches of the peace.

An interim reply to the ex-servicemen's petition, which was handed in at the Secretariat on February 28 was issued to Tamakloe (General Secretary of the Union) by the Government on March 8. The full text was due for release on March 11.

Last Saturday, the Omanhene of the New Juaben State broadcast a message to the people, to help in the recovery of looted material by handing it to the police.

More men and women have been arrested and charged, for infringing the curfew order in Accra.

H.M.S. *Neiride* and H.M.S. *Actaeon* are expected in Gold Coast waters during the next thirty-six hours.

Opinion and Comments in United Kingdom

BY A STAFF REPORTER.

According to a statement by Mr. Rees-Williams in the House of Commons on March 10, there have been no serious disturbances in the Gold Coast since March 2. Chiefs and Native Authorities had been most helpful by expressing public disapproval of the riots; and the senior unofficial member of the Legislative Council and others had telegraphed the Secretary of State pledging their support to the Gold Coast Government.

Twenty-six Africans were dead and 207 injured. Fifteen non-Africans were injured. A high proportion of Africans had been injured by other Africans during the looting.

The first estimate of damage excluding buildings was £1 million.

Commission of Inquiry to be Appointed

The Governor has asked for a Commission of Inquiry to be appointed from outside the Gold Coast. The terms of reference will include an inquiry into the underlying causes of the disorders. The Secretary of State for the Colonies would not make any statement as to causes until a report has been received from the Commission, which is to be appointed.

Replying to a Supplementary question in regard to the origin of the shooting, Mr. Rees-Williams said that police officers had been struck in the face by bricks and stones before any shots were fired by the police, but questions like that would be covered by the Commission of Inquiry.

On March 1, Mr. Rees-Williams said "there certainly were political implications" and that "there was almost certainly Communist incitement in this case."

West Africans and coloured Colonials who took part in last Sunday's procession to Trafalgar Square have declared that they are not Communist pawns.

The Daily Worker (March 6) said: "The London District of the Communist Party had issued a call to all trade unionists and progressive people to join a protest meeting against the Gold Coast shootings, in Trafalgar Square tomorrow."

The Political Correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian*, writing on a Press conference held at W.A.S.U. headquarters, London, said invitations had been sent out over the names of K.A.M. Boadu (West African Students' Union) and Bankole Akpata (West African National Secretariat) and have been distributed through the Communist party machine.

A Bristol daily paper reports Joseph Mitchell, a coloured Trinidadian who is secretary of the League of Coloured Peoples as saying that they were asking "Protection against the high cost of living in Africa and a fair opportunity for educating their sons and daughters."

WEST AFRICA AT WESTMINSTER

African Foodstuffs

IN both East and West Africa, the production of cassava has always been encouraged as a reserve against famine, said Mr. Rees-Williams, in an answer to Mr. Keeling. Exports from West Africa were discontinued during the war in favour of other crops, but the possibility of reviving the trade is now under consideration.

All the rice produced in Sierra Leone in 1948 will be consumed locally, said Mr. Rees-Williams, when asked what amount of rice is likely to be available for export from Sierra Leone in 1948.

Asked by Dr. Segal for information about a research station in the Gambia, for the mechanized cultivation of rice, Mr. Rees-Williams said that some 30 acres have been empoldered, varietal and tractor ploughing trials have been carried out, and experiments are being conducted on water control, salinity and cultivation practices.

Satisfaction

Mr. Rees-Williams told Mr. Sorensen that the Secretary of State for the Colonies was satisfied with the working of the present Nigerian Constitution, during a reply in which he promised to supply a copy of the letter and memorandum sent by the Nigerian Government to the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons.

Mining in West Africa

Mr. Skinnard asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will give details of the action taken in Nigeria

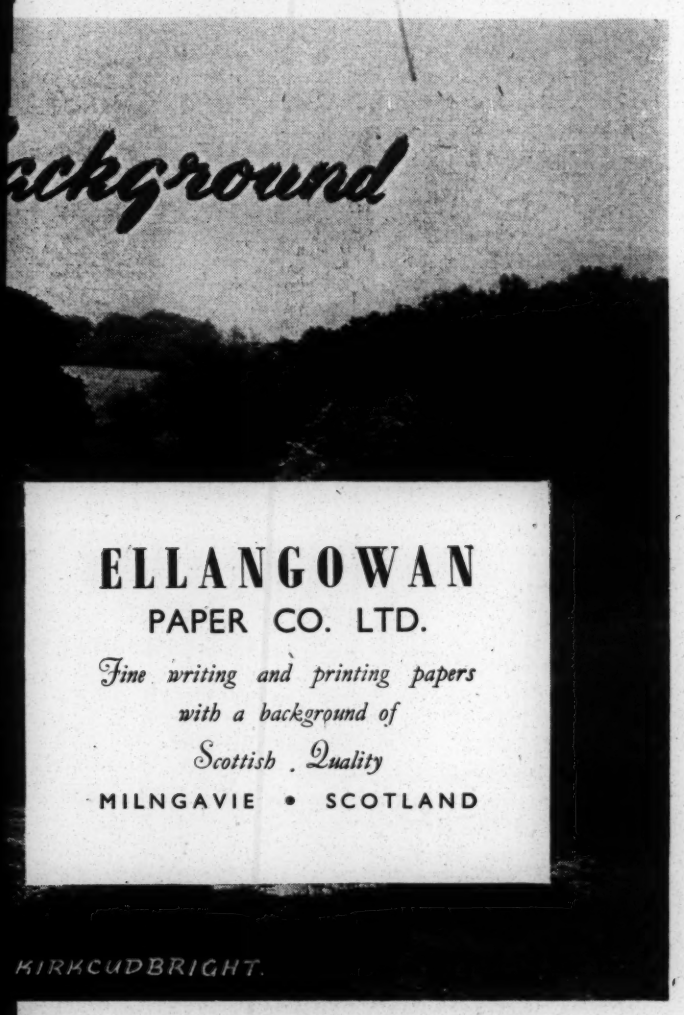
Cameroons Mining Corporation, Limited. This Company has been formed jointly by the Government of Nigeria and the London Tin Corporation to carry out prospecting in the British Cameroons. The voting control will rest with the Government of Nigeria, which will appoint the chairman and half of the directors. I could not give, without reference to the Governors, particulars of all other leases that may have been granted in West Africa, Tanganyika or British Guiana in recent months, but in drawing up any leases the Governments will no doubt have been guided by the principles set out in the memorandum."

Progress in Mass Education

Mass education officers have been appointed in the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Nyasaland; and appointments in Northern Rhodesia and Tanganyika territory are expected to be made shortly. This information was given by Mr. Rees-Williams in answer to a question from Mr. C. Smith. He said that officers concerned with social welfare or public relations work have assumed special responsibility for mass education in the Gambia, Kenya and Uganda. Notes on mass education projects already in train in the various African territories appear regularly in *Oversea Education* (H.M.S.O.).

Trade Union Legislation

In the great majority of Colonial territories, trade union legislation is satisfactory, said Mr. Rees-Williams, during an answer made to Mr. Rankin. In general, he said, steps have been taken to remove from Colonial trade union legislation all such provisions as were analogous to those of the United Kingdom Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, 1927, now repealed. In certain circumstances, however, the Secretary of State has satisfied himself that local circumstances are so exceptional as to justify the temporary retention of certain of these provisions, but the necessity for this measure will be constantly reviewed. Compulsory registration of trade unions is a principle adhered to in all Colonial Trade Union legislation without exception.



GOLD COAST RIOTS

Background of the Scene

By SENOD

THE end of the war resulted in a world desolate, hungry, confused and confronted with many problems, due mainly to the fact that, for six long years, the normal adjustments of society, and the development of peoples were perforce largely in abeyance or proceeded with in an unnatural manner. The accumulation of these problems and the natural impatience and frustration of the peoples affected render the solution of many of them difficult, and the settlement of some of them impossible until the issues become more clear.

The Gold Coast, with its area of 102,140 square miles and its population of 3,282,863 of peoples of various origins, who are still largely, in spite of protests to the contrary, primitive in thought and culture, has its problems which are a direct result of the war. Very rapid social and economic development has taken place during the past 25 years and the increase in literacy or semi-literacy has not only loosened the ties of communal life but has produced an ever-increasing class of young men who are dissatisfied with their normal living conditions, although these have vastly improved, and who have grievances real or imagined. It has not been difficult for this class to find leaders and, though some of these are well-intentioned, others are adventurers or followers of strange ideologies.

Appeal of Strangeness

Thousands of young men from the Gold Coast joined the army during the war—the Gold Coast Regiment has reason to be proud of its record—and acquired tastes and learnt to value things they were previously unaccustomed to. They have travelled and mixed with people in other countries, amongst whom were agitators who pointed to the White races as their enemies—the British in particular. Most of these young men are members of the peasant class, who had been content with their lot before they joined the army. Many of these youths got the impression that, on their demobilization, they would all obtain some sort of salaried position and be able to retain the same standard of living that they had become accustomed to in the army.

Instead, they were mechanically discarded from a regimented life in which every want was supplied and the pay was good; and they had to provide for themselves and assume responsibility for their own destiny. When their gratuities were exhausted and they could no longer buy the luxuries they wanted, a large number of them flocked to the more important towns with the idea of claiming jobs from the Government. There, they found that they could not hope to obtain regular salaried employment in spite of all they had heard about jobs for ex-soldiers, re-settlement schemes and so on, and they became easy prey for the agitator waiting for them.

Cause is Simple

The African is accustomed to the fatherly, if in some ways arbitrary rule of a Chief and Council, and the control of the communal or family head, but the appeal of a strange thing, vaguely called democracy, as often preached in West Africa, has made him think that there is some sort of a Utopia to be achieved with little or no effort on his part, that the Government is the stumbling-block to progress and that it exists for the benefit of the 3,000 or so Europeans and their friends.

The causes of the trouble are simple but the solution is far from easy. The people in the masses are not able to appreciate an impartial or otherwise Press, and tend to believe rumours and inaccurate news passed round in markets where it is easy for propagandists to sow their seed. The intelligentsia also know that there is a great deal of ignorance in England, where there are men who are always willing to champion the imagined underdog and to misinterpret our actions and policy in the Colonies.

The African, however, generally speaking, is an honest and logical being; and there is no doubt that, although further troubles may be in store, wise counsel will prevail and whatever genuine grievances there are will be adjusted. There is a great future for the Gold Coast, when she has attained unity and is ready for responsibility as a valued member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Appreciation

Sir,—To those who have nursed the false impression that European sponsored newspapers are not out to cater for the interest of the Colonial peoples, I believe your editorial comment in your issue of March 6, criticizing the recent suggestion made in the House of Commons by Squadron-Leader Kinghorn that there should be further exploitation of African territories and planned emigration sending people there who will produce goods there which can be sold by this country and earn dollars, would go a long way to strike the nail on the head and so justify the point which I have always maintained that such impression is a mere fallacy which has no foundation. I doubt if a criticism of that statement could have been more objectively handled by even a West African journalist.

I wish also to put on record my appreciation for the ready response given by the people of this country to the Dean of Westminster's Appeal Fund for West African Students' Union as is evidenced by the regular publication, in your esteemed journal, of the total up-to-date contributions received. I hope Mr. Ladipo Solanke (of W.A.S.U. fame) whose integrity and zeal in the interest of W.A.S.U. can hardly be questioned and who, I understand, is still in Nigeria after touring for over two years important centres in West Africa soliciting for funds for this same project, will follow this noble example by sending regular releases to the papers in this country and in West Africa of the up-to-date amount which he himself has so far collected because, quite apart from the fact that such releases will go a long way to show the extent of the success of his mission, they will, I believe, also act as spurs in gingering those who have been lagging behind to subscribe generously to the fund.

Yours faithfully,

G. M. OLU COKER.

B.B.C. Year Book

THE B.B.C. has several publications to its credit; and its Year Book for 1948 is, if anything, a peak production. It would have been difficult for anyone to have combined so much information about so many places and people in so condensed yet so attractively used space. Africans have got a whole page illustration showing one of the B.B.C. commentators in their hut in South Africa; Sandra (the coloured Jamaican cabaret star) is attractively presented and Robert Adams is shown as "Strength" in a television production of *Everyman*. For overseas listeners of the B.B.C., there is little that has happened in broadcasting during 1947 which has escaped the attention of the compilers of this handbook.

CADBURY Means Quality

WEST AFRICA AT WESTMINSTER

Gold Coast Arrests

A STATEMENT with regard to the arrest of six members of the United Gold Coast Convention was made by Mr. Creech Jones in the House of Commons last week. He said: "It is provided in the emergency regulations made under the Emergency Powers Order in Council, 1939, that the Governor may detain and remove by Order any person for the purpose of public safety and the maintenance of public order. In the opinion of the Governor and of his advisers, it became necessary, on information received as to the activities and intentions of these six persons, to make such orders to restrict their movements, and orders were accordingly made on March 13. The Governor has emphasized that his action is purely preventive and in the interests of public safety. The persons in question are not under detention, but their movements are restricted to a certain area. The orders will, of course, be subject to review; and the six persons will be given every opportunity of appearing before the Commission of Inquiry which is shortly to proceed to the Gold Coast from this country.

Mr. Silverman: Am I to understand from my right hon. Friend's answer that no charge is being preferred against these men, and that there is no evidence to support a charge?

Mr. Creech Jones: The action of the Governor was due to the emergency arising from certain activities of this group of men.

Very Grave Emergency

Mr. Frank Byers: Is it not a fact that far greater power has been taken within the last fortnight than has ever been required in this country or the Gold Coast since 1939? and would the Minister give an explanation as to why it has suddenly become necessary to use, in peacetime, powers which were never exercised in this country in wartime?

Mr. Creech Jones: A very grave emergency arose in the Gold Coast, but the Commission of Inquiry will be making the fullest investigation into the whole matter.

Mr. Carmichael: Is it not the case that these six men were restricted in their movements because of their activity in the trade union world and their attempt to organize the workers there?

Mr. Creech Jones: Most emphatically not.

Mr. Donner: Is it not a fact that there is the utmost confidence in the judgment and experience of the Governor?

Mr. Gallacher: Is it not the case that, along with the arrest of these men, the Governor has issued a statement controlling the Press in the manner stated in this document? which is something that has never applied before in any Colony; and will the Minister put an end to this position?

Mr. Oliver Stanley: Is it not also a fact that, on this occasion, a number of lives was lost, and would it not be better to await the report of the Commission of Inquiry which can give us both sides of the case?

Habeas Corpus

Mr. Frank Byers asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether an application has been made to the courts in the Gold Coast, on behalf of the six men recently arrested under the Government's Emergency Powers, for a writ of habeas corpus? whether such application was or was not entertained? and whether he will give an assurance that no action has been taken, by the Government of the Gold Coast, to prevent the courts entertaining such application?

Mr. Creech Jones: According to information received from the Governor, no application had been made to the court for a writ of habeas corpus up to March 21. I understand that the Emergency Regulations at present in force in the Gold Coast contain a provision to the effect that no legal proceedings may be brought calling into question the legality of anything done under the particular regulation under which the movements of the six men were restricted.

Mr. Byers: Is it not a matter of elementary justice that an individual in a British Colony in any part of the world should be allowed at least to apply for a writ of habeas corpus? May we have an explanation as to why this totalitarian power has suddenly been clamped down? which is a complete denial of the rule of law and of the individual liberty of the subject.

Mr. Creech Jones: I am not aware that that is the position. These powers were given under the 1939 Order. It is quite true that an emergency had arisen which compelled the Governor to secure the dispersal of these men, otherwise certain consequences of very grave danger to the Colony would have followed.

Mr. Byers: Can an application now be made by these individuals for a writ of habeas corpus, and will it be entertained in the court?

Mr. Creech Jones: I must have notice of that question.

Mr. Byers: But it is in the Question.

Mr. Creech Jones: I understand that, so far, no application has been made; but if an application were made, it is very likely that, under these regulations, it would not lie.

Mr. Pritt: Could the Minister tell us in how many Colonies similar legislation exists, and could he define a police State?

Mr. Creech Jones: I am informed that this is not peculiar to the Gold Coast.

Mr. Byers: I wish to give notice that owing to the most unsatisfactory nature of the situation and of the reply, I shall take the earliest opportunity to raise the matter on the Adjournment.

Import Licences

Mr. Lennox-Boyd asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has any statement to make on the official notice that appeared in the *Gold Coast Extraordinary Gazette* (January 21) granting an open import licence to goods from designated countries which include Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, but not including South Africa?

Mr. Creech Jones: Gold Coast Open Import Licence No. G.L.01 authorized the import, under open general licence, of various goods from the United Kingdom, the Colonies and the "war-shattered" European countries. If any other country had been included in such an open licence, there would have been discrimination against the countries not included and this would have been contrary to our obligations. The question of the extent to which it is still appropriate for open general licences to be issued in favour of war-shattered countries is under review.

Films in Nigeria

Mr. Skinnard asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that the film: *Son of Dracula*, was recently shown in cinemas in the Eastern Provinces of Nigeria? what steps are taken to prevent unsuitable films from being exhibited? and what was the total expenditure of dollars on American films in Nigeria last year?

Mr. Creech Jones: I have no information about this particular film. Censorship Boards are established at five centres in Nigeria and have power to prohibit the showing of any film which, in their opinion, depicts any matter contrary to public order or decency, or which would, for any other reason, be undesirable in the public interest. American films are exhibited in Nigeria under various arrangements; and while I cannot give a precise figure of dollar expenditure, it probably did not exceed £1,500 in 1947.

Tarkwa Children's Home

At a sale of work, held in a Cambridge Church Hall mid-March, for a proposed children's home at Tarkwa, Gold Coast, Mrs. de Beaumont, who presided at the opening ceremony, announced that the three-year-old fund was now large enough to make an annual grant to the African committee at Tarkwa. Gold Coasters present included Messrs. Brandford-Mensah, A. W. Kayper-Mensah, J. M. Akita, Misses Agnes Frisby and T. O. Morgue.

HISTORY AND SEQUEL OF GOLD COAST RIOTS

Links with Communist Organizations

BECAUSE so much misunderstanding has been spread about, Sir Gerald Creasy has authorized the publication of a brief narrative of events in the Gold Coast from February 17 to March 13. "The riots cannot be regarded," says the narrative, "as isolated incidents which developed because of the shooting at the Christiansborg crossroads. They have a history and they have a sequel." Extracts from the narrative are reproduced herewith.

On the morning of February 17, the day on which considerable rowdyism broke out in Accra, a series of posters appeared in the streets attempting to cause discontent among the Police and persuade them not to obey orders. It has been proved that these posters had been printed at the Ausco Press, which worked for the Convention.

On February 20, a meeting took place at the Palladium Cinema, under the auspices of the ex-Servicemen's Union. About 9,000 people attended; but it has been estimated that only about 1,300 of them were ex-Servicemen or ex-members of the Home Guard. Among principal speakers were Dr. J. B. Danquah, Mr. Ako Adjei and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, none of whom are ex-Servicemen.

The first two are members of the Accra branch of the United Gold Coast Convention; and the last, the General Secretary of the Convention, is a Communist among whose papers has been found a Communist Party membership card (No. 57565). There was also present a European member of an overseas Communist organization who is known to have a mass of Communist literature in his possession.

Town Riots Started Before Shooting

Although notices had appeared in the newspapers by February 25 announcing that an ex-Servicemen's parade would march to the Castle to present a petition to the Governor "at no time had any organization or individual made any request to Government for arrangements for a petition to be presented to the Governor or for a march to the Castle."

On February 27, in the presence of Mr. Tamakloe and Mr. Laryea, leaders of the ex-Servicemen, a prescribed route for a procession was agreed with the Commissioner of Police. Mr. Tamakloe assured the Commissioner of Police that he could exercise control over the men who were to form the procession. The same evening, the Convention held a mass meeting at the Palladium cinema. Mr. Akufo Addo, Mr. Obetsebi-Lamptey, Mr. William Ofori Atta and Dr. Danquah were speakers.

On the morning of February 28 cotton goods were on sale in the stores at new agreed prices. Men of a rough type were among the crowds and seemed anxious to persuade them that the agreed prices were not being charged. Shortly before 3 p.m., an attack on the Kingsway Chemists was started and, shortly after 3 p.m., the crowd succeeded in breaking in: at 3.05 p.m., a number of roughs, led by a man with a 4"x2" scantling, started to break into Bartholomew's in Station Road. At 2.50 p.m., a delegation of ex-Servicemen, headed by Mr. Tamakloe, presented as had been arranged to a senior official at the Secretariat, the petition addressed to the Governor.

By this time, the parade, which had not kept to the prescribed route, was marching in the direction of Christiansborg. Unsuccessful attempts were made by Inspectors of Police to turn it back to the prescribed route. Many persons who were not ex-Servicemen joined the procession by the time it reached the Christiansborg crossroads and there was shouting and abuse and throwing of stones. Reinforcements of Police were rushed to the spot but the crowd pressed forward. There was heavy stoning. Police had no alternative but to resort to the use of tear smoke. The crowd continued to press forward and the Police party was in the gravest danger of being overwhelmed.

As a final warning, a bugle call was blown by orders of a Police Officer and the crowd was given a last order to disperse. As a last resort shots had to be fired. The shots were fired between five and ten minutes past 3 o'clock. The mob did not start to retreat towards Accra until a quarter past three. The rioting in town had accordingly started before and independently of the events at Christiansborg crossroads.

Ends of Working Committee Revolutionary

The release of convicts from Ussher Fort, on February 29, is likened by the author of the narrative to "a pattern familiar in Communist disorders when the Communists are seeking to seize power." On February 29, "making its own judgment of events, the United Gold Coast Convention telegraphed to the Secretary of State. They stated, among other things, "Civil Government Gold Coast broken down," and "Working Committee United Gold Coast Convention declare they are prepared and ready to take interim Government." The Working Committee includes Dr. J. B. Danquah, Mr. E. Akufo Addo and Mr. W. Ofori Atta.

Further examination of the activities of the Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention showed additional links with the Communist organization overseas. Investigation also showed that the ends of the Working Committee, while ostensibly the attainment of self-government by constitutional means, were in fact revolutionary. They included plans for a more widespread and comprehensive disturbance of the peace than had been indicated or could be understood from the Convention's telegram to the Secretary of State, or even from Dr. Danquah's manifesto of March 1, addressed to the Chiefs which was published in the Press under the title "The hour of liberation has struck." Investigation also showed a danger of forms of terrorism, quite alien to the spirit of this country and fortunately not hitherto employed. These included assassination.

GOLD COAST COMMISSION

Mr. A. Aiken Watson, K.C. (Chairman); Mr. Andrew Dalgleish and Dr. K. A. H. Murray (Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford) have been appointed to serve on a Commission to the Gold Coast. The terms of reference will be: "To inquire into and report on the recent disturbances in the Gold Coast and their underlying causes; and to make recommendations on any matter arising from their inquiry." The Secretary will be Mr. E. G. G. Hanrott (of the Colonial Office). It is intended that the Commission should fly to the Gold Coast during the week beginning April 5.

Mr. Watson was called to the Bar in 1927, and became Recorder of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, in September, last year. He is nearly 50. Mr. Dalgleish was Chairman of the Commission which reported early last month on the advancement of Africans in industry in Northern Rhodesia. Dr. Murray is a member of the Educational Advisory Committee for the R.A.F. and, during the war, was Director of Food and Agriculture, Middle East Supply Centre.

Friends of Fourah Bay

Dr. Kenneth Little (honorary secretary of the Friends of Fourah Bay) left recently by air on a short official mission to West Africa. He expects that Mr. Creech Jones will receive a deputation from the Friends of Fourah Bay in the near future. "During recent weeks," said Dr. Little before his departure, "a great deal of sympathetic interest in the future of the College has been widely aroused in this country, including the House of Commons; and a number of representations have been made by British and Colonial organizations to the Secretary of State. The Church Missionary Society (whose approach to the present problem is on parallel lines to that of the Friends of Fourah Bay) have also been working hard to ensure the continuance of the institution they founded. It is of particular interest, also, that missionary and other circles as far afield as the United States are showing active concern in the matter."

THE BLIND OF BRITISH AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

THREE investigators who travelled 30,000 miles, mostly by air, have made a report on the survey of *Blindness in British Africa and Middle East Territories*. (H.M.S.O. 2/-). They are Mr. John Wilson, Miss Mary Thomas and Captain Douglas Heath. In the foreword, Sir Bernard Reilly (former Governor of Aden) commends to Colonial Governments, on behalf of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the hope that the recommendations of the report "will give a new and valuable impetus to the humanitarian work of alleviating the all too widespread suffering which blindness entails."

Accurate blind censuses are said to be difficult because of Native superstition. Certain tribes frequently regard it as a disgrace to have a blind child; others are reluctant, through fear of attracting evil spirits, to count their children; and in the case of girls, the bride-price often results in their blindness being concealed. Blind people in primitive communities are under a great handicap, because of the lack of techniques and inventions available for the blind in more highly developed countries. Women are unmarriageable. In general, the blind are well treated in a Native community, so long as it remains unspoilt by alien cultures.

In fact, some tribes, such as the Baganda and Yoruba, regard the punishment of oneself becoming blind as the inescapable result of neglecting blind relatives. An interesting sidelight is given on the attitude of the blinded ex-Serviceman. Generally, with his gratuity, he has been able to "buy" a wife who provides the family subsistence by cultivation. His pension makes him second only in importance to the Chief and the community regards him as a hero. Most of these blinded ex-Servicemen see no reason for offering themselves for vocational training, nor does their illiteracy worry them at all, since they enjoy a larger cash income than ever before.

Seventy-five to eighty per cent. of the blindness in the Colonies is said to be preventable. Ample proof is given for this proportion but no blame is attached to the medical services which numerically "judged by British standards, are nearly everywhere at a sub-optimum standard." Hence "the wonder is not that so little has been done but that so much has been accomplished."

In Tanganyika, for example, there are not three doctors to every 100,000 head of population, compared with 50 in the British Isles. Account must also be taken of the profound attitude of ignorance and superstition towards Western medicine in more backward areas. "Indigenous medical knowledge and practice are affronted by the stranger and rally all their powers in opposition to retain their vested interest and to discourage actively this new and strange interloper."

In general, Africans do not recognize the necessity for early or long-continued treatment. They expect "magic" or, at any rate, quick results. Because of the concentration by medical officers on "killing diseases" there has been little extension of the services necessary for fighting diseases of the eye. Conjunctivitis and trachoma are said to be the main causes. The fly is said to be the main carrier of both these diseases. Certain tribes believe that flies, settling on babies' eyes, bring them wisdom and knowledge.

Programme of Help

There are only four schools for the blind in the nine African Colonies visited, and these accommodate less than 150 children. The report commends the work of blind schools which are often carried on through the devoted labour of individual missionaries. The devotion of European and non-European teachers is said to be impressive. Adverse comment is made on the absence of after care for those who have left school. Examples of individual achievement show that the courage, so much in evidence in blind persons in the more developed countries, has its counterpart in primitive societies.

Proposals are made that blind Welfare Organizations, staffed with European experts, should be established to serve East and Central Africa and West Africa. Local bodies would be established in each Colony and development plans suitable to its particular resources and requirements would be drawn up. These plans will correlate the activities of Governments, missions, voluntary bodies and private individuals. More schools for blind boys and girls, training centres where blind Natives can learn crafts suitable for their villages, home-worker schemes and workshops, Braille printing-presses producing books in the vernacular and sight-saving propaganda are other proposals.

EXODUS OF MASKS

Two main points brought out by Leon Underwood in *Masks of West Africa* (Alec Tiranti Ltd. 6/-) are that Africans produced some of the finest work when they did not know they were artists and that much of the best traditional work has been exported. The hope is expressed that much of this work, the exodus of which has ensured its preservation, may be returned so that the rising generation of Africans may have some of it to study. The work of Bamboya, the Yoruba carver of Ilorin, is taken as an instance of one African who produced many other fine works when he did not know he was an artist.

The author comments that "when the African partakes of the fruit of the Western tree of knowledge, he falls from grace in artistic expression." There would seem to be a paradox that the Africans produce their best work when they are most African, but they would never have known how good their craftsmanship was unless the Europeans, whose advent upset their ways of life, had also preserved their best work for them. It is a paradox that seems to occur quite frequently in other connexions. There is a French text for French readers and 48 plates.

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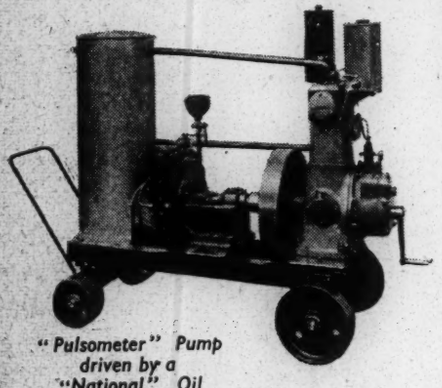

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Swollen Shoot Compensation

Cost of cocoa trees destroyed to eradicate swollen shoot disease in the Ibadan area, will be borne by the Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Board. The Board has decided to pay producers one shilling and sixpence for every tree successfully replaced. The scheme is to be operated by a committee of cocoa farmers and representatives of the Ibadan Council.

Flying Samples

Sportswear and weathercoats are among samples which Mr. S. Johnson, export manager of a well-known firm of clothiers, is taking with him on his 16,000 miles flight across Africa. Mr. Johnson, who left Britain last Monday, is mainly visiting South and East Africa, where he will study reactions to British clothing designs.

Called to the Bar

West Africans called to the Bar in the Trinity Term include: F. A. Williams (Lagos); R. T. E. Wilcox (Bonny, South Nigeria); S. A. Crabbe (Accra); E. B. Edun-Fregene (Warri, Nigeria); M. A. Macauley (Lagos) and M. L. B. A. Agusto (Lagos) all of the Middle Temple. O. I. Ita (Calabar); M. A. A. Adesanya (Ijebu); A. Akerele (Lagos) and V. D. Phillips (Ijebuode) all of Gray's Inn. S. W. Ubani-Ukoma (Aba) and S. O. A. Kester (Lagos), both of Lincoln's Inn. E. J. A. Wilson (Freetown) and S. O. Akinkugbe (Ode-Ondo), both of the Inner Temple.

Nigerian Appointments Commission

The Commission appointed to report on recruitment of Nigerians for Senior Government posts will consist of the following—Official Members: Mr. H. M. Foot (Chief Secretary to the Government); Mr. T. V. Scrivenor (Civil Service Commissioner); Miss G. Plummer (deputy director of Education). "Unofficial" Members: Mr. C. D. Onyeama (Member of Legislative Council); Dr. N. Azikiwe (Member of Legislative Council); Mallam Muhammadu Ribadu (Member of the Northern House of Assembly); Chief Jacob Rosiji Turton (the Risawe of Ilesha); Mrs. O. M. Abayomi.

International Medical Congress

Colonial and Overseas delegates are to attend an International Congress of Clinical Medicine next month. Organized by the British Medical Students' Association for students and newly qualified practitioners, the Congress will be held in London, Birmingham and Oxford respectively. About 200 delegates are expected to attend the sessions, representing 30 different countries, including parts of Africa. The work of the Congress will consist of ward teaching, lectures, films of medical interest, demonstrations, visits to research laboratories and other academic works. Visits to industrial laboratories engaged in work and research of medical interest have also been arranged.

Social and Personal

Mr. Albert Edward Greewood (of the staff of Paterson Zochonis & Co., Monrovia, Liberia) was married, on June 19, to Miss Cynthia Violet Anagnostis, at the Egremont Presbyterian Church, Wallasey; the Rev. J. Cecil Armstrong, B.A., officiating. The bride is the younger daughter of Mr. S. S. and the late Mrs. Anagnostis of 8, The Orchard, Wallasey, and formerly of Lagos.

Mr. Philip Dennis, Assistant District Commissioner, Gold Coast, was called to the Bar last week.

Sir Sydney Caine (deputy Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office) has been appointed Third Secretary in the Treasury. The transfer will take place early in August.

The Right Rev. J. L. C. Horstead (Bishop of Sierra Leone) will speak on "West Education and the African," in the B.B.C. Home Service on June 29. Bishop Horstead is at present in Britain for the Lambeth Conference.

Captain Keith Caldwell will speak on Faunal Survey in Africa at the general meeting of the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire, to be held in London on July 6.

Mr. D. F. D. Jakeway, former Administrative Officer in Nigeria, was awarded the O.B.E. in the King's Birthday Honours List. He was posted to Seychelles as an Administrative Secretary in 1946.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

West African Furniture

Sir,—I read your well-reasoned article on Furniture and Planning in your May 8 issue with especial interest for, as a former resident in Africa, and more recently on flying visits, I have noted the capacity of Africans to manufacture articles for export.

The West African furniture export difficulty is paralleled in other Colonies, and I put down a Parliamentary Question for June 16 asking the Secretary of State for the Colonies "what action he is taking to encourage the sale and export of furniture and other handcrafts from St. Helena."

You refer to the likelihood that Mr. Creech Jones will shortly make a statement on the setting up of a Colonial Economic Planning Board.

If this is so, it is clearly desirable that as many instances as possible of handicaps to the development of Colonial handcrafts and other secondary industries, whether in West Africa, St. Helena or elsewhere, should quickly be brought to his notice; otherwise, he cannot be expected to help with that celerity which his well-known solicitude for Colonial progress has led us to expect.

Yours faithfully,

15th June, 1948. DOUGLAS DODDS-PARKER,
British Empire Producers' Organization, *Chairman.*
22, Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.1.

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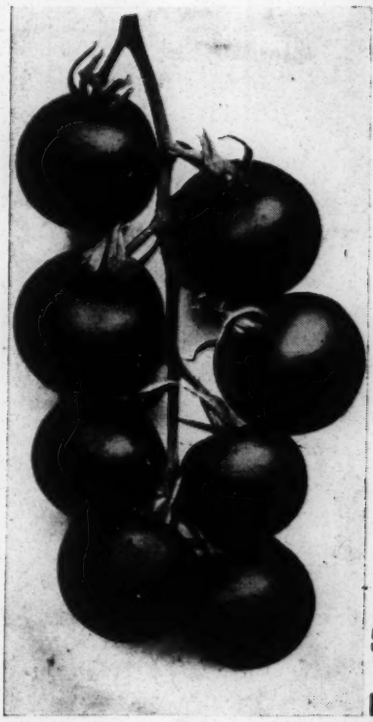

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Colonial Office policy, recently.

The new Constitution discriminates against tax-payers. Women are barred from exercising the right of the limited franchise. The same is applicable to tax payers whose annual income is less than £50 per annum. Tax payers who reside in places outside Lagos and Calabar are also disfranchised. These three discriminatory acts are indefensible. Sexual equality is regarded as a basic human right in contemporary international society. Income qualifications for voting is now outmoded. There is no justification for giving Lagos and Calabar the privilege of voting and denying other townships this privilege. A native of Lagos or Calabar, residing in Sokoto or Kano, cannot enjoy the right of franchise in that locality, whilst a native of Sokoto or Kano residing in Lagos or Calabar can. In fact, there is no criterion of qualification for any community to enjoy the right of vote.

FOUR LEGISLATIONS

The laws affecting the acquisition of land raise a fundamental issue in respect of our system of land tenure. In principle we agree that land may be acquired for public purposes absolutely, since it is for the public benefit. We also agree that the minerals of the country should be publicly owned and controlled. These are in accord with our communal way of life. But we have been specifically enjoined "to emphasise the recognised principle of the inalienability of the communal lands of the people of Nigeria and the Cameroons and to secure the original tenure of land against exploitation, and to obtain an irrevocable acknowledgement by the British Government of the foundation principle upon which the land system in Nigeria is erected, namely: that the whole of the land in all parts of Nigeria and the Cameroons, including the Colony and the Protectorates, north and south, whether occupied or unoccupied, shall be declared native land; and that all rights of ownership over all native land shall be vested in the indigenous inhabitants as being inalienable and untransferable."

The following legislations affecting the land, minerals, and Chiefs are inimical to our best interest. Relevant sections against which we are protesting should be repealed.

PUBLIC LANDS ACQUISITION (AMENDMENT) ORDINANCE, 1945.

Under this law, Government has right to acquire land for public purposes absolutely and to use same for settlement. It can declare certain land "unoccupied" and occupy same without payment of any compensation. The NCNC submits that the word "settlement" is ambiguous and should be qualified to read "settlement of people of African descent"; otherwise the law, as it stands, can permit the settlement of immigrant races in Nigeria with its attendant racial situations and humiliating experiences as are the cases in East Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and the Union of South Africa. The NCNC holds that no land in Nigeria and the Cameroons is without an owner. Ownership of land can be traced; if impossible, then such land belongs to the contiguous Local or Native Authorities which should be paid compensation by the central Government accordingly. The section of the law dealing with payment of compensation by Government is unfair. The NCNC suggests regional land assessment boards to fix compensation and to act as a judicial tribunal of the first instance. The original law legalises the right of a Chief to alienate communal land, notwithstanding that it is contrary to tribal traditional law and custom. This is bad law as it violates treaty obligations, not to mention that it is contrary to the established principle and practice of official policy in respect of land tenure.

CROWN LAND (AMENDMENT) ORDINANCE, 1945

This law gives Government the right to declare any land "Crown Land" if it was acquired originally for public purposes absolutely and it is no longer required as such. The NCNC sees this law as an attempt to alienate our lands, contrary to official policy. The money of Nigerian tax payers is used to acquire land for public purposes. In case such land is no longer required for that purpose, it should revert to the land-owners or the Native Authority or central Government, and not to the British Crown, which is a custodian and trustee and cannot convert trust property. The word "Crown" should be amended to read "Government of Nigeria."

MINERALS ORDINANCE, 1945

Under this law, mineral rights are vested in the Crown. The NCNC objects to this and suggest "Government of Nigeria," Certain sections of this law give the Governor authoritative and totalitarian power "in his absolute discretion" to grant, cancel, renew, vary, modify any

prospecting licence or mining right. This is arbitrary. The NCNC suggests that if doubt exists as to suitability of any person to have prospecting licence or mining right, then the issue should be thrashed out before a judicial tribunal in order to safeguard the constitutional rights of the citizen from the whims and caprices of colonial despots. Another section of this law which vests a mining official (and not a Police officer) the power to arrest any person suspected of violating the mining law, without warrant, is an infringement of the freedom of the person.

APPOINTMENT and DEPOSITION of CHIEFS (AMENDMENT) ORDINANCE, 1945

The principle of this law is consistent with another relevant Nigerian legislation which clothes the Governor with power to be "sole judge" of what is native law and custom, which is clearly a violation of treaty rights. Under this law, the Governor, in case of dispute, has power to appoint and depose Chiefs. The NCNC regards this law as an unnecessary interference with the traditional law and custom of the people. We strongly object to foreigners deciding who should be our rulers. This is an inalienable right.

BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS

The statute book of Nigeria and the Cameroons contains some laws which deny our people basic human rights, such as freedom of speech, press, assembly, association, movement, worship and freedom from fear, want, ignorance, tyranny, and oppression.

(1) Under the Wireless Telegraphy Ordinance, the Governor is empowered absolutely in his discretion to grant or withhold licence to receive and transmit wireless messages for press publication.

In 1946, a newspaper organisation was refused renewal of their wireless receiving licence for press publication, despite the fact that they did not violate any law of the country.

(2) Under the Newspaper Ordinance, before any person can publish any newspaper, he must be bonded for £250 by sureties approved by the Government or deposit the sum of £250 with the Government.

The practice in Britain and certain countries under British rule is to require registration of name and place of business of the person intending to be the proprietor and publisher.

(3) Under the Police Ordinance, workers can be dispersed by force when they form an orderly and peaceful procession.

Recently the railway workers formed an orderly and peaceful procession and were marching to lay their grievance to the Government constitutionally. By virtue of this law, and without provocation, the Police sprayed tear gas on the workers and dispersed them.

(4) Under the Criminal Code Ordinance, workers can be punished by fine and imprisonment, if, in the opinion of Government, their work is regarded as "essential" and if they struck without giving sufficient notice of their intention to strike.

(5) Under the Immigration Ordinance, the Police have absolute power to prevent any person leaving or entering Nigeria if one is suspected of being an undesirable. Mere suspicion is not conclusive evidence to justify deprivation of liberty of movement.

(6) Under the Deportation Ordinance, the Governor can send any person to exile if, in his opinion, such act is necessary for the peace of the country.

Many Chiefs, Native Authorities and individuals have been subjected to the operation of this law.

(7) Under the Criminal Code Ordinance, the Governor has absolute power to prohibit worship, if he is of opinion that such action would prevent the commission of any crime or breach of the peace.

(8) Under the Education Ordinance, no school can be opened if the Director of Education, in his absolute discretion, is of opinion that the person intended to be its proprietor or manager is undesirable.

(9) Under the Prisons Ordinance, prisoners may work in the open air under the blazing tropical sun, without any head-gear, if in the opinion of the Director of Prisons, such practice is not harmful.

Prisoners in Lagos, Degema, Gboko, Abeokuta, Buea, Uyo, etc. work in the open sun bareheaded. When this issue was raised in the Legislative Council, the Chief Secretary replied that such brutality did not harm the prisoners.

(10) Under the Railway Ordinance, miscarriage of goods is not a responsibility of the railway, even where on the part of its servants is proved.

The Nigerian Railway is a State concern.

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First African Bishop to be consecrated in Africa (second ever to be consecrated) is Rt. Rev. Aberi K. Balya, assistant Bishop in Anglican Diocese of Uganda, elevated to prelacy there on 26 October.

Jan 1948

of thousands of tons of rice. This would have been impossible without mutual trust and a desire to solve difficulties in common. The future of this regional machinery is uncertain. Lord Killearn, under whom it has grown virtually from nothing, is retiring, and the office of Special Commissioner is being amalgamated with that of Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the present Governor-General. The natural tendency as time goes on will be towards closer integration with the various international organs of the United Nations. If this happens, it is to be hoped that political issues will not interfere with the very useful economic functions which it fulfils at present.

SOCIAL SERVICES

The Film and Colonial Peoples

Abridged extracts from an address by Mr. John Grierson, Controller of Films, Central Office of Information, to the Film Conference at the Royal Empire Society on January 16, 1948

JOHN GRIERSON

FROM the international point of view, nothing in the world is so striking to-day as the fact that the peoples of the world are on the move, not only physically but spiritually. There is a challenge to-day to every department of every Government and not least to those departments involved in the processes of education. There is a challenge to every thinking citizen. The basic problem in the world to-day is the result of the world's own riches and the progress of technological advances throughout the war and the enormous problems they set up everywhere ; the creation of that often disastrous gap between the getting of tools and the mastery of tools, a gap so often not met by the processes of education. That is the general problem, but for us there is a very particular concern in the problems which it is likely to bring forward. Julian Huxley said : " Man cannot exist half illiterate and half literate " for a good reason—the whole question of peace and international understanding depends in the last resort on access to means and skills of the modern world which people are reaching for, and equality in the matter of race and in all matters of social benefit. But you cannot have peace in the world where there are vast fields of frustration, whether it be on the economic level or the cultural level where prides are hurt by the assumptions of some of our Western peoples. In fine, you cannot have international understanding while half the world or more than half the world has no understanding and knows not even the ordinary literacy we take for granted. This is where Fundamental Education must play its part, not only by waging a campaign against illiteracy, but with the aim of " helping men and women to live fuller and happier lives in adjustment with their changing environment, developing the best elements of their own culture and achieving the economic and social progress which will enable them to take their place in the modern world ". Literacy teaching and the extension and improvement of primary schooling will take their place in a wider programme of community education for better living. In this wider programme the film will play an ever-increasing part.

My main proposition regarding films is that they should not be coming from outside but should be created from the inside for the people, and should come out of the integral true development of the African, not as part and pattern with us, but as the expression of his own self and specifically designed for him. I know little about the use of films in fundamental education, but some experiments have been made in a piecemeal fashion. There is no body of knowledge because no interest has been created, no funds have been found, no organization has been established. We start almost from scratch. I am not for a moment forgetting the work of the Colonial Film Unit, the pioneer work there, nor the other experiments made by other countries, but against the size of the problem we have not even made a beginning. The first requirement is to find a body of men who will make this their lifework, who will specialize in this and really begin with knowing about the Colonies. It is not just a case of dropping into Africa to make a picture, to do something for the Natives. That is not the size of the problem. We have got to create a body of men who will live and work with the African problem, who will see the African problem in its creative aspect ; men who by living with the problem will see the issues arising out of it at all levels—sociological, cultural, technological—who will study the techniques concerned with health education, community training and management on the part of the Natives, and so on, even if it takes twenty-five years. Many problems are involved ; the Colonial Office is going into the problem of the development of native communities within the tribal pattern ; other administrations are concerned with uprooting them in industrial Colonies ; still others are uprooting them altogether and putting them in great cities—whether it be in Capetown or in Detroit. I am going to ask you to consider in this country the creation of a " School on the Colonies ", for all these separate efforts to be brought together, where we can mobilize and integrate a body of knowledge, not only in respect of colonial development but in respect of relations between all the creative arts and experimental forms of the colonial problem. We want in this school, not only the experience of the Colonial Office and the creative achievements in education and other fields of the Colonial Office, but also what is being done elsewhere on this large problem.

The second project, I think, must be the very considered and very ambitious development of the Colonial Film Unit. It should not be developed as a British Unit, but as a Unit with much decentralization. It is not a question of just making a film for Africa, or of bringing films out of Africa for the people here to see. It is a question of working with Africans, for the creation of a genuine African Unit working with other Colonies, so that they may have a genuine native Unit themselves. It is a question of sending out experts to teach Africans the technical processes involved and also of giving scholarships to bring Africans to England so that they may have the benefit of our technical experience here at home, and not only here, but in other countries that have advanced in the technique of the film and the filmstrip, and not only in these, but in all those other forms of simplified teaching of a visual sort which are developing at a great pace to-day over the world. This involves, it seems to me, the founding of a school of film experiment, related not only to our Colonies, but to the African problem as a whole, where we can study the techniques that have been evolved. Above all, we should have a great concern for the psychological problems involved in the making of films in this particular field.

To sum up : The first of my propositions is that the heart of the matter lies in the subject-matter ; secondly, that appropriate machinery should be created in the form of (1) a School on the Colonies ; (2) the development of the Colonial Film Unit with true regard for decentralization and the part Natives will play in it ; (3) the creation of an African School of Film Experiment. This seems to me one of the priority problems of Britain, as it is one of the greatest privileges before the younger generation of British men and women to-day.

Educational Policy in Nigeria

[In 1944 the Nigerian Government published a Ten-Year Education Plan, S.P. No. 6/44, with the comments of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies on the plan. The plan has been replaced by a new comprehensive statement of policy which has received the general approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, S.P. No. 20/47. Abridged extracts of the chapters on " Local Education Authorities " and " Secondary Education " are reprinted below.]

Local Education Authorities

INCREASED educational facilities cannot be provided with advantage except with the active co-operation of the communities concerned. The stage has been reached at which popular education will cease to be popular unless the communities concerned have a measure of control : and popular share in the control depends on the creation of some machinery of local government. It is recommended, therefore, that Education Committees be established in each Province with the avowed object that they should become Committees of " Local Education Authorities " in the technical sense of the term. It is proposed that responsibility in respect of primary education be entrusted to these bodies and that in time they should develop into administrative bodies. Such a development will require careful watching and the gradual delegation of administrative functions

will depend on the extent to which these bodies can accept responsibility.

Education Committees of the type contemplated have in fact developed in the Western Provinces during the past eighteen months and much useful work has been accomplished. They have dealt with such matters as the location, opening and closing of schools, the provision of playing-fields, the organization of handicraft and other exhibitions, and the problem of children's health with particular reference to nutrition. It is already clear that these Committees have been welcomed by the people and that they have come to stay.

The Board of Education (Colony and Southern Provinces) when considering the emergence of these Committees, advised that they be encouraged and strengthened by official recognition and the assignment of definite duties. It was recognized, however, that the competence of these Committees would vary considerably and, accordingly, it was considered that those which desired official status and were judged by the Director to be efficient should be recognized by Government. It is recommended that at the outset the duties of these Committees should be :

(*a*) To make plans for the progressive development and comprehensive organization of primary education within the area for which it is appointed, in co-operation with interested persons or organizations, and to implement their plans to the best of its ability.

(*b*) To examine notifications of intentions to establish primary schools and to make recommendations on such applications.

(*c*) To advise on the expenditure of such funds as may be available for the support of primary education and for the furtherance of other approved educational purposes, and generally to supervise the expenditure of such funds.

(*d*) To make themselves familiar with the social services performed by Government Departments and by persons and organizations working in the area ; and, through the schools in the area, to co-operate with them in the furtherance of their work, in particular where such work is concerned with rural community education.

The establishment of these Committees in no sense cuts athwart the principle that the formulation of educational policy and the ultimate control of education in all its branches is a responsibility of the Central Government acting on the advice of the Department of Education. This includes all such matters as the determination of general policy, the approval of the types and numbers of schools to be established, of the subjects to be taught and of the qualifications of the teachers, and it is the responsibility of the Department of Education, through its supervising officers, to ensure that the policy and regulations approved by Government are carried out. This assumption is the basis of everything that is said in the following paragraphs on the subject of devolution.

The view is held in certain quarters that the revenues of the Central Government available for education can with advantage be supplemented by local contributions, and that only through such contributions can adequate funds be assured. In regard to the general question of local contributions for the support of education, the Secretary of State has indicated that these should be regarded as supplementary to the provision of funds from central revenues for primary education and not as an alternative means of meeting its cost, and that as a corollary a sufficient sum should be reserved out of the general revenues for primary education to enable it both to stimulate and help education as may be required in backward districts where, in many cases, adequate provision from local funds would be impossible. Where local contributions are made for education there arises, sooner or later, a local demand for a share in the administration of these funds. What has been said earlier in this section demonstrates that the encouragement of local interest and initiative in education is in principle desirable. In practice, local participation in education in the tropical African Dependencies takes two forms : (*a*) the maintenance, which may or may not be combined with management, by Native Authorities of schools supported in whole or in part from their own funds, or (*b*) responsibility, great or small, but in any case subject to the ultimate control of the Department of Education, in relation to all schools of a specified grade, *e.g.* primary schools in a particular area, including aided schools, as well as schools maintained by Native Authorities. It has already been recommended that policy in Nigeria should foster the second kind of participation.

The position of the Native Authorities in the proposed new organization requires some explanation. The co-operation by Native Authorities in the management of schools maintained from their funds is a useful instrument for the development of local initiative. But it is more than doubtful whether such co-operation can be regarded as the sole or the chief mode of satisfying a local demand for participation in education to which a local contribution is made. The emergence of two separate systems of primary schools in a district, the one maintained from local funds and the other assisted by grants in aid from the central revenues, must inevitably give rise to difficulties.

It is suggested, therefore, as preferable that local interest in primary education should concern itself with the primary education of the locality as a whole, including aided schools, which along with schools conducted by Government and the Native Authorities are meeting the educational needs of the locality. This points to the need for the development of a Local Education Authority as already recommended, constituted in such a way as to be able to take an impartial and external view of primary education as a whole, while keeping in close touch with the authorities responsible for Government-aided and Native Authority schools respectively.

It has been recommended that at the present stage of development funds contributed locally can best be administered by a body exercising powers delegated to it in a specified grade of education. Clearly the Native Authorities which contribute to its funds should be adequately represented on that body. But it is no less essential that any body concerned with educational administration should include expert educational knowledge and that, in so far as its responsibility extends to schools conducted by voluntary agencies, the management of these schools should also be represented. Certain objections to this recommendation that funds contributed locally for education should be administered by an *ad hoc* educational body may be noted. The first of these is the possibility of a reluctance on the part of the Native Authorities to allocate funds to such a body, and the second is that, if Africans are to be trained in self-government, it is essential that any responsibility with which they are entrusted should be real and not sham : it is not, in other words, desirable that African initiative and ideas should be submerged in a body dominated by the views of European officials and missionaries. It is suggested that the first of these objections would be met by adequate representation of the Native Authorities on the educational body. As regards the second, it is not considered that Nigerian opinion is incapable of effective expression in a body which includes Europeans : indeed, it is only through such an association with expert educational opinion and with those at present responsible for the conduct of education in Nigeria that Africans can be progressively educated to that control of education of their own race which must be the ultimate goal of policy.

It has been recommended that Local Education Authorities should concern themselves with all primary education within a district, including the schools maintained by the voluntary agencies. If the latter are to receive aid from Government or Native Authority funds they must be prepared to conform to policy, to take account of local educational needs, and to attain a reasonable standard of efficiency. On the other hand, these schools are in many cases meeting educational needs which cannot so effectively be met in any other way, and their encouragement and improvement in such cases is the most economical and advantageous use of public funds. The establishment of the Local Education Authorities already recommended, in which representatives of all interests can meet together and discuss in common the educational needs and problems of an area, is thought to be the best means of bringing about an understanding between African opinion and the voluntary agencies engaged in education in the area. Such an understanding is of the highest importance if the best and largest use is to be made of all available resources.

Finally, it is recommended that expansion in the sphere of primary education should be conducted according to a planned scheme approved by the Local Education Authority and that grants to the voluntary agencies should be dependent on their conforming to such a scheme. Such control is essential as a safeguard against the dissipation of educational effort.

Secondary Education

The main principle asserted in the sphere of primary education is that of devolution. Education services which affect the whole territory, such as secondary schools and teacher training, should be planned from the Centre. Local services, *e.g.* junior primary education, should be entrusted gradually to Local Education Authorities. There is nothing revolutionary in this proposal: if there is an innovation it lies in the strengthening of the local bodies and in the addition to their powers and responsibilities. In regard to planning from the Centre, co-operation between Government and the Churches must be considered from a rather different angle. If this co-operation is to develop to the full it must be in terms of the future and not of the past.

Elsewhere, in conditions applicable to large areas in Nigeria, the problem has been posed in the following terms:

"Now both Governments and Missions in the African Dependencies are in their present form temporary expedients, with their own disappearance as their major task. It is settled imperial policy that the main object of Colonial Governments is to bring about conditions in which self-government within the British Commonwealth becomes practicable; it is implicit in the nature of a mission that it must fail or achieve its object, and success involves the growth of an autonomous Church in a country in the place of the mission from abroad from which it has grown. When, therefore, these temporary agencies in Church or State plan to co-operate in development, they must try to get a vision of the society and government which are likely to come into existence and to fit their plan to that. This means that account must be taken of such things as the growing authority of the Government of the dependency in relation to the British Government at home. Its main relevance to our problem is that there must be an increasing reliance for support on public opinion in the dependency, rather than on authority in the United Kingdom."

". . . These rather general observations seem to lead to the conclusion that in some respects there must be a change of outlook on both sides if Government and Mission are to co-operate fully for African development. Hitherto co-operation has taken the form, in most cases, of assistance by Government in the form of grants of money for buildings or current expenditure, generally for schools but also for hospitals, maternity centres, agricultural training and a few other things. The institutions receiving help have remained completely the property of the Missions, and there was often apparent a pronounced determination that it should always be so; and a great part of the money for them came from supporters of the Missions in Great Britain and elsewhere outside Africa. For several reasons Governments cannot accept that position for the future; in the first place, public funds cannot properly be used to build or develop private property, property which in theory at least could be disposed of by its owners for purposes other than those for which the Government had made grants. Then there is no escaping the fact that contributions to Mission funds from abroad will probably diminish, and that even if they remained at their present level they would not suffice for the vast needs of the days to come. There is a more serious difficulty; if it is agreed that Mission and Government institutions and activities ought to be complementary and not either competitive or, anyhow, duplicate, it follows that in each area and for each purpose there should normally be only one institution. Unfortunately some sacrifice of this important principle is unavoidable on account of denominational difficulties, but as a general rule it must be accepted. A Government must therefore either duplicate the facility from public funds or come to terms with the Mission for a genuine co-operation, which must involve some diminution of the property rights of the Mission, and of the dependence of the service to be rendered upon benefactions from abroad."

An illustration is the agreement recently reached in Uganda for the development of secondary schools, an agreement which may well be extended in other directions. By this agreement selected Mission-owned schools are to be placed under Boards of Governors nominated partly by the Bishop or other head of the Mission and partly by the Governor; the nominees of the former are to be in the majority, and there is provision to prevent the nomination of unacceptable persons. The property of the school will vest in trustees (normally the Board of Governors), and the general management of the school—subject to the law, of course, and any special conditions that may apply—will be the responsibility of the Board. Revenue will be derived from fees, grants from local authorities, Mission contributions, bequests or gifts; and the balance of what is needed will be guaranteed and made up by the Government. There are arrangements for co-operation in selection of staff and for the maintenance of staff conditions of service at a level which will ensure its quality and provide adequately for superannuation. It is the avowed intention of this arrangement that the schools should by co-operation of Missions and Governments evolve into autonomous foundations, with a strong attachment to the society from which they have sprung, and to a great extent under Church influence, but that they should no longer be the private property of the Mission, nor become State-owned institutions.

There is, it is true, another method beside that just described, and it has many adherents. These say that the day of the Mission is over; for better or for worse the Mission has been fulfilled. Some claim success, others admit failure. But all of this way of thinking agree that the time is come to take educational and medical work and things of that kind into hands of Governments. There is often some reservation in respect of the more arduous and unpleasant tasks, such as the management of Leper Settlements; but the general proposition is as stated.

Particularly in matters of education and medicine the fact has got to be faced that much modern opinion is strongly in favour of State services. It is indeed widely assumed that among the first duties of Government is the duty to establish these services directly under the State. That being so, it is obvious that something more than history, sentiment or mere assertion must support the view that Missions have a valuable—or an indispensable—part to play in co-operation with Governments for colonial development; and clearly an attempt must be made to state what it is.

What, then, is the case? Surely, first and foremost, that ours is a Christian civilization and that we know and can pass on to others nothing else. Now it is true, as we have seen, that we have unhappy differences among ourselves on denominational questions; it is also true that there are wide differences of opinion as to the place of institutional religion—clericalism if you like it better—in modern civilization; but there can be no possible question about the origins, evolution and foundations of what to-day we call civilization. This civilization is a joint product of Church and State, and if it is our mission to carry it to the peoples of the Dependencies we surely have no right to try to do so without adopting the same full co-operation as has existed from very early times in our own country, and which indeed exists to-day to a very much greater extent than is sometimes realized. We are naturally inclined to neglect the historical approach to problems of this kind, and to look at Africa as if its problems were those of the twentieth century in Britain; to forget, indeed, that in Great Britain we have built a house, even if it is far from perfect, while in most of Africa we have hitherto done little more than to start clearing the site; in the most advanced Dependencies we can perhaps claim that we have begun to lay out the ground plan.

The case, then, for co-operation between Governments and Missionary Societies is this basic one—that our civilized society, the moral and spiritual values, the liberty, justice and security are products of a full and whole-hearted co-operation in the past between Church and State, and that we know no other means of producing these ends. We have, therefore, a duty to the African peoples committed to our charge—to bring to the problem of their development the same methods and forces as have produced our own, unless, indeed, we are to write off the whole of our own civilization as a ghastly failure. The principles enunciated in the passage quoted have been referred to the Board of Education and have met with general approval. It is recommended, therefore, that in estimating for the future, account be taken of the likelihood that certain societies will desire, at no distant date, to enter into full co-operation in the manner proposed, while others will prefer to postpone the process. In the case of the former it is suggested that the balance between fee and other income be met by the Central Government; for the latter, a continuance of the present grant-in-aid principles is suggested as an interim measure.

In paragraph 29 of the Advisory Committee's commentary, the attention of the Nigerian Government is invited to certain paragraphs in a recent Report of the Gold Coast Education Committee

(1937–41) which is considered descriptive of the situation as it exists in West Africa. The relevant paragraphs include the following summary :

Many criticisms have been made of secondary education as it exists to-day ; these may be summarized as follows :

(1) The aim of general secondary education is still interpreted in many quarters in a narrow and almost exclusively materialistic sense, and bears little relation to the needs of the country.

(2) The present facilities for secondary education are inadequate.

(3) The existing facilties for secondary education are in danger of creating unemployment.

(4) There is no provision for the control of secondary education.

There is general agreement that these criticisms are applicable to Nigerian secondary schools. In considering this local problem the Gold Coast Committee recognized that the curriculum of the School Certificate Examination, influenced as it is by the desire to obtain Matriculation Exemption, enforces on a very large majority of the students a type of education which is designed for the small minority who subsequently proceed to higher studies. It was proposed that a Curriculum Sub-Committee be appointed and augmented as occasion demands by the addition of members of secondary school staffs and that, thus reinforced, it should survey the whole School Certificate Course, seeking the expert advice of specialist teachers of particular subjects when necessary. A similar procedure is recommended for this territory.

In giving our own estimate of the position of the School Certificate Examination we would remark first that some of us have been intimately associated with this examination from early days and have had opportunity to observe its influence at close quarters. In the last twenty years the examination has rendered useful and valuable service under the skilful and devoted labours of the University Examining Bodies. At a time when the rapid expansion of secondary schools caused uncertainty about standards in the different subjects of the curriculum, when newly recruited teachers bringing with them little tradition and little experience were in doubt about aims and methods, syllabuses and curricula, the programme put before them in carefully devised regulations exerted a steadying influence, gave a sense of direction, defined levels of achievement and helped in no small measure to establish secondary education on a sure and sound basis. To the beneficial influence of the examination in past years we wish to pay sincere tribute.

Yet its very success has tended to bring about its progressive disintegration. Rapidly winning recognition on all hands, the Certificate awarded on the examination has gathered more authority and more significance than was ever intended at the outset, till it has become a highly coveted possession to every pupil leaving a secondary school. As the curricula of schools have widened to meet the needs of a secondary school population rapidly growing more diverse in ability and range of interests, the original structure of the examination has changed. Subjects have necessarily been multiplied, whether susceptible to external examination or not ; rules which were framed to give a unity to the curriculum tested by examination have been relaxed. Secondary education has become too varied to be confined within a rigid scheme. In the early days a scaffolding was needed for the building of secondary education ; and there was some justification for examinations dictating curriculum. But secondary education has passed through its early phases ; it can stand alone, and already finds the framework which supported it to be a barrier preventing growth. The examination in its present form is having a cramping effect upon the mind of teachers and pupils. On this our evidence leaves no room for doubt. A substantial volume of evidence comes from teachers who are generally satisfied with present arrangements, and regard external examination as a necessary part of a school education. Notwithstanding this evidence we affirm our belief that the time has come when the teaching profession should have the chance to shoulder its own responsibilities and thereby gain its freedom and enhance its prestige.

Nor are we convinced that the attitude of employers and professional bodies is as favourable to present arrangements as is sometimes represented. We have been at considerable pains to gather opinions from both. We have been much impressed with the widespread dissatisfaction with the present School Certificate taken by itself as a credential for employment ; it does not tell the employer what he wants to know about the applicant for a post ; he demands it in default of any more revealing document. He would prefer a statement which would tell him more about the boy or girl as a human being rather than as an examinee, and this statement would be supported by the evidence of the record of the school career expressed in terms which would carry their own meaning. That firms and business houses should press this need upon our attention seems to suggest that neither the School Certificate nor at present the Headmaster's letter tells them what they wish to know about an applicant.

The same attitude is manifested in considerable measure by professional bodies. Again the plea is that they can gather little about the entrant from the Certificate. They accept it as an indication of " general education " and ask for proficiency in particular subjects which are of special concern to them ; but they want evidence which reveals more about the candidate, and regret the tendency to assume that the possession of a Certificate in itself constitutes fitness for entry to a profession without regard to other qualities which an examination cannot assess.

A further recommendation is that it should be the avowed object of Government to abolish, as soon as possible, the system whereby the passing of the School Certificate is regarded as a qualification for entry to the Government Service. This recommendation is not to be regarded as implying that candidates who wish to take this examination should be precluded from doing so : but it does imply that a full secondary education should include one or more post-School Certificate years.

The urgent need for the improvement and expansion of secondary education has already been demonstrated. To be effective, however, this secondary education must be fuller and more effective than that which is now given in the generality of Nigerian schools. During recent years there has been an insistent and growing public demand for more secondary schools, but it is very doubtful whether those who voice this demand understand what a thorough secondary education means. There are good grounds, therefore, for paying heed to the warning given by the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee in paragraph 30 of their commentary on the " Ten-Year Plan " that there is danger in uncontrolled increase in the number of secondary schools because of the risk of their growing up with narrowly restricted and generally unsuitable curricula and thus perpetuating existing shortcomings. The Advisory's Committee's advocacy of a system of control to prevent the mushroom growth of undesirable schools is to be recommended.

In an adjacent Colony the following measures of control have been considered desirable :

(1) No persons or body should be allowed to open a secondary school without the previous consent of the Director of Education.

(2) All secondary schools should be registered.

(3) The Director of Education should have the right to close those schools which have no possibility of sound development.

(4) No financial assistance from public funds should be given to any secondary school which has not a responsible managing body, the constitution of which precludes the possibility of personal gain.

(5) The accounts of secondary schools receiving financial assistance from Government should be submitted to the Director of Education after being audited by an approved auditor.

It is advised that these measures be incorporated in a new consolidating ordinance which will be necessary if effect is to be given to these and other recommendations, and that in the exercise of his powers under these measures of control the Director of Education should act in consultation with the Central Advisory Board, the creation of which is advocated in another section of this memorandum.

The appointment of the first non-European district officer in East Africa has been gazetted. He is an Arab, Sheikh Salim Mohamed el Barwani, and his new post is District Officer of Zanzibar. This post will in future always be given to a Zanzibari. (*The Times*, May 6, 1948.)

8. NIGERIAN WAYS OF LIFE

Tomorrow, cinema goers in London will be able to see Challenge in Nigeria, number 19 in the series: "This Modern Age" news magazines produced by the J. Arthur Rank orgainzation. It is a documentary film and it presents Nigeria as a country as large as Italy and France put together, and a country whose population has doubled in the last 50 years of peace. Beginning with the Hausas in the north, answering the Moslem call to prayer, the film shows, in turn, the Pagans of the Jos Plateau, the Ibos and the Yorubas.

W. Africa, May 29, 46

It is a challenge, because it does not dwell much on the life of the city dweller, except to comment that one in every three of the houses in Lagos has been condemned; but harps on the disease and poverty of a country with great resources.

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prisoners during the Gold Coast riots. Two African warders (Mr. Jordan Oku and Mr. Tom Arrim) have been awarded the British Empire Medal for bravery on the same occasion. The citation states that, on February 29, nearly 600 prisoners mutinied. Mr. Hutchings, who was at home at the time, forced his way through a hostile mob outside the prison. Inside, the prisoners were completely out of hand and the Superintendent took charge of the 30 warders. He insisted upon peaceful methods, although "the situation was such that he would have been justified in ordering the use of firearms." Later, when the gates of the prison were forced by the mob outside and 200 convicts were released, Mr. Hutchings fought his way to the gates and succeeded in closing them. He was also successful in recapturing 50 prisoners. Until joined by the Deputy Director of Prisons, he was the only officer in the prison for three hours. Assisted by the Deputy Director of Prisons, he continued his efforts to bring the prisoners under control and, after eight hours, was successful. The citation says the two African warders went among the prisoners at great personal risk to persuade them to return to their cells.

West Africa and Birthday Honours, 1948

K.C.M.G.—G. Beresford-Stooke, C.M.G. (Governor-Designate Sierra Leone).

KNIGHTS BACHELOR.—Geoffrey Heyworth (Chairman Lever Brothers and Unilever Ltd.).

C.M.G.—T. V. W. Finlay (Commissioner of Police Nigeria).

C.B.E. (Civil Division).—Messrs. B. E. Frayling, O.B.E. (lately Chief Inspector of Mines, Nigeria) and J. W. Norriss (Chief Inspecting Engineer, Crown Agents for the Colonies); The Right Rev. W. T. Porter, D.D. (R.C. Bishop of the Gold Coast).

O.B.E.—Miss Gladys Plummer, M.B.E. (Deputy Director of Education, Nigeria), Messrs. F. C. Haslam (Assistant Director Public Works Department, Nigeria), E. A. Renner (Senior Medical Officer, Sierra Leone),

Gold Coast Riot Awards

The George Medal has been awarded to Mr. S. E. Hutchings (Superintendent of Ussher Fort Prison, Accra) for bravery displayed when an attempt was made to release

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G. F. T. Saunders (Senior Medical Officer, Gold Coast), E. M. Tibbitt (Assistant Director Colonial Audit Department), Ivor Cummins (Colonial Office).

O.B.E. (Honorary).—I. B. Akinyele (Ashipa Balogun of Ibadan), L. E. R. Henshaw (Medical Officer, Nigeria), and Akinpelu Obisesan for public services in Nigeria.

M.B.E.—Miss S. K. Batley (Medical Superintendent, C.M.S., Onitsha); Messrs. F. E. Allen (Marine Insurance Officer, Crown Agents for the Colonies), R. I. A. Aubee (Assistant Accountant P.W.D., Sierra Leone), S. O. Gaisie (Labour Officer, Gold Coast), D. E. O. Johnson (Administrative Officer, Nigeria) and R. A. Kitching(Agricultural Officer, Gambia); Miss D. F. Pole (Principal, Annie Walsh Memorial Girls' School, C.M.S. Sierra Leone); Mrs. D. N. Quist (for public services in the Gold Coast); Messrs. A. C. Willoughby (lately Assistant Superintendent of Police, Nigeria) and A. T. Wood (Chief Inspector of Works P.W.D. Gold Coast).

M.B.E. (Honorary).—Mr. J. O. Ugboma (Collector of Customs and Excise, Nigeria).

B.E.M. (Civil Division).—Messrs. T. O. B. Fowlis (Sanitary Inspector, Gambia) and C. T. Hazely (Sierra Leone Railway).

IMPERIAL SERVICE ORDER (Companions).—Messrs. S. T. Crampton (Chief Accountant, Nigerian Railway) and H. R. Senior (Deputy P.M.G., Gold Coast).

COLONIAL POLICE MEDAL FOR MERITORIOUS SERVICE.—Messrs. J. Bunumbu (Sierra Leone), A. Cooper (Nigeria), D. S. Fountain (Nigeria), J. N. Franklin (Gold Coast) and W. E. Rumbelow (Assistant Commissioner, Sierra Leone).

KING'S MEDAL FOR CHIEFS (in silver).—J. A. Karbo, (Lawra-Na, Northern Territories, Gold Coast); Nana Kweku Kyina IV (Omanhene of Lower Dixcove, Gold Coast); Sulaimanu Barau (Emir of Abuja, Nigeria) and Paramount Chief Moriba Kargobai (of Selenga Chiefdom, Bo District, Sierra Leone).

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sentatives from the colonies. We should have a real colonial conference of a new type. It seems to me that a conference of that type would bring a new life into colonial affairs.

Mr. W. Fletcher: In what language?

Dr. Haden Guest: The language of that conference would undoubtedly be like the language of the Asiatic Conference in Delhi this year; it would be English, because English has become an international language. I think that we could at such a conference discuss methods, not of introducing industrial revolution by slow stages, but of avoiding industrial revolution. There is no reason why any colonial people should go through the horrors that have devastated Lancashire and Yorkshire in order to create wealth (Interruption.) Oh, yes, Lancashire and Yorkshire. I have lived there. There is no reason why we should not skip the interval between the primitive conditions in many of the colonial areas and the Socialist conditions in which undoubtedly they will be in the future, under our guidance if we are wise, with our co-operation if we are wise; but against us and by independence movements if we are not wise. I urge the calling of such a colonial conference as a first-class measure of statesmanship which, I believe, will signalise a great advance in our Labour Party policy.

42/90/33

The present government inherited the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, as amended in March, 1945, by the terms of which Britain will grant outright a sum of $480 million for colonial development

(Continued on page 691)

The Nation 42/90/176

Ten Thousand Residence for Bo

The proposed residence of the Chief Commissioner at Bo was the subject of another question from Mr. Sorensen. In view of the need of financial expenditure on education and social services in Sierra Leone, he asked why it was considered necessary to devote £10,000 for the proposed residence. In view of the fact that this proposal was endorsed only by the official majority in the Legislature, would this expenditure be reconsidered?

Mr. Creech Jones: A house for the Chief Commissioner is necessary because the Protectorate Administration has recently been concentrated at Bo and no suitable quarters exist there for this officer. I am asking the Acting Governor for a fuller report on the estimated provision, but my hon. Friend will understand that there is little difference in the cost of building in this country and in West Africa,

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and that this house is more than a private residence and must be of a type to enable the senior British representative in the Protectorate to meet his official and social responsibilities. According to my information, the provision was opposed by four only of the ten unofficial members of the Legislative Council. It was supported by all the Protectorate unofficial members, and the matter was not taken to a division.

Building is Necessary

Mr. Sorensen: Does not the Secretary of State feel that the spending of £10,000 on this particular structure, while so much is denied to education in Sierra Leone, strikes the public as rather cynical?

Mr. Creech Jones: The building is necessary, and I am inquiring into the cost.

Dr. Segal: Is it not a fact that this expenditure can be justified only if it leads to much wider economic development?

Mr. Erroll: Does the right hon. Gentleman realize that accommodation at Bo is very primitive for British officials, and an improvement is urgently necessary?

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whole conception of Empire. If the Commonwealth ... to stand aside, even in thought and speech, Dr. Malan threatens it with secession.

* * *

Interest in Wiring Problems

THE interest of British electrical manufacturers and contractors in West African technical problems is shown by an article in *The Electrical Review* (Britain's leading electrical journal) entitled: "Wiring in West Africa." The writer, Mr. G. M. Dunbar, points out that methods of domestic wiring acceptable in Great Britain would be unsuitable in West Africa because of climatic conditions and general building methods being so different. The domestic load may vary from two or three lights in the average African house to a load of lights, fans, kettles, refrigerators, water heaters and cookers in the better type of African and European houses. As there is no cold season, provision for heating other than water heating is seldom made.

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ARY FOR AFRICA

sity" says Ivor Thomas

ORRESPONDENT.

an average of £74 per head. If the population in British Africa increased without a corresponding increase in production, the total wealth would be halved and the revenue per head would be ten shillings.

An economist had stated that capital investment in Africa up to 1936 was £1,122 million. Of this, £523 million had gone to the Union of South Africa and £102 million to the Rhodesias. Up to 1936, there had been only £241 million invested in the eleven British African territories. At least seven times the present investment in Africa should be made. These developments would increase the responsibilities of the Secretary of State.

problem again, particularly to the experiments now taking place and which appear in the Colonial Report just published.

There is a vacuum, a mental need, which is being created among the new literates in Africa. I emphasised a year ago that if measures were not taken to satisfy this new mental need, it would be satisfied by immoral literature and by an African yellow Press, which is in itself immoral. If there was any truth in that assertion a year ago, there is more truth in it today. I would appeal to the Colonial Secretary to deal effectively with this problem before it is too late. No one would wish to see a further spread of the yellow Press in Africa; nor would any of us wish to see the appearance in Africa of those pornographic advertisements, which have for so many years characterised the Indian yellow Press, reproduced perhaps a millionfold in Africa as a principal influence on African minds.

I ventured a year ago to advocate certain measures to safeguard the untutored African mind from immoral, degrading and seditious influences, and I am confident that the Colonial Secretary will deal with this matter with sympathy and interest. I, therefore, ask him bluntly this question: Is he now prepared to increase substantially the paper allowance for the Christian mis[illegible]

the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and the British Loan a majority of Republicans in both houses voted "No."

The disagreement between the two parties has been deeper and more consistent on foreign trade than on

In peace-time, West Africa is the natural entrance to the African continent for traders and travellers from the United Kingdom and the Americas, whether they come by sea or by air; and for ordinary aircraft from the Americas there will always be great advantage in the overland route via South America leading to the shortest ocean "hop" from Natal to West Africa.

Thinking strategically, in terms of the defence by the Western Democracies against aggression from Europe or from the East, West Africa must be regarded as a vital base, subsidiary to a main

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SOIL SURVEY IN GOLD

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in considering the matter.

Destroyed Houses Crucial

Mr. Nesbitt said without relying on the 1940 declaration in any way, their lordships could find that the respondent was entitled to possession on the evidence put forward in the case. This established that, in 1916, the Chiefs of Nobi and Agulu marked out the boundary between the lands of the Orokwu and the Adazi, the Umuori being south of the road entirely at that time.

In 1938, the Adazi ceded certain land to the east of the boundary to the appellants. It was then the respondent's case that three or four years before the present action was brought, the Umuori had crossed the boundary fixed in 1916 and occupied the green land.

Lord Simonds: How many acres does the disputed land contain?

Counsel: Not more than 160.

One of the main issues of fact at the hearing, remarked Mr. Nesbitt, was whether the houses destroyed by the Adazi were or were not on the green land.

Lord Simonds said it ought to be possible to prove convincingly where the destroyed houses were. That matter might be very crucial.

W Mun

Three Tribes Concerned

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JUDGMENT was reserved by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on January 29, in an appeal concerned with the right of the tribe of Umuori to retain land at Onitsha, Nigeria. It was brought by special leave by Victor Maduka, Ofafor Moka and Onwuzulike Agwu, all of Umuori, from a judgment of the West African Court of Appeal dismissing, with costs, their appeal from a judgment of the High Court of Enugu-Onitsha Judicial Division in favour of the respondent (plaintiff in the action), Ezeodimegwu on behalf of the late Chief Aboh of Orokwu.

Mr. S. Cope Morgan, K.C., appearing with Mr. F. Howard Collier for the appellants, told the Board (Lords Simonds and Morton of Henryton, and Sir Madhavan

WEST AFRICA AT WESTMINSTER

Statement on Gold Coast Riots

FIVE questions were asked in the House of Commons last week about the Gold Coast riots. A statement was made by Mr. Rees-Williams, at the end of question time. After stating that a satisfactory measure of law and order had been restored, he continued: "I am very glad to say that the attitude of the Chiefs and Native Authorities in the Gold Coast has throughout been most helpful. They have publicly expressed their disapproval of the rioting and have exercised their authority to urge restraint on their people and cooperation with the Government in the measures which it has taken to restore order. The senior unofficial member of the Legislative Council, on behalf of his

Several hundred Abeokuta women, led by Mrs. Ransome Kuti (one of NCNC's delegates to London) invaded the presincts of the Alake's Palace, demanding removal of taxes on women's incomes and release of women jailed for non-payment; Alake hurriedly summoned Chiefs to his assistance and the women were finally persuaded to leave upon promise of immediate consideration of their complaint; demonstrations continued intermittently for two weeks, finally ceasing without recourse to force, in face of the Alake's firm stand to adhere strictly to the tax law.

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and shins of the miners working in Nigeria; and within a year of his recommendation asking that protection should be given, the mortality rate among the Native miners, who sometimes live ten to 20 miles from the mines, was reduced by 50 to 75 per cent."

He maintained, with regard to the Colonies, that the Colonial Office should be the main factor, and the whole basis of these schemes should be concerned with bringing in all the small proprietors in the country from the point of view of production, organization and marketing. The schemes should be based on cooperative ideas, cooperative trading, and cooperative production.

Little Englanders

Dr. Segal who visited West Africa as a member of a Parliamentary Delegation in 1947 said: "It is pathetic to see the once great Imperial Party, not only great in numbers but great in its conception of Imperial policy, now shrunk to the miserable state of a small band of Little Englanders. Cannot we develop a far greater conception of the significance of our Colonial Empire and the whole future of our Colonial peoples? Cannot we broaden the interests not only of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, but every single Government Department so that, in the future, they will take a deep interest in the development of our Colonial Empire? So far from this being a new development, from which we should run away and of which we should fight shy, it is a development which we ought to do our utmost to encourage, not only in the interests of the Mother Country, but also in the interests of the Colonies themselves. The Colonial people get sick and tired of seeing the emissaries of the Colonial Office making their trips to Colonial territory with some new idea or because of a nationalization scheme proposed by the Government. They want, for a change, to see the emissaries of the Ministry of Food or the Board of Trade or the Ministry of Supply. Why not? Let us forge all the more closely the links which bind our Colonies to the Mother Country. Let us see to it that it is not purely a one-way traffic, which tends to be caught in a development bottleneck, but a two-way traffic developing broadly along vast new avenues of Imperial policy. So I would appeal to Members opposite to discard the ideas of the Little Englander."

Do They Pay Good Wages ?

Mr. Strachey said: "We believe that the real point of the Amendment we have before us is to exclude from my right hon. Friend his right to invite the Overseas Food Corporation to come into any Colonial territory; and the reason why there is this discrimination is unquestionably because this is a public Corporation under public ownership. We object to this particular Overseas Food Corporation being excluded by Statute from operating in Colonial territory should the Colonial Secretary of the day, in his wisdom, invite it to do so. There is no more to be said on this issue than that."

"We honestly do not believe," said Mr. Strachey, "that there is anything in this psychological question. What, in fact—I will not use the word 'reconcile' for I do not think they need reconciling—will commend these schemes to the local inhabitants of the areas in which they operate is that it will not be a question of a large corporation operating or that a Ministry is ultimately responsible, but it will be a question of how they are run. Do they pay good wages? Do they give good conditions and are their medical services good? That is how every inhabitant of the area will judge these schemes. That is the real issue."

Colonial Secretary's General Responsibility

Mr. Creech Jones, who moved the third reading of the Bill, said: "I would like to assert, with all the emphasis I can, that this Bill is as much designed for the purpose of meeting the needs of the world as it is for meeting the special needs of the Colonial peoples. By that, I mean that it is imperative today, if the Colonial peoples are to go forward in attaining that standard of living, in reaching a higher stage of social development, and in enjoying the social services they demand, that their economic resources should be fully developed. This Bill will give some assistance in making Colonial economics more stable, in encouraging enterprise and in increasing the number of economic activities possible in the territories. At the same time, the Bill will minister to the needs of Europe, and of our own country in particular. I think that, arising out of it, there will be a closer integration of economic interests because of the mutual benefit which the operation of this Bill will bring.

"I have no apprehension that, because the Bill provides for an Overseas Food Corporation, we shall be diverted, as a nation, from our main purpose of building up Colonial standards. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, answerable to Parliament, will still carry a general responsibility in regard to the whole of the economic development of the territories under his immediate control. It will be his duty and his responsibility to see that, whether it is the Colonial Development Corporation or the Overseas Food Corporation which is functioning in these territories, reasonable and proper standards are maintained, and that their activities fit in with the general economic plan of development of the territory concerned. It will be his special responsibility to see that reasonable standards are maintained and, also, that the Corporation only functions with the understanding and consent of the local government and of the people involved."

No Flattery

Mr. Stanley who, in saying goodbye to the Bill at this stage, wished to both Corporations the greatest success in their work, said that he accepted entirely the assertion made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies that he approached this Bill, and the operations under the Bill, in no selfish desire merely to benefit the people of this country, but to bring benefits to the Colonial Empire, to this country —and why not to this country?—and to the world at large. "I am not in any way," he said, "flattering the right hon. Gentleman when I say that, whatever differences we may have had in the past and, no doubt, will have in the future, he has gained a reputation for sympathy with the Colonies and with Colonial objectives that make an assertion of that kind, coming from him, of particular value."

By Hook or by Crook

Mr. Strachey, who thanked Mr. Stanley for his helpful remarks in launching what is a national series of enterprises said: "Our national position is really too grave to warrant any indulgence in our particular opinions on the methods of overseas development. I should like to end this discussion by striking this note, that by one means or another, by hook or by crook, the development of primary production of all sorts, in the Colonial areas, Colonial territories and dependent areas in the Commonwealth, as well as generally throughout the world, in far more abundant quantities than exist today is, it is hardly too much to say, a life and death matter for the economy of this country.

"We know that this Bill cannot, with the resources which we can spare for this particular purpose, do more than make a contribution to that vitally important end which, for this country and for other highly developed industrial countries in the world, is of such tremendous importance. It is a contribution which we can make, and we believe that it may set an example to other countries with resources which might join in one form or another with us in the development to the greatest possible extent of primary production throughout the world. That is really the great world need today; and in establishing that new instrument for that purpose, we feel that we are serving well the cause not only of this country, but of all the consumers and producers throughout the world."

Messrs. Staveley & Co. Limited, associate of Bartholomew (London) Limited have recently delivered a Humber Pullman limousine to Nana Ofori Atta II (the Omanhene of Akyem Abuakwa).

OVERSEAS PRODUCTION LIFE AND DEATH MATTER FOR BRITAIN

Development Bill Will Make Contribution

SEVERAL minor amendments to the Overseas Resources Development Bill were moved and agreed to during the third reading in the House of Commons last week. The House divided and decided against a Clause by Mr. Stanley that "His Majesty in Council may by Order direct that any project formulated or which is being carried out by the Overseas Food Corporation shall be carried out by the Colonial Development Corporation instead of by the Overseas Food Corporation, and such Order may provide for the transfer and vesting of any property and for any matters incidental to or consequential upon the transfer of any project as aforesaid." Voting was 252 against and 133 for the clause being read a second time.

Mr. Strachey (the Food Minister) said it would be most unlikely that it would be practicable or wise to transfer schemes, after they have been in operation for some years, from one Corporation to the other. "This Corporation," he said, "will become a large organization with an expert staff and a fund of expert knowledge in that particular part of the world. For this Parliament, or the Government without Parliament, by Order in Council to transfer schemes from one Corporation to another would be a most unwise thing to do."

Division of Power Wrong

Dr. Morgan, a Labour M.P. who hoped the House would accept Mr. Stanley's clause, said he believed that all things concerned with Colonial development should be in the hands of one Minister. It was true that the Minister of Food argued in Committee that he wanted to have power to deal in Dominions in which the Colonial Secretary was not concerned. A special Bill could be brought in for that purpose; but dividing power between two Ministries to deal with any matters concerning Colonies, as in this Bill, seemed to be quite wrong unless it was done in such a way that one Department is subservient to the other and the Bill gives the Colonial Secretary full control over anything happening in a Colony. He had representations from most Colonies—certainly Africa and the West Indies—and the unofficial opinion there was that the Secretary of State should have the power to act and not the Ministry of Food which was regarded as a permanent Ministry under temporary conditions in Great Britain.

Sir Arthur Salter (Member for Oxford University) said that when the Government goes into a Colony, it should be quite obviously and unmistakably the Minister of the Government and the chain of official responsibility to the Minister of the Government, whose primary interest is the interest of the inhabitants, and not whose secondary interest is the interest of the inhabitants after a primary interest which is that of the inhabitants of this country."

By Invitation Only

An amendment moved by Mr. Dodds-Parker with the intention of limiting the activities of the Overseas Food Corporation to other than in Colonial territories was put to a division and was defeated by 243 votes to 106. Speaking against the amendment, Mr. Rees-Williams (Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies) said there was a safeguard against the intrusion of the Minister of Food into any Colonial territory in which the Secretary of State for the Colonies does not desire him to enter.

"He can enter only at the invitation of the Secretary of State for the Colonies and that invitation will be given only after consultation with the local government, the Colonial Government, and after full consideration by the Secretary of State of all the circumstances which have to be borne in mind. Therefore, the idea that the Minister of Food and his Corporation can gate-crash into Colonies where he is not desired, either by the local government or the Secretary of State, is just fantastic. It just could not possibly happen. He would not be able and would not wish to carry any such tremendous liability as he would incur, even if he did get people other than the Secretary of State to agree to his entering."

Speaking for the amendment, Mr. Stanley said: "In the whole working of Government, I do not think things will work out in quite the simple way which has been put before us, namely, that the Secretary of State for the Colonies thinks: 'Let us grow asparagus in Mauritius,' and then asks himself: 'Is this a thing I shall do myself, or shall I ask the Minister of Food in to do it for me?' and upon thinking it over decides finally: 'Well, the Minister of Food has such special knowledge of the growing of asparagus that I ought to ask him in to do it.' I do not think it will work that way at all, but in exactly the opposite way. The Minister of Food will say: 'We should like to have for this country a certain kind of foodstuff. I think we could grow that in such and such an area of the Colonial territory,' and he will go to the Colonial Secretary and put to him a scheme for growing that foodstuff. It may be that the Colonial Secretary, regarding the whole situation, may not want that particular scheme carried out in that particular territory at all. However, he will be asked to give his permission, and if he refuses, the final decision does not rest with the Colonial Secretary, but the matter becomes one for the Cabinet; two Ministers will be disagreeing on a point which will have to be settled by the Cabinet, and not necessarily at all in accordance with the views of the Colonial Secretary."

"I Do Not Believe"

"We are told," said Mr. Stanley, "the effect would be that there might be some cases where we should be deprived quite unnecessarily of the cooperation which we think the Colonial Corporation ought to have from the Food Corporation. Frankly, I do not believe that for one moment. I believe that, in pretty well any scheme which the Colonial Secretary wanted to start in a Colonial territory, he could get all the cooperation he wanted from the Food Corporation by the loan of one or two key men. It would not be at all necessary for the whole of this vast paraphernalia which has been described to us to become operative. We have been told how immense vested interests will grow up round each particular plan in the Food Corporation, but it would not be in the least necessary for the whole of that great army to march into the territory. One or two key men—who presumably would be loaned gladly from one Corporation to another—would, I think, give all the expert advice and cooperation that was needed."

Dr. Morgan said he was very unhappy about the Bill: "I have spent much time in the Colonies, seeing how people live, their disease, poverty, and destitution. I know something of their psychology, not from a brief visit, but from a study of many years, living among them, going in and around their huts, and seeing how they react towards certain problems. I feel genuinely unhappy that the Colonial Office is not to be the dominant factor in all this business."

Nigerian Example

"Some Socialists," he said, "think that because an enterprise is run by a Government it is necessarily well-run. The railways in Nigeria have been run by the Government for years. Are they good railways? The coal-mines in Nigeria have been run by the Government for years. Was there any attention paid to the diseases of the miners there? Is it not a fact, as the present Colonial Secretary knows, that there was a report from one of his officials during the Coalition Government, during the war, in which it was proved that no protection was given to the bare feet

SOIL SURVEY IN GOLD COAST

By G. F. CHARTER.*

WHILST most universities and agricultural institutes in Great Britain provide tuition in the analysis of soils by laboratory methods, none provides a comprehensive course in soil science designed to train men to distinguish between different soils and to map their distribution in the field. Soil surveys aim at providing an inventory of a country's soil resources, so that the right soils can be used for growing the right crops in the right way. Such surveys are essential to planned agricultural development and, with the present world-wide shortage of foodstuffs, few other things are of such fundamental importance.

Regarding the training of such staff, Britain is far behind others, such as the United States of America and Canada, for example. There, university departments of soil science have been established many years; and it is possible for students to take degrees with soil science as their principal subject. Considering the extent of the territories in the Commonwealth dependent upon agriculture as their main industry, the provision of similar facilities in the Universities of Great Britain is long overdue. Later this month, a conference on tropical soils is being held at Rothamsted; and it is my intention to put forward a resolution strongly urging that this state of affairs be remedied.

It was only during and after the second world war that it was realized what an increasingly important part agriculture would have to play in the economy of Britain; and a national soil survey service has only very lately been initiated here. Despite this, plans for pushing ahead with similar work on the tropical parts of the Commonwealth are well under way. Whilst the Gold Coast Survey will be the first large-scale Colonial survey to be carried out, similar schemes are being considered for the West Indies and Nigeria.

Whilst every encouragement has been given the Gold Coast Soil Survey by the Home Government, it would not have been got going so rapidly if the people of the Gold Coast themselves had not realized the importance of this sort of work and urged its immediate prosecution. The Chiefs and the Members of the Legislative Council fully appreciate the need for having a firm and scientific basis for agricultural development; and it is due to their co-operation that the Cocoa Marketing Board has donated £150,000 towards the cost of the survey.

Apart from being the first of the large-scale soil surveys in the tropical parts of the Commonwealth, this undertaking has another important feature. The staff, I hope to recruit in Great Britain, will be mainly used for instructional purposes and for guidance. It is the intention, as far as possible, to make this a soil survey of the Gold Coast, for the benefit of the Gold Coast, by inhabitants of the Gold Coast. With these aims in view, considerable care and thought have been taken in devising suitable techniques for use both in the field and the laboratory. It is proposed that the African staff engaged should number about 120 and the first year's work will consist principally of training.

The Gold Coast African has, in the past few years, shown himself well adapted for work of this nature, has displayed considerable enthusiasm for it and has turned out results of high quality. A great deal of soil work has been done already; thus during the past three years, certain cocoa areas have been surveyed; whilst in the past 12 months, the selection of soil suitable for the mechanized production of groundnuts has been carried out and, at present, some of my staff are engaged in the investigation of land suitable for the growing of swamp rice under irrigation. The special facilities that the Gold Coast Soil Survey will provide for the technical training of African staff was given particular prominence in the Governor's inaugural address last December.

It would be quite possible for work of this character to be carried out almost entirely by European experts and then the people of the Gold Coast presented with a cut and dried scheme for the agricultural development of their country. I myself do not consider this to be the best procedure by a long way. If a technical scheme for a country's welfare is to be worked out, it is advisable that its inhabitants play an integral part in its development. Only then will the aims and objects of the scheme be thoroughly understood by the people for whom it has been devised; and only then will their whole-hearted co-operation in putting it into effect be secured. Using a large African staff, to carry out the soil survey, ensures that the purposes of the survey will be thoroughly appreciated and that the principles involved in the correct use of soils will be widely disseminated.

In the Gold Coast soil survey, the boundaries of the soil patterns only are being mapped throughout the country, not the boundaries of the individual soils which together make up the patterns. This is being done by running parallel traverses across the countryside about a mile apart and collecting observations along them concerning the soils and rocks that occur. In addition to this, small sample areas, characteristic of each pattern, are being surveyed in detail to show the relationship that the individual soils comprising the pattern bear to one another and the relative area that each soil occupies. Samples of every soil recognized will be collected and later examined in the laboratory.

By this method, it will be rapidly ascertained what soils are found in the southern part of the Gold Coast; where they recur; what is the importance of each, from the point of view of the area it covers; and what their properties are. If all goes according to plan, this information should be available for the southern half of the Gold Coast by the end of six years.

The principal crop of the southern part of the Gold Coast is cocoa. Cocoa in the Gold Coast has been badly hit by a virus causing swollen shoot disease. In 1936, before this disease had spread, the Gold Coast exported over 300,000 tons of cocoa, about 42 per cent. of world production; now, exports have fallen to about 200,000 tons. So two of the main objects of the soil survey will be to assist in the rehabilitation of devastated cocoa lands and to find other areas with suitable soils, as yet unplanted, where cocoa can be profitably grown. Cocoa is relatively a new crop in the Gold Coast, its cultivation dating from the latter part of the last century. It was found a profitable crop to grow and its cultivation spread very rapidly. In consequence, it was not always planted in soils suitable for it. So part of the work of the survey will be to decide which are the profitable cocoa soils and to indicate where they can be found. This will not only assist the trade of the Commonwealth, as a whole, but will help the Gold Coast farmer to get the maximum return for his labour.

The soil survey, however, will not be wholly concerned with increasing cocoa production, but will take into consideration other agricultural products as well; the soils most suitable for general subsistence crops will be studied; and areas satisfactory for the production of additional export crops, such as groundnuts, will be mapped. The soil survey is, in fact, designed to provide the technical basis for profitable crop production so that the African cultivator can, by his labour, secure the social and domestic amenities: educational and health services etc., which he desires and that we wish him to have; so that he can leave the land he tills in such a condition that his descendants can obtain similar benefits as a result of their efforts.

*Extracts from a talk in London last week.

Although the older wood-case system is still to be found, the method is not now permitted for new installations. Open-cleat wiring is still to be seen, but its use is diminishing, especially as semi-skilled African painters play havoc with such wiring when distempering walls and ceilings. Any form of conduit tubing is discouraged, as humidity and heat, coupled with salt sea air on the coastal regions, cause excessive condensation, which not only damages the cables but also corrodes the tubing.

The author concludes by stating that the most satisfactory system which is now almost always used for new domestic installations is to employ twin flat cab-tyre-sheathed cable fastened with buckle clips to the surface. This method has proved to be comparatively cheap, neat and easy to instal, even when semi-skilled African labour is employed. It has the further advantages of suffering less from local climatic conditions, and renewals or replacements can easily be made. One final advantage is that the whole installation can be distempered along with the rest of the building without damage to the cable.

* * *

West African Hotels

A COMPANY has been set up to establish a chain of hotels throughout West Africa. Acting chairman is Mr. A. H. Scroggs, a director of Gliksten (West Africa) Ltd. and Mr. F. Bateman-Jones, former assistant manager of Elder Dempster Lines Ltd., is a director. It is intended that "West African Hotels Limited" should build and operate first class hotels at Kano, Lagos, Accra, Takoradi, Kumasi, Freetown and Bathurst.

The hotel planned for Kano is to have 90 bedrooms and that at Bathurst 15. Accommodation in the other hotels will vary between these two figures. There will be no colour bar; and tourists and local residents will be welcomed. Among proposals for the scheme is the provision of an electric laundry at each hotel. If the long distance telephone between London and West Africa is put into service this autumn, as was hinted earlier this year, it will not be long before a resident in the United Kingdom (or in most parts of the world which are already on the London international switchboard) will be able to book his hotel accommodation in West Africa before leaving for the airport. The G.E. Development Company Ltd., of 11, Grosvenor Gardens, London, S.W.1, is certainly promoting a service which will comfort the traveller.

* * *

Newsprint and Literacy

THE importance of newsprint to Africa was stressed by Mr. George Wigg during the Estimates debate on the Board of Trade. "During the war," he said, "the right hon. Member for West Bristol (Mr. Stanley) produced a report on mass education in Africa, which looked forward to the time, within a very few years, when there would be a great growth of literacy. In that report, great stress was rightly placed on the development of newspapers in the African Colonies. At present, in Nigeria, the largest of our Colonies—one-third the size of Europe, with a population of almost 25 million—there is a total of 25 publications, and the total daily circulation of newspapers does not amount to more than 33,000. In the Gambia, with about a quarter of a million population, there is not one daily newspaper. So one can go on, Colony after Colony, with roughly the same story. If the Colonial Secretary is to succeed in his attempt to eradicate illiteracy in the African Colonies, there must be a great increase in the number of newspapers, particularly in English but also in the vernacular. But where is the newsprint coming from to supply the newspapers?"

* * *

"Not to Help Africa"

AGRICULTURAL development is by no means a problem for Africa alone. One British M.P., Mr. Baldwin (Leominster), said, in an adjournment debate last week, that one-third of the agricultural land in Great Britain is still classed as rough grazing. "If," he said, "we tackled a few million acres of that marginal land and rough grazing land and brought it into production, we should be doing a great deal more good for this country than by the millions of pounds which we are now pouring into Central Africa on what is a very problematical venture."

Said Mr. George Brown, Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture, during his reply: "The hon. gentleman . . . rather suggested that we were putting money into Colonial food production schemes rather than the development of marginal land at home. But this country depends more than any other on imported supplies of oils and fats; we depend on imports for 95 per cent. of our supplies. The groundnut scheme will make a contribution when it is really going of about 250,000 tons a year to our great need for oils and fats. It is not being done, as he so lightly said, to help Africa or Australia, but to get much needed additional supplies of these things for this country."

* * *

General Post for Teachers

THE Ministry of Education has published a circular (No. 170, H.M.S.O., price 3d.), which gives details of a scheme for broadening the experience of British schoolteachers. Selected teachers will be seconded for a period not normally exceeding three years (or five years at the most) to posts overseas. These posts will include the Colonial Education Service. The Ministry will circulate lists of suitable vacancies periodically; and teachers will then be able to apply through their home employers. Applications will be considered and appointments made by the overseas employer and not by the Ministry of Education.

"The scheme," says the official notice, "is not likely to have any noticeable effect on teaching strength in this country, since the total needs for overseas are very small in relation to the growing number of teachers available for employment at home. The Minister considers that it is in the interests of the teaching profession and of the educational service generally that teachers should be afforded an opportunity of acquiring overseas experience."

Since the cry on all sides in Colonial territories is a far different one, it looks as if this temporary export of teachers from the United Kingdom may be used with advantage by Colonial Governments to relieve their own shortages. From another point of view is there not good reason for African schoolteachers coming to the United Kingdom for three to four years' experience on a basis of reversed lend-lease? Acquiring overseas experience will therefore have a double benefit to European and African alike.

* * *

M. and B.

AN enormous pipe can be seen occasionally floating through the library and lobbies of the House of Commons. Those who penetrate its smoke cloud discover, in its propellant, a small, bearded, mild-eyed man with an abounding enthusiasm for the Commonwealth and a wide knowledge of its places and peoples.

He is 46-year-old F. W. Skinnard, M.P. for Harrow East, former schoolmaster, world traveller and a politician who regards West Africans as tenderly as he does his London constituents.

In the recent debate on purchase tax on medicines, questions arose about the protection of trade names. Having stated a case that, no doubt, commended itself to East Harrow, Mr. Skinnard turned to the defence of West Africa. "In a remote village of the Cameroons," he told the House, "I found a drug store in which every possible ju-ju was labelled M. and B. There was even an M. and B. preparation to guarantee faithfulness on the part of one's wife."

Mr. Skinnard rocked the House with laughter—and served the serious purpose of every West African doctor.

West African Mailbag . . . .

Sierra Leone's Legislative Council

MR. R. O. RAMAGE (Acting Governor of Sierra Leone) at a special meeting of the Legislative Council, called to consider the proposals for its reconstitution which are set out in Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1948, said: "There are two major aspects of the proposals to which I shall refer shortly, since they are fundamental but sometimes seem to be overlooked in considering details. These are: the substitution of a majority of non-officials in the Council for the present official majority; and provision whereby the Protectorate will be given a larger representation than at present. I feel confident that everyone will agree in principle with both.

"As Honourable Members are aware, the Protectorate Assembly, when recently considering this Sessional Paper, passed a resolution recommending certain changes, the most important of which is that there should be a member elected directly to the Legislative Council by each District, i.e. a total of thirteen such members, instead of nine in the Sessional Paper.

"In a matter of such importance as the framing of a new constitution, it is impossible to expect unanimity on all points. From discussions I have had, official and otherwise, I have reason to believe that there is a wide degree of agreement on a good number of the details in the Sessional Paper. In some other aspects, if there is not such agreement now, it seems likely that there will not be serious disagreement. There are, however, one or two matters on which I realize there is very considerable difference of opinion.

"Government has been fully conscious of the special problems which arise in a territory such as Sierra Leone, where there are two groups of the population whose standards differ materially. This has added considerably to the difficulties inherent in drafting any constitution, and is not to be solved by any hard and fast rules. On any major issue in serious dispute, the best that can be hoped for is a settlement in the best interests of the greater number concerned. It is, I think you will agree, essential for the future of Sierra Leone that where, on any issue, there is a majority opinion in its favour, the minority should recognize that the majority view cannot be set aside except for very exceptional reasons. The acceptance of a majority opinion is a recognized principle in the British constitution.

"The proposals for the Reconstitution of the Legislative Council are designed to create a Legislature which will give the people of Sierra Leone a much greater responsibility for their government in a form designed to meet present conditions. There is no intention to design now a constitution which will last indefinitely. A constitution, to be of value, must be a live thing, something which will grow in stature as it gains in experience. The present proposals for setting up, for the first time in Sierra Leone, a Legislature which has an unofficial majority is one of the most important steps which a territory can take on the road of constitutional development.

"It is no doubt tempting to try and cut out some of the stages through which other territories have passed. The introduction of an unofficial majority is, however, such a major step in itself that I am convinced that the true interests of the country can be secured only if the people of Sierra Leone take advantage of the opportunity for increased self-government on the lines of the present proposals, although not necessarily exactly as detailed in the Sessional Paper. Further constitutional progress will depend on the extent to which all concerned contribute to the successful working of the stage now proposed."

* * *

Nigerian Transport

FIFTEEN Leyland Comet lorries and four buses have been ordered by the Crown Agents for the Nigerian Railways.

Government, namely: "Every person who under this Act is a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies." The contention of the Government sponsors of the Bill is that this change of wording introduces so fundamental and undesirable a change in the symmetrical relationship of all British subjects or Commonwealth citizens (the terms being synonymous) as citizens of one part or other of the Commonwealth as to ruin the intentions of the Bill. Lord Altrincham, who moved the amendment and was supported by Viscount Swinton, Viscount Simon, the Marquis of Salisbury and the Conservative Peers generally, maintained that the change was only of verbal significance and was prompted by largely sentimental objections to the word "citizen" as well as attachment to the term "British subject" and a desire to see nothing intervene between the individual and that status.

The arguments of the Lord Chancellor, and his explanation of the effect of the amendment in wrecking the plan of the Bill, fell on deaf ears. The net result is that, in the Bill as amended, the United Kingdom and Colonies will be in a different category from the other members of the Commonwealth who will attain the position of British subject or Commonwealth citizen by virtue of citizenship of their own country while those born or naturalized in the United Kingdom and Colonies will be British subjects by virtue of that fact, without any local designation of citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies. It remains to be seen what the House of Commons will do with the Bill. It was introduced first in the House of Lords and has yet to be considered in the other House.

* * *

Fats are Short

THE world shortage of fats is even more serious than the world shortage of grain. Mr. J. C. A. Faure, of Unilever, presented the "fat" side of the situation at the Congress of the International Seed Crushers' Association in Brussels last week.

In 1938, he pointed out, world fat consumption was 21·4 lb. per capita. If this rate of consumption had been maintained, and if there had been no war, owing to the increase in population we would have needed, to-day, a world production of 22·4 million tons. Actual production is 18·3 million tons.

Looking into the future, Mr. Faure explained that, in order to maintain the present low ration and low per capita consumption, production must increase by 2 million tons in 1958; 4·1 million tons in 1968; and 6·4 million tons in 1978.

No wonder he takes a poor view of any early restoration to pre-war standards, and has sharp comments to make on the critics of groundnut schemes!

"It seems," he says, "impossible to believe that there are still those who think that the East Africa groundnut scheme is unnecessary and that it will result in flooding the market with groundnuts. . . . I hope a West African Scheme will also be embarked upon as a result of the survey made by the West African Oilseeds Mission. . . . May more such schemes be worked out and embarked upon whether by Governments or private enterprise!"

* * *

Gold Coast Follow-up

QUICK to follow up the publication of the Clay report on oilseeds in West Africa was the Gold Coast Secretary for Rural Development, R. H. Saloway. He has flown to London, had talks with the Colonial Office and the Colonial Development Corporation and has now returned to the Gold Coast equipped with new ideas for the detailed scheme for mechanizing agriculture which he has been carrying out in the Gold Coast ever since his first appointment one year ago.

In his late forties, Mr. Saloway had long experience in India. His acceptance in the Gold Coast, over the heads of other Colonial Servants whose natural ambition for promotion might have caused a little resentment, is a good instance of the best man for the job always hitting it off well. There must be instances, however, where "new blood," coming from India, Burma, Palestine and elsewhere, has caused some uneasiness to Colonial Servants longer in the field who now feel their hopes of climbing the promotion ladder receding in much the same way as did experienced subalterns at one stage of the war when disbanding units created surpluses of senior officers.

Whether the Colonial Service is beginning to feel a similar pinch or not is a point for discussion but, by and large, appointments of men with wider experience must benefit the Colonies.

* * *

At Last!

THE Colonial Office, negotiating with the Government Whips on the question of Parliamentary time for Colonial affairs, have scored a great success. Three days, according to Lobby reports, are to be devoted to the Colonies next session; not all that the Colonial Office wanted, but a big advance on the present allocation of one supply day.

If, now, the Whips of all Parties are put on to ensure a reasonable attendance of Members than is usual at Colonial debates, we might be tempted to believe that Parliament is taking the Commonwealth seriously!

* * *

African Team

DR. G. F. CHARTER, now on his way to the Gold Coast, took part in the 14 days' conference of chemists and agricultural experts from 24 countries held recently at Rothamsted Experimental Station and at Oxford. He was leader of the West African team, one of whom, Dr. Vine, now home from Nigeria, is to be second in command of the Gold Coast survey.

Dr. Charter, 43 years old, a son of Suffolk and a product of Cambridge, is a modern type of Commonwealth builder. Malaria contracted in British Honduras has quenched neither his abounding energies nor his scientist's passion. His special pride in his new and greatest adventure is the efficiency of his team of 120 Africans. "Soil problems, like all the others," he insists, "are for Africans to meet and overcome."

* * *

"Probable Publication"

MR. A. CREECH JONES announced, in the House of Commons on Wednesday, that the report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Gold Coast disturbances will probably be published simultaneously in Britain and in West Africa at the end of July. He refused to give an inkling of what the report contained.

The date given for the "probable publication" is in the last few days of the Parliamentary session. With a crowded agenda before it in the next session, after August, it will be difficult to squeeze in a Parliamentary discussion on the report.

Mr. Creech Jones paid a tribute to the rapidity with which the Commission completed its work. But he could have surely speeded the printing of the report to enable it to be discussed on the floor of the House of Commons. What happens in any part of the Commonwealth affecting the welfare of the people ought to be the intimate business of every Member of the Imperial Parliament.

* * *

Chance for B.B.C. Pioneers

You can't get to heaven on a groundnuts scheme,
For the groundnuts scheme is a politician's dream.

IT sounds like the British Army singing "Bless 'em all"—then getting on with the tremendous job of making the impossible the inevitable. And that is exactly the spirit conveyed in the brilliant B.B.C. broadcast—"New Pioneers in Africa"—of goings-on at Kongwa.

This broadcast makes Empire pioneering real, exciting and inspiring. It should be re-diffused throughout the Commonwealth, especially to West Africa, where interest is keen in the Kongwa prototype for all groundnuts schemes.

BRITONS UNITED IN DEMANDING SQUARE DEAL FOR COLONIAL PEOPLES

Secretary of State Reviews Recent Colonial Policy

COLONIAL hecklers interrupted Mr. Creech Jones's eighty-minute speech on Colonial policy, last week, before a London audience which included a large number of Colonials, at a meeting organized by the Fabian Colonial Bureau. Mr. Creech Jones said: "I believe that my colleagues, Ministers and Officials in the Colonial Office are doing a great job and I find it a great privilege to be the leader of so efficient and enlightened a team. We do not approach our work in any mood of complacency nor are we satisfied with our achievements so far. We are conscious of the enormous problems which wait to be tackled, the considerable amount of misery and distress, which have to be relieved, and we know that the answers to many of the problems, if good life is to be made possible for the Colonial peoples, are as yet not available.

"It is also the case that progress must necessarily be slow in many important directions where we are most anxious to achieve results; and those of us who are most anxious for results are possessed of a great impatience when we find problems not leading too readily to some of the solutions we believe we have found." He said it was imperative that we should recognize that many of the problems of Colonial policy do not arise from any weakness on the part of Europeans or aliens but are inherent in the problems of evolving societies, which have had little of the opportunities of the modern world made available to them, and whose people have to build up traditions and to adapt themselves to the needs of modern times. (Cries of "Nonsense").

He recognized that there are many difficulties which arise from certain policies which, in the past, have been pursued by those who have taken control of some of these overseas territories. There are episodes, in British Colonial history, which have brought these problems and evils which to-day cannot readily and easily be eradicated. He wanted to indicate what our policy is and what we have been trying to do but was conscious that, in the generalizations he would make, they will be inappropriate, inaccurate and will misinterpret the conditions in many territories.

We have been working on a background of considerable difficulty in the territories. We have had to adjust their conditions from wartime to peace. Many territories were devastated by war, many had their economies radically altered. In some areas there have been famine and shortages. Naturally, after the propaganda and aspirations for freedom after the war, the more educated and articulate sections of the population have been insisting not only on their political aspirations but on their social needs as well.

British Policy To-day

British policy to-day seeks to create for the Colonial peoples conditions in their territories which can help them to improve their economic livelihood and their standards of living and take them along the road towards responsibility in government. (Interruption and voices heard saying "You should be more subtle" . . . "Carry on. Carry on.") Our task is to assist completely the Colonial peoples. We cannot afford, nor is it desirable on human grounds, to remain in a forced relationship with the people amongst whom we work. We have to win their confidence and goodwill to help them move forward to welfare and responsibility. We have to dispel ignorance and disease and poverty, where we meet it; but all the time build up a sound and healthy relationship on equal terms with the people amongst whom we are working.

So far as this Government is concerned, we regard the relationship between Colonial peoples and ourselves as a matter of major importance. We must press on with the elimination of colour prejudice and discrimination of all kinds. "I want," said Mr. Creech Jones, "to see the Colonial peoples growing to responsibility and aspiring to play their part in the great Commonwealth of which we are all a part. I believe that it is only by the exercise of responsibility and by the extension of social and economic responsibilities to the peoples that disruptive and subversive movements can be checked in these countries."

Economic Development

With regard to economic development, he said: "I am conscious that sometimes the presentation of economic policy in our Colonial Empire is unhappy; the emphasis is often put in the wrong place and, too often, a much too optimistic picture of possibilities is presented and the territories overseas made to appear as estates existing in the exploitation of their territories for the advantages of Britain and of Western Europe." Its proper setting was the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts and the 10-year plans, which had been concerned with providing roads, railways, water supplies and the essential works which every society needs. In the 10-year programmes, money was provided so that utilities and public works could be created supplementary to the money which the territories themselves could provide.

In addition, a new impetus was given to economic enterprise in the territories. Without that increase, the social services which the people were clamouring for could not be sustained. You have to expand their agriculture and you have to create new industries, in order that decent standards of life should be available to the peoples. Long before we thought in terms of the economic difficulties of Great Britain, we were thinking out schemes how to strengthen the economy of the territories overseas.

The creation of the Colonial Development Corporation with its capital of £100 million is merely the logical development in respect of the Colonial Development and Welfare fund in the 1940 and 1945 Acts. State bulk purchasing had been introduced to insulate territories from the calamities which come from the trade cycles. In this development we cannot go as fast as we would wish. There is an appalling shortage of the materials for production. We have also been obliged to reorganize the whole economic side of our office and to remodel our Economic Development Council.

"I have heard it said that what we are seeking to do is to open a new chapter in the economic exploitation of the territories for which we are responsible. We have tried to push on in our economic development irrespective of the needs of Europe or Britain." (Cries of "Speak the truth" and long heckling from an African member of the audience). "The point," said Mr. Creech Jones, "I am anxious to make is that obviously there must be the completest safeguard for the Colonial peoples in any planning for economic development."

Surest Way to Colonial Stagnation

"It is axiomatic in regard to all social and economic development that the fullest co-operation of the peoples themselves is obtained and it is our most ardent desire to adopt every method of obtaining the co-operation of the Colonial peoples themselves. We are using the opportunity which the present economic difficulties create for Western Europe to help Colonial territories to build up their economic life, in order that better social life and better standards of living should become possible.

"I assert that if there is to be Colonial stagnation, then the surest way to it is by European economic collapse and, in any effort to save the good health of Europe, by that effort by integrating to a great extent the economies of the territories overseas with the economies of Britain, we are at the same time strengthening the economic lives of the Colonial peoples."

Jan-1948

Governor Sir John Hall told Medical Convention that preventative medicine, to eliminate the causes of ill health, is Africa's pressing problem.

42/9c/5

W Africa

Nairobi reports African infant mortality in 1946 was 71 per 1000 live births (was 248 in 1940). Jan-1948

42/9c/260

42/9c/3

7

Jan. 1948

British West Africa preserves historical and ethnological antiquities - notably Benin and Ife bronzes, and Gold Coast "Castles".

8 42/90/147 -4- W.A.

(b) Nigeria:- Subscriptions to Nigerian Internal Loan, £300,000 at 3½%, added to £815,000. Popular with institutions but only 136 individuals subscribed. Allocations made in full to individuals, lesser percentages to institutions.

More ordinances enacted, simplifying the Young Peoples Ordinance, July 1946, regulating child labor, juvenile delinquency, etc. Instances have occurred of these regulations being used as extortion threat by Natives impersonating police officers.

Rapid succession of aged chieftains in Ibadan suggests need for change of policy. Three incumbents in past six months, all died in office, two at age of 80, the third at 100 yrs.

Palm Oil Research gets £152,000; creek and river fisheries get £96,000. Local Development Board awarded £60,000 for 12 palm oil presses, but Native bitter reaction required official announcement that this did not presage institution of plantations or a "new menace of slavery".

Government decrees that firms with more than 10 employees must hire quota of ex-servicemen. Government itself carries many ex-soldiers as supernumary officials at cost of £130,000 a year.

Tudor-Davies report on cost-of-living (Col.204, Oct. 1946) generally favorable to employees, condemns attitude of some Government departments, suggests well organized G.O.L. committees, but recommends trained trade-union officers and greater control of press.

Government has a new Public Relations Officer and staff, including the Editor of the "Daily Times" and a member of "Zik" press. Recently the P.R.O. made 2500 mile tour "spotlighting" work of African farmers and technicians. Well received by press.

While Natives of Eastern Nigeria were bitterly opposing the new oil presses ("new menace of slavery") which Government was installing for the benefit of the countryside, the Native business men of the towns were complaining with equal bitterness of Government's action in financing Native village and home industry.

In November, 1946, a large mass meeting at Oko Awo drew up petition, which was presented to the Secretary of State, protesting against Nigerian Government's proposed Town Plan for Lagos

Editor of Onitsha "Spokesman" was fined £300 for sedition.

November - 1946-47

Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine published an account of its work in War years, and the section on Malaria control in West Africa is of particular interest to us. All methods are described- spraying, draining, filling, oiling, use of larvicidal fish; also use of quinine and experiments with the new drugs. The report states that out of the 40,000 Europeans who spent some time in the area, only 151 died. It is to be remembered, however, that these outstanding successes did not extend to the Natives, among whom at least 75%, it is reported, are suffering from some disease or other.

42/90/123

NIGERIA'S LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

OPENING the second session of the Legislative Council at Kaduna, on March 3, Mr. Beresford Stooke said the occasion was remarkable because it was the first meeting of that Council in the Protectorate. For the first time, he said, the Nigerian Estimates contained votes for the Regional Services. In spite of criticism, the new constitution in the Legislative and Regional Council had shown that its first aim to serve the people had been achieved. This is more important than its form, for which provision as to its review existed. He was grateful that Nigeria had not been more seriously affected by the economic crisis, but stressed that the standard of living and medical and educational facilities were too low and meagre.

Expenditure was, however, £15 million greater than in 1938/39. This was due to more general and social services, but it was only a beginning. Many more improvements were required, especially with regard to agriculture and there was the problem of increasing the output per unit of work done. He stressed the need for improving the quality of Nigerian produce and the use of cooperative marketing to obtain better prices. Later in the session, he said, increases in the prices of certain agricultural products would be announced. He mentioned an assurance from Lord Trefgarne that the Colonial Development Corporation would work in partnership with local capital and enterprise and hoped that strong African representation would be forthcoming on all Boards of subsidiary organizations which were eventually to be created.

Mr. George [illegible]
Financial Secretary of Nigeria
where he had been Chief Secretary [illegible]
1896, Mr. Farquhar became Colonial Secretary
Leone at the age of 38. Subsequently, he was appointed
Financial Secretary of the Gold Coast and, between [illegible]
and 1945, held a similar position in Nigeria, where he
deputized for the Governor on several occasions.

Nigeria's First Officer

Sergeant Victor Ugboma, the first Nigerian to be recommended for a Commission in the Nigerian Regiment, has been accepted by a War Office Selection Board and is now training at an O.C.T.U. in Britain. 29 years old, Sergeant Ugboma comes from Onitsha and was flown to Britain last month. He joined the West African Clerks training school in 1943 and later served in India.

SOCIÉT

Avoiding a Breakdown

In 1907, 98,000 letters passed through the Colonial Office. In 1927, there were 323,816 letters. In 1937, there were 596,000 letters. In 1947, there were 954,000 letters. And in 1948, he expected the members of the Colonial Office postal service to celebrate the receipt and dispatch of the millionth letter. Telegrams had shown similar increases. Files fluttered on to Mr. Creech Jones's desk like leaves in Vallambrosa. The Secretary of State had to study the background of at least twenty questions in Parliament each week, so that he could answer any supplementaries.

He also had to perform his constituency duties, since it was only on the basis of his being a Member of Parliament that he was Secretary of State for the Colonies. As a member of the Cabinet, he shares collective responsibility for its actions. He represented the United Kingdom at international conferences and he had a stream of visitors from the Colonies. Devolution was carried out but, in the last resort, it was the Secretary of State for the Colonies who is responsible to the Cabinet and to Parliament.

There should be one Secretary of State for Africa, concluded Mr. Thomas; there was nothing sacred about the Colonial Office as such; and in making a separate Secretary of State for Africa, there would not be too much of a break with tradition since the Colonies had been administered by Home, Foreign and War Secretaries in the past. By making a separate Secretary of State for Africa, a breakdown in the overloaded machinery of Colonial Office administration could be avoided.

Representatives of the Select Committee on Estimates are to visit Nigeria to examine expenditure of U.K. funds under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act.

42/90/174

Increase of International Relations

In the field of international relations, the Colonial Secretary's responsibilities were also on the increase. The development of British Colonial Africa would have to be shared. The introduction of American capital, for instance, would demand a proper guidance and would have to be carefully watched by the Secretary of State. The recent indignation from South Africa over the restriction of African goods into British African Colonies was another example of the versatility required of a modern Secretary of State. Western European unity might be achieved in building up a United Africa.

Before long, "we shall have to meet with a rise of nationalism among Africans" and this nationalism would affect our relations with other European Powers in Africa. Recent events in the Gold Coast and the Ewe tribal dispute illustrated this point. The importance of East Africa to the British defence system would also increase the Secretary of State's responsibilities in a most important direction. If there was a strong case for a separate Secretary of State for Africa, there was an equally strong case for a separate Secretary for the non-African Colonies. Work in the Colonial Office needed to be subdivided these days.

THE first African to become a M.R.C.V.S. is mentioned in the Report on the Department of Animal Health (Gold Coast) for 1945/46. During that year, Mr. W. A. G. Richter took charge of the Training Centre at Pong-Tamale, after qualifying as a veterinary surgeon in the United Kingdom. As a result of the shortage of European staff, opportunity was given to African Veterinary Assistants to assume increased responsibility. Certain veterinary assistants showed marked ability in taking charge of the Department's farms and in undertaking technical duties which were normally performed by European officers.

The Pong-Tamale farm, for example, which has 2,000 cattle and 1,000 acres of land under cultivation, was managed by a Second Division Veterinary Assistant. A further example of the high standard of efficiency reached by these officers is the laboratory manual written by Mr. S. Agyen-Frimpong (First Division Veterinary Assistant) which has proved useful in the Gold Coast and elsewhere. Difficulties in the way of controlling cattle disease in the Gold Coast are exemplified by the fact that routine products needed to counter two major diseases amounted to 7,000 litres of anti-rinderpest serum and a quarter of a million doses of pleuro-pneumonia vaccine. The monetary value of these products amounts to several thousands of pounds.

The meat position is said to be poor. From French West Africa, came cattle only for Army requirements, while the shipping situation did not allow the import of any appreciable number from the French Cameroons, and Nigeria stopped exports.

42/90/117

42/90/46 Col. Review, June 48

Blindness in British African and Middle East Territories. (1948. pp. 99. 2s.) This interesting and comprehensive report covers a survey carried out jointly by the Colonial Office and the National Institute for the Blind, in the course of which three investigators travelled 30,000 miles, mostly by air. An attempt has been made throughout the report to see the needs of the blind in their proper prospective, and in relation to other and, in some cases, more pressing needs. The report suggests a scheme which can, in most, if not all, the Colonies, be initiated without delay, and one which from small beginnings has possibilities of wide expansion. The recommendations relate mainly to prevention of blindness and to the education, training and employment of the young blind. The general welfare of the older adults and of the aged is a matter which must be postponed for the present because any adequate scheme of general welfare would be beyond the resources of the Colonial Governments; suggestions as to possible voluntary enterprises in this connection are, however, made in the report. The report is in two parts: Part I: A Survey, and Part II: A Scheme. The first part deals with statistics of blindness, social condition of the blind, the medical services, causation of blindness, education, and training, employment and after-care. Part II advises on administration, voluntary organizations, finance, registration, prevention of blindness, propaganda, education of the blind, vocational training, employment and Braille production. Various appendices give details of institutions already in existence, schools, welfare societies and settlements; of the colonial medical departments, hospitals, rural dispensaries and mobile ophthalmic units. Lastly, there is a suggested curriculum in a school for the blind, and a list of native industries suitable for the blind.

January 21, 1948.

AFRICAN COLONIES
(CORPORAL PUNISHMENT)

Mr. Sorensen asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies why returns for corporal punishment of civilian prisoners in West and East African prisons between 1941 and 1945 show an increase in Kenya and Gold Coast and only a small decrease in Nigeria and Uganda despite the activities of the Treatment of Offenders Sub-Committee; generally for what offences this punishment was inflicted both in those colonies and in Northern Rhodesia, to what extent offences have fluctuated between 1941 and 1945; what consideration the sub-committee have given to the total abolition of this type of punishment; and what was the average number of strokes inflicted and the highest number respectively.

Mr. Rees-Williams: The reply is long, and I am circulating the information in the Official Report. Much consideration has been and is being given to the matter, and some substantial improvements have been made as a result of my right hon. Friend's despatch to Colonial Governors in October, 1946. My right hon. Friend will continue his efforts.

Mr. Sorensen: Does not the variation indicate that much more has to be done in order drastically to reduce the number of punishments of this medieval character?

Mr. Rees-Williams: My right hon. Friend is giving this matter his personal attention, and, as my hon. Friend will see from the reply, we have gone into it fully. The difficulty has been a considerable decrease in the number of prison officials available during the war, many of them having been on war service, and also the increase in the number of persons actually in prison.

Following is the reply:

The situation referred to in the first part of the Question must be judged in relation to the increase in the number of persons in prison and to the absence of regular prison staff on war service. The following table shows the percentage of corporal punishments to male prison population in the territories concerned.

—	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
N. Rhodesia	2.1	3.4	6.0	3.5	1.7
Kenya	0.023	0.019	0.023	0.020	0.036
Uganda	0.37	0.35	0.29	0.12	0.28
Nigeria	0 37	0.28	0.56	0.50	0.55
Gold Coast	0.052	0.026	0.09	0.53	0.15

In 1945, the offences punished in this way were: assaulting a warder, fighting and using threatening language, refusing to obey a lawful order and repeated serious offences against prison discipline.

The total prison offences in the five Territories range from 4,271 in 1941 to 5,884 in 1945. The average number of strokes was 6.7, all with the cane. The highest number of strokes was 24 (once in Uganda and once in the Gold Coast). The next highest was 12.

In October, 1946, on the advice of the Treatment of Offenders Sub-Committee, I addressed a despatch to Colonial Governors urging them to reduce further the use of corporal punishment in their Territories with a view to its eventual abolition.

East ...
Middle East and Mea...
South-East Asia .....
West Indies .....
Mandates and Trust Territorie
General News .....

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Rules Restaurant, and the management made an apology for such action. Speaking in the House on Mr. Driberg's question, **Mr. John Strachey,** the Minister of Food, said that he took a particularly grave view of the incident, and considered the interests of the British Commonwealth were most seriously injured by any example of racial discrimination. No official statement was made in view of the investigation of the incident which Mr. Strachey told the House he was instituting.

The League, of course, feels that something more than investigation of this kind of incident is necessary if Colour Bar is to be eliminated. President **Learie Constantine,** who was himself the victim of a similar incident a couple of years ago, has put the case for a thorough examination of the whole question of Colour Bar in a letter to the *News Chronicle* (13/4/48). This letter is so well balanced in its reasoning, that we could not do better than quote it fairly extensively. Pointing out that effort to **"keep coloured peoples in their places"** persists, Mr. Constantine says "it has long become obvious that this attitude to coloured people is not mainly emotional. Prejudice is a constant preoccupation of the educated Negro and is the cause of much bitterness, strife and frustration in his ranks."

Having stated this much of Mr. Constantine's letter as it appears in the *News Chronicle* (the Editors state that for reasons of length it had to be cut) comes next a point which subject peoples everywhere have very much at heart.

"However true or false," writes Mr. Constantine, "I am not in fact able to say, but Soviet Russia is quoted as the only country which does not practice racial discrimination and every Negro, wherever he comes from, has a regard and respect for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which is more sincere and sympathetic than the average white man could understand."

Coming down to the crux of this case, Mr. Constantine refers to a case when, during the war, five or six Negroes were charged before the Liverpool magistrates with doing damage to the goods and chattels of a publican. They were convicted and fined. The facts of the case were that they entered a public house and called for drinks but they were told that **"Niggers were not served in here."** As a result they lost their tempers and swept glasses and bottles from the shelves.

"It appears to me (perhaps erroneously) that justice was not done, in the sense that the individual who incited the breach left the court unpunished. It is the duty of every citizen to preserve the public peace. Anyone who commits a breach of the peace is guilty of an offence for which the State (charged with the maintenance of peace)

exacts a penalty. May it not be that anyone who incites another, or is guilty of inciting another, to commit a breach of the peace (as the Liverpool case proves) is also guilty of an offence punishable at law?"

"A simple examination of the situation would give many millions of Negroes the feeling that something tangible was being done to remove colour prejudice against them."

For a long time prominent coloured citizens in Britain have been suggesting that racial discrimination should be made illegal by Government decree, but the authorities when the point is put to them directly, always hedge with the excuse that "the time is not opportune." When will the time be opportune? One of the very first things the Soviet Union did after the November Revolution of 1918 was to outlaw racial discrimination. This principle has since been written into Article 123 of the Soviet Constitution, reading as follows:—

> "The equality of the rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law. Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, the establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of race or nationality, as well as the advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred or contempt, is punishable by law."

We are constantly being reminded of the superiority of the Western democratic system as opposed to the oppression and tyranny of the totalitarian States grouped behind the "iron curtain." While we do not wish to enter into a polemic on this subject, simply because it is difficult to pierce an "iron curtain" in order to get at the facts for oneself, we do know that the Soviet Union is the only Great Power which, in its Constitution, makes racial discrimination a punishable offence at law.

Thus, whatever may be the merits of the democratic way of life as against the Soviet way, until Britain and other Western countries (the United States not least) endorse this principle in law, every Negro will continue to have a regard and respect for the U.S.S.R. which is possibly incomprehensible to all Britishers except professed Communists.

While we cannot possibly endorse wholesale purges or the transportation of populations which, in common with all other decent-minded people, coloured peoples feel that if there is repression in the Soviet Union, that repression is not based on racial factors. It is not imposed upon specific racial sectors but applies equally to all sections of the total population.

12/96/139

8. WEST AFRICAN HOTELS

A Company has been set up to establish a chain of hotels throughout West Africa. Acting chairman is Mr. A.H. Scroggs, a director of Gliksten (West Africa) Ltd. and Mr. F. Bateman-Jones, former assistant manager of Elder Dempsten Lines Ltd., is a director. It is intended that "West African Hotels Limited" should build and operate first class hotels at Kano, Lagos, Accra, Takoradi, Kumasi, Freetown and Bathurst.

The hotel planned for Kano is to have 90 bedrooms and that at Bathurst 15. Accommodation in the other hotels will vary between these two figures. There will be no colour bar; and tourists and local residents will be welcomed.

CURSE OF EWELAND

International Boundary : Arbitrary Frontier

IN view of the recent publicity given to Eweland the following remarks are of interest: "The curse of that country Eweland and the root source of all the evils that have befallen its peoples, since 1884, are those dividing lines that have been marked across its map; two neat straight lines scored with a foot-rule, and some fanciful wavy ones to join them. You sometimes wonder whether the first were drawn just as the ruler happened to be lying, so much have they no reference to anything at all. However, these lines are supposed to constitute the international boundary."

Scramble for Africa

"They are a classic relic of the rapacious days of the 'Scramble for Africa'; but to the people who live there, they are not a mere matter of historic interest; to them, they have meant untold hardships and suffering down the years. They may not cultivate their own farms, they may not visit their nearest kinsmen or be visited by them without being subjected to all sorts of handicaps and irritations because of these arbitrary frontiers. And it is not as if the frontiers were there and the people came and spread themselves on each side; the people were there all the time and yet the map was marked as if they simply did not exist.

"Your Excellency is doubtless aware of the efforts that are being made to discover a way out in this complicated matter—amateurish efforts, no doubt, for our people have no experience in the intricate ways of high power politics. But the human distress is there, and the longer it continues, the more it hurts; also the will that this crying injustice to the Ewe peoples shall be removed is there; so it appears that there is not going to be any lasting peace or quiet until some satisfactory solution has been reached.

"The object of my question to the Honourable the Financial Secretary was to discover whether it would be politic and practicable to suggest to this Government to approach the Government of French Togoland, with a view to coming to some mutual agreement whereby the people who live along these frontiers might be relieved of some of the more depressing vexations imposed upon them, pending the final conclusion of the mattter."

One Dividing Line Goes

"We are all the more grateful to you, therefore, Your Excellency, that you have decided to let human needs take precedence over unintelligible political arrangements, so that at least one dividing line is now to go, and Ewes in the Colony will now be united under one administration with their brothers in the Mandated Territory.

"So far, the two sections, though neighbours, have continued side by side, each living its own life with its face turned towards Accra and quite unconcerned about the fortunes or the fate of the other. Now they are to be integrated as one people, so that their needs and problems—which are the same—can at last receive some full-time attention and be studied as a whole and tackled in a big way.

"I hope very much that this development is also going to open the door for a forward movement of internal political life which, due to the confusions of which I have already spoken, is as yet miles behind that of the rest of this country." Rev. C. G. Baeta (Second Provincial Member for the Eastern Province) in a Legislative Council Debate of the Gold Coast on March 28, 1947.

[1948]

Central Africa 40/5G/12

THE NEW YORK TIMES

British Start Huge Power Plant on the Nile; Dams Will Rise at Outlet of Lake Victoria

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, July 18—Preliminary work has begun for dams and power stations in Uganda, Central Africa, that would produce the equivalent of nearly two-thirds of the electricity consumption in Britain.

The engineers' report on the project at Owen Falls has been published by the Uganda Government, which is undertaking the development with the encouragement and counsel of the British Colonial Office.

Bids for the main generating units, which will be installed at the outlet of Lake Victoria in Uganda, have been received and orders will be placed soon. The first phase of the development is scheduled to be completed in 1953.

The British Ambassador in Cairo has been instructed to seek the Egyptian Government's approval of further development of central Africa's water power. Negotiations have not been possible because of the disturbed relations between the two countries, caused by the Palestine war and the dispute over the British occupation of the Suez Canal zone.

Under the 1928 Nile Waters Agreement Britain is obliged to obtain the consent of Egypt for any change in the "regime" of the Nile, upon whose waters Egypt is dependent for irrigation.

Lake Victoria, surrounded by the British colonial territories of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika, is approximately the size of Ireland. Its water is discharged down the Victoria Nile through Lake Kyoga to Lake Albert, where the White Nile emerges to join the Blue Nile at Khartoum.

The New York Times July 19, 1948

Britain is building Nile dams at Owen Falls (cross).

Between the lakes, the water falls 1,700 feet in 260 miles. On that stretch, engineers say, 22,000,000,000 kilowatt hours of electricity might be produced annually. In 1945, about 38,000,000,000 kilowatt hours were generated in the United Kingdom.

The initial project, now under way, calls for the erection of dams on the eastern and western channels of the Victoria Nile, one 650 feet long and the other 590 feet long, and the installation of four generating units with a maximum output of 524,000,000 kilowatt hours.

A conference held here in Paris last month was ostensibly for the purpose of discussing Negro educational problems. It served to open active collaboration between the world's two greatest empire builders. Some 800 technical problems were discussed and a program of social and health reforms, tending to the eventual development of African resources, drawn up.

However, for France the problem is not only to develop the colonies but also to keep them. French African possessions have all shown a desire to part either completely from metropolitan France or at least to get a larger share of autonomy.

As a matter of fact, the preservation of their African empire is almost a question of life and death for both the English and the French.

All the products needed by France and Europe are plentiful in Africa and are only in the infant stage of their development there.

North Africa, with a population of 16 millions, produces wine, wheat, sugar, oil, tea. There are lead mines in Tunisia and phosphates in Morocco.

Next to Moslem Africa in trade importance is French West Africa. It comprises the territories of Dahomey, Ivory Coast, Guinea and Senegal. It sends peanuts, cocoa, coffee and ivory to France. Dakar, a town of 92,000 inhabitants, is its capital and the closest African harbor to the American continent.

Three Strategic Points

Descending south, comes French equatorial Africa which exports to France cotton, nuts and oil. Uranium was recently discovered in the region bordering the Belgian Congo.

On the other side of the continent lies Djibuti, key town to the immense Ethiopian empire and starting point of the Djibuti-Addis Ababa railroad. Its strategic value is considerable in case of penetration efforts coming from the Red Sea toward East Africa or the British possession of Kenya.

Thus, France possesses central Africa's three main strategic points: Dakar, Djibuti and Madagascar. Any British plan for the development and protection of Africa needs full French co-operation.

And, in turn, the French need the help of the British to keep their populations under control.

(Copyright, 1947, Chicago Daily News.)

40/5G/8 [1948] North Africa

Equal Pay

An official Gazette announces that all Puisne Judges in Sierra Leone are to get the same salary, irrespective of race. The same principle will apply to the post of Chief Justice, who will receive £2,150 per annum. Puisne Judges will be paid £1,700 a year. All other Government Officers will continue to have a basic salary plus expatriation allowance where necessary.

40/5G/10

-11- Central -11-

40/5G/13

Northern Rhodesia's Mine Workers Union will organize African branches; and boycotts Dalgleish Commission because no Northern Rhodesians are on it. JAN. 1948

Mr. Ralph Morley asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he is aware that teachers employed by the Sudan Interior Mission School in Nigeria are compelled to sign a contract agreeing to be dismissed without notice if they join the Nigerian Union of Teachers? and if he will take action on this?

Mr. Creech Jones: The matter to which my hon. Friend refers is already being investigated by the Governor, who has promised a report as soon as possible.

One of the great by-products of World War II is the growing importance of Africa with the world's second largest land area, over 150,000,000 population and great natural resources. With the virtual loss of India and Burma by England, Indo-China by France and Indonesia by Holland, the centre of Western European Imperialism has shifted farther west to Africa. The growing wealth and power of the Arabians, traditional imperialism has had to leave the Middle East, and British troops are marching out of Egypt, while Syria and Lebanon are independent. The only imperialism remaining in Asia is Russian imperialism in Manchuria, Mongolia, Central Asia, and American imperialism in Japan and the Pacific islands.

Attention is now focussed on Africa as a source of supply for food, coal, diamonds and uranium. Without food from Algeria, Tunis and Morocco, France would have difficulty making ends meet. In February the British Labour Government announced that it was financing the development of one hundred and seven farms of 80,000 acres each in Tanganyika, Kenya, and Northern Rhodesia, scientifically operated, to supply food. The fear of losing one of its richest African possessions was that which motivated the French to suppress so drastically the wide spread revolt in Madagascar during the first week of April. With 60 to 80 per cent of the world's supply of uranium in the Congo "dependency," the Belgian Government is bending every effort to further atomic research in the hope that this uranium supply will enable Belgium to become a first-class power.

BOOKWORM'S APPROACH TO COLONIES

By OBSERVER

ONE of the most delightful little books on Colonies that I have yet seen is a shilling reader's guide by Elspeth Huxley, published for the National Book League by the Cambridge University Press. It has only fifteen pages and nearly half of them contain a list of books to which the reader is recommended. The author makes the plea that it is more likely that the peoples of the United Kingdom will be attracted to the Colonial scene if they approach it from the point of view of entertainment, than if they are continually being told that it is their moral duty to learn about peoples for whose safety and welfare they are responsible.

There is much in the idea; but there are other statements which deserve our serious attention. Here is one of them: "By knowing thoroughly one region, a reader learns much that will help him to understand the problems of all Colonies; by learning superficially about the problems of all, he may understand none." It would be difficult to have hit the nail more surely on the head. Or again: "it is safe to say that no judgment of value on a political topic is likely to be made by an individual ignorant alike of the country's history and of the traditions and development of its peoples." The argument is clinched.

But before recommending this pamphlet too highly to those interested in Colonies, let us give one warning; and perhaps another quotation of Elspeth Huxley will give an introduction: "the heart of our problem and our task is to fit these peoples, materially so backward, socially so differently organized and spiritually so unknown, into a modern world of speed and revolution in which we ourselves seem almost to have lost our way. Clearly our success will be impossible without an understanding of the life which the subjects of this metamorphosis have been leading, century after century—of the background from which they have sprung. To discover this information and present it to us has been the primary purpose of social anthropology."

The warning should be obvious. It is this, that while books, especially books by those who have spent large slices of their lives in Colonial territories or have made special studies of Colonial peoples are necessary to an understanding of Colonial peoples, they are no substitute for the peoples themselves. If we burnt every book that has been written on Colonies so far, the loss would be great indeed, for the reader or the student; but the Colonial peoples would remain and so would a great number of Europeans and others who have lived with them and know them at least as intimately as the British Member of Parliament knows his constituents.

Books are always a source of pleasure to the reader who enjoys them and they are, as Elspeth Huxley points out, properly a source of entertainment. But reading about Colonies will never be a substitute for listening to the voice of the peoples themselves at the time that they open their mouths.

African High Standards of Efficiency

SOUTH AFRICA SEES WHITES LOSING GRIP

Forecast Puts Europeans at 3,000,000 Ten Years Hence Against 14,000,000 Others

2/22-48

By G. H. ARCHAMBAULT

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CAPETOWN, South Africa, Feb. 22—Figures avaialble today suggest the probability that ten years hence the Union of South Africa will be peopled by about 3,000,000 Europeans (generic name here for Whites) and about 14,000,000 non-Europeans (African natives), Asiatics and "Cape Colored," the latter the outcome of centries of the admixture of Whites and natives and imported slaves.

No census has been taken since 1936, but the population today is estimated at little more than 2,000,000 Europeans and between 8,000,000 and 9,000,000 others. The inferences of comparison are obvious.

The forecast for ten years hence is made by the Economic and Social Planning Council, which deduces from the figures that "it is impossible to exclude the native from his full part in the development of the country." This raises a racial problem in all its acuteness.

Speaking broadly, racial questions hitherto have frequently been postponed indefinitely or tension has been eased, provisionally by compromise. This may have been inevitable since they are intimately linked with political issues. But there is now a growing desire to reach a comprehensive solution and it is suggested that the Government might appoint a commission to draft a plan.

The concern caused by the racial problem is evident from many references in the debates in the current session of Parliament, as well as from discussions by sociological, economic and welfare organizations.

One solution advocated, notably by Dr. Bernard Price, retiring president of the Associated Scientific and Technical Societies of South Africa, in a lecture just published, is to abolish the color bar so as to widen social interests and improve the mode of living of some 80 per cent of the population.

Such a step would certainly arouse great opposition, mainly political, although the conservative Cape Times in an editorial this morning reproved the "seeking of illusory security by striving to keep eight-tenths of the populations semi-poverty stricken."

This allusion to cheap, unskilled labor points to one of the principal factors of the racial problem, for the advantage of such labor is counter-balanced by the fact that the native has an extremely small spending power and thus represents a handicap to the successful development of competitive home industries. But increasing the spending power of the native masses implies the raising of their status both materially and intellectually, with consequent demands for higher wages and the abolition of segregation.

It is hoped that an outline of a long-range solution to this complex problem may be forthcoming next week, when the Government introduces a bill touching upon one of its aspects, namely, the electoral franchise and land tenure for Indians in Natal Province.

In any case European opinion here ranges between two extremes—racial equality and fear of native domination. There is agreement on one point, however; that the solution of the racial problem is a matter for South Africa alone.

2. Administration.

Reports had not yet been received from Swaziland, Nyasaland, Gold Coast, and the Sudan.

£ 723,000 allotted for general anti-tsetse work in East and West Africa, and £ 100,000 for cinchona research. Field demonstration in Uganda with DDT and Gammaexane highly successful against tsetse and malaria. In 1948 the Rockefeller Yellow Fever stations will be taken over.

British Army and Navy, it was announced in June, 1947, now open to men of color; and equal pay established for merchant seamen regardless of race.

This last summer (1947) proposal was made in Parliament to create a 200,000 man African Army, to replace the old Indian Army. Proposal was rejected officially because self-defense and self-finance are two main pillars of British Colonial policy, and expense of this would be far beyond present possibilities; further, removal of such a large number of men from the labor market of areas already crying for more, would seem another inguperable problem.

40/52/15

November 1946-47

ADMINISTRATION

Headline Summary

1. Empire Affairs

(a) Britain: - British Colonial Service to be bettered, by selection and broadened training of Cadets, and by improved and equalized conditions of service - details in Colonial No. 197 and 198. The British Colonial Office, after 72 years in Downing Street, moves to Church House, pending erection of new building. Colonial Office staff numbers 1200, better than double pre-war strength. The Colonial Economic and Development Council numbers 10, including an ex-Governor of Nigeria, ex-Under Secretary of State, a West African economist, West African doctor, and head of Barclay's Bank.

(5)

-2- Central Africa

Central Africa

Northern Rhodesia iron-ore deposits, being surveyed by British industrialists reported extensive and rich, Lusaka's eassaying 65% and easily extractable; another deposit found near Broken Hill; Kafue River hydro-electric project favored to develop these, rather than Kariba Gorge. Report says Minister of Supply favors increased production of Northern Rhodesia's copper rather than Southern Rhodesia's chrome, as nearly $30 million of copper must now be bought annually; so diversion of coal cars by S. Rhodesia to haul her chrome is an economic mistake; Lobito Bay and Benguella Railway can handle 2000 tons more a month of badly needed supplies, but expense is high and compensating exports hard to find; coal receipts by mines continue to fall short of promised 39,000 tons monthly, Sept. 28,000 tons; increasing to Nov. 35,143 tons; wood fuel getting scarce; forced shut-downs seem likely.

40/56/14

Feeling is expressed that secondary industry is getting too far ahead of present realities, as Union now buys more abroad than her falling gold output can pay for. Retail activity is satisfactory, general merchandise stocks are heavy and buyers market is prevailing. Wholesale volume is good but prices are high with keen competition in heavily stocked lines. Shortages continue in cement, structural and sheet steel, piping and electrical conduits; timber shipments arriving regularly. Motor trade shortages continue in popular American makes, but supply of English and continental makes is equal to demand; used cars are scarce, with recent models keenly sought. Quota system for sugar industry ordered suspended for five years, and production is expected to reach 725,000 tons this year as compared to 500,000 a year under quota; Union's jam and fruit canning industry will benefit greatly also. Forty to fifty big British Industrial Firms are conducting surveys in the Union with a view to starting branches. Over 20 others are already constructing and due to start production this year, one being a £10 million textile plant employing 7,500.

Tati Goldfields, Ltd., (Bechuanaland) called a meeting on Jan 30th to consider voluntary liquidation; but by the time meeting convened prospective buyer for the company "lock, stock and barrel" appeared, so company decided to hold on (since it is self supporting) to see if advantageous sale can be made. Tati concession was obtained from Lobengula in 1887, before Rhodesia's beginnings, and mining operations date from 1868.

RESEARCH NOTES - GENERAL

Such an abnormal institution as this was destined to the long run & fall of its own accord. The first thing that struck the warning note was the insurrection in San Domingo — under the the greatest of Negroes Toussaint, surnamed the Savior.

"The most unhappy man of men
yet born"

The next fatal sign was the rise of moral revulsion in the hearts of the civilized world. led by Wilberforce & Clarkson Garrison & Douglass, men came to oppose slavery because it was wrong. The real decree & circumstance was however the utter failure of slavery as an industrial system in competition with free labor.

49-27-40

Rochelles Dolzens & Von Reck tell us in 1734 that there were 30,000 black slaves there which & that they outnumbered the whites. 5 & 1, coming in at the rate of 3000 a year. "Baptism" says Von Reck "is rarely here administered to the Children of Negroes, and Marriage is not in use among them." Virginia had the next largest slave trade and gradually in varying numbers slaves were introduced into every colony, although there were comparatively few in New England.

31-11-34

This represents the culmination of the commercial theory of slavery in the colonies and it is well to pause here & note the effect of the policy: it had firmly established in America a vast number of African barbarians, had swept away every vestige of their primitive culture, tribal & family life, and developed them into a sullen force of compulsory laborers held in subjection by harsh slave codes. Meantime however the conception of colonial life was changing The deepening of Religious ~~thought~~ & life & freedom of thought which characterized the 18th

I must not turn — all
the voices of all little blood children
dead born & unborn are calling me
daily back & backing me here. Beside
the saving country why in hell should
I surrender to Southerners?

49-13-76

X Autobiography

I asked the American Peace Commission to call a Pan-African Congress in Paris. They said ~~it was impossible~~ and that the French government would not permit. I turned to ~~the French government through~~ Blaise Diagne, the black under-Secretary of War who had secured the 75,000 black troops to defend Paris. He secured the consent of Clemenceau, the Prime Minister. But the Negroes of the various countries of the world, including the United States, were not allowed to ~~come to the Congress~~ attend. Nevertheless, a Congress of fifty-eight delegates was assembled in Paris in 1919.

From that beginning we went further. In 1921 we held a large and important Congress, meeting successively in London, Paris and Brussells. We had some two hundred representatives from all over the world, and aroused not only the interest of Europe, but the opposition of the imperial powers. In 1923 we had a small third Congress in Lisbon, Portugal. Then I went to Africa as Special Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to Liberia on the occasion of the second inauguration of President King. I tried in 1925 to have a fourth Pan African Congress in Tunis, but the French would not allow it so that finally the Congress was held in New York, interesting but small. There were no further attempts to hold congresses until 1945 when we met in Manchester, England, and there was present Nkrumah, the present Prime Minister designate of the Gold Coast, and Kenyatta, who has been accused of fomenting unrest in Kenya.

39-8-1

Along with my main activities went other parrellell efforts quite as important and even more human. For instance, I began my family life by marrying in 1896 while still teaching at Wilberforce, Nina Gomer of Iowa, of Negro and Alsacian descent. We lived together fifty-three years and had two children, but lost the little son in infancy. The daughter still lives and is a junior

I made between 1915 and 1953 seven visits to islands in the West Indies predominantly inhabited by peoples of Negro descent.

Africa - A Cause of World War

1. The Modern Conquest of Africa
2. The Present Division of Africa
   a. The Valley of the Nile
   b. East Africa
   c. South Africa
   d. The Congo
   e. West Africa
   f. North Africa
3. The Economic Value of Africa
4. The Disruption of African Civilization
5. The Future

47-3-34

Search for democracy

o government nor economic system could have succeeded under such conditions, and it was natural to charge all the difficulties of these unhappy days to democracy and communism. The result was that Germany after the war suffered a ruthless re-distribution of wealth, comparable only to Russia, without Russia's consequent advantages. Royalty and the nobility went to the wall, and the old G German middle class of civil servants, teachers, professional men, shop-keepers, ~~manufacturers of industry~~ and the like, were threatened with extinction. The working masses ~~and the peasants~~ had no time to achieve a dictatorship ~~in trust for the proletariat~~. They tried, with the inevitable result of divided councils, mob-law and disorder. And this in a land where order, regimentation, and obedience to law , was by 300 year's training, second nature. There was but one clas that could seize power, and that was the civil servants and engineers. The power for them to seize the state was put in their hands by capital and big industry. Thus Hitler came to power with three watch words: Authority, Work, Satisfaction for the workers. Back of this must stand, the property rights protection. All this Hitler has done and Germany is satisfied.

How has Hitler established his power and popularity? First by establish- order-- a result which more than any other endeared him to the orderly minded German. Germany today, from Rhine to Oder and from North Sea to Alps is a land of Law and Order. There is no loafing, little petty crime, the streets are safe for women and childr ren even late at night; in the alleys and sailor quarters of Hamburg, crime has almost disappeared and vagrancy reduced to a minimum; in fact to the visitor there is almost too much order: almost at times a whispered breathlessness, which is not reassuring. One remembers how ruthlessly, and wth what defiance of conventional human freedom this has been accomplished by a military dictatorship, helped by secret police, spies and tale-bearing. However the result was ~~accomplished, it~~ undoubtedly accomplished.

Secondly and without the slightest doubt, Hitler has satisfied the workers. This has been his main job, and the fulcrum of all his endeavor. To this task has been brought all the ingenuity of the group that today rules Germany. First of all psychology has been appealed to: Hitler is himself an artisan. He and his friends continually make mention of this fact. This painter and private in the army is today Leader of this land! One can only measure the weight of thisfact who knew as I did a Germany ruled "Von Gottes Gnade" by the hooh-adel who sneered at the "Corsican parvenue" Hitler and Hitler's army are careful to avoid all pre-warassumptions of rank and social prestige:swords and costly, gay uniforms have nearly all dissapeared; the officer is no longer a caste apart. He is no longer a geltleman born ot bred.

But this wuold count for but little, if the worker was poor, mistreated and oppressed, with no chance to enjoy existence. Here Hitler and his state have deliberately copied Russia. Unable to raise wages and at the same time do away with unemployment, Hitler used the Russian method of indirect compensation through privileges vacations, travel , clubs, sports and clubs. It is safe to say that the German laborer today with his small wage is happier than ever before. He gets little cash to be sure; but he is practically sure of some sort of work; he is taken care of when sick and pensioned when old. He gets a chance to travel: 330,000 workers were given seavoyages by the "Strenth Through Enjoyment" organizations throughout Germany in 1936. Boys in the Hitler Youth organizatbon, to which every German boy had better belong have excursions, camps, vacations, etc. The hours of labor have been reduced so asto insure rest days every week. Servants especially have been raised far above the level of half-paid drudgery, which they used to occupy, chiefly by attracting the best of them to marriage or farm life. Especially is military life made attractive to the workers, with its chances of travel, athletics, and parading before a nation that loves parades

All this would not suffice unless accompanied by two things: absence of display of wealth by other classes, leading the worker to beleive that he is not much worse off than others; and more especially, propaganda, tireless and carried on by all media-- newspapers, radio, cinema and public utterances, all tending to establish these things as facts:

That the Germans are a superior race
That Jews are a menace to the German state
That Germany is threatened and must prepare for war
That the greatest threat against Germany and civilization is Communism
That democracy and universal suffrage have failed and must give way to the Atoritarian state
That Germany must have colonies or starve

It is safe to say today that after three year's of a propaganda unparrelled inpower, exclusive occupation of the field, and uncontradicted in any way that reaches the masses, the overwhelming majority of the Germany peolple believe thse propositions as proven and incontrovertible truth. It is an astonishing example of the tremendous power of propanda for good or evil in the hands of astute men.

1-11-47

Fairchild, Henry Pratt, Immigration, The MacMillan Company, New York, I930, p. 51.

...."These were the indented (or indentured) servants, or redemptioners. There were two main classes of them - those who were brought under compulsion, and those who came voluntarily. Of the first class, many were convicted criminals, who were sent over in great numbers from the mother country, and on arrival were indented as servants for a term of years. Under the barbarous legal system of the day many persons were sentenced to death for insignificant crimes, such as stealing a joint of meat worth over a shilling, or counterfeiting a lottery ticket. Many humane judges welcomed exile as an alternative to death penalty. It is estimated that possibly as many as fifty thousand criminals were sent to America from the British Isles, from the year I7I7 until the practice was ended by the War of Independence. Besides the criminals, in this class of indented servants were many who were kidnapped and sent over to America. Press gangs were busy in London, Bristol, and other English seaports, seizing boys and girls, usually, but not always, from the lowest classes of society, and sending them over to labor as indented servants in the colonies."

3C-1A1-5A2

PER CENT OF TOTAL IMMIGRATION COMING FROM SPECIFIED COUNTRIES BY DECADES, FROM 1861 TO 1910

COUNTRY	YEARS				
	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-00	1901-10
Austria-Hungary	0.33	2.6	6.7	16	24.4
German Empire	35	25.5	28	14	3.9
Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia	0.51	2	5.9	18	23.3
Russian Empire & Finland	0.2	1.9	4.4	14	18.2
United Kingdom:	38				
England		15.6	12	6	4.4
Ireland		15.5	12	10	3.9

(from Emerson c.)
Jews expelled 13°. 15° C.

2 MILLION WHITE – 500000 NEGROES

American 1820-36

6 mill. GERMAN
4½ " – IRISH
4½ " – ITALIAN
4 " Austro-Hungarian
3½ " RUSSIANS (JEWS)
2½ " BRITISH
2 " SCANDINAVIAN
1 " ASIATIC
1/10 " NEGROES

38 Mill

30-14-55

ALL FOREIGNERS (1)

1750 - ENGLISH - 1 MILL.
NEGRO 200,000
TREASURE

1780 - ENGLISH - DUTCH - SWEDES
2½ MILLION LAND of REFUGE
500,000 NEGROES

IMMIGRATION

1. 1783 - 1830
AGE of REVOLUTION -
8 - 23 000 IMMIGRANTS

ENG., - SCOTCH - IRISH - NEGROES -
GERMAN - FRENCH - JEWS
SUGAR - COTTON
FREEDOM - DEMOCRACY

2. 1830 - 1882
INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION
LAND - 1 BILL. ACRES - 1860
POTATOES - 1845 - (¼ MILL. of Irish { Slaves Emigrate
1848 - 215,000 germans
1850 - TAI PING
1864 - DANO - PRUSSIA WAR
1861-4 - SLAVERY - CIVIL WAR

30-11-58

(2)

23 000 - 450,000 immigrants

GERMANS + IRISH —

DEMOCRACY

ENGLISH
FRENCH
SCANDINAVIAN
JEWS

KNOW NOTHINGS.
FIGHTING for JOBS
STATE - REGULATION

---

(3) 1882 - 1917

IMPERIAL INDUSTRY
HIGH WAGE
MONOPOLY + LABOR RESERVOIR

500 000 - 1,000,000

69% = SLAVS, ITALIANS, RUSSIAN JEWS

WEALTH

---

(4) 1917 - 1939.

WAR SCARE - RACE

430,000 - 36,000 IMMIGRANTS

NORDIC DISCRIMINATION

1882 - CHINESE
1907. 1924 - JAPANESE

LAWS of 1921, 1924

3% of Foreign 1910
150,000 by race as of 1920

80-14-60

(3)

THE WORLD ALMANAC, 1937, p.260.

UNITED STATES ALIEN IMMIGRATION STATISTICS
Total Immigrant Aliens Admitted From All Countries: Fiscal Years

Year	Number	
1820	8,385	
1830	23,322	
1840	84,066	
1850	369,980	54 - 427
1860	153,640	59 - 121
1870	387,203	61 - 91
1880	457,257	42 - 744
1890	455,302	92 579
1900	448,572	07 - 1,285
1910	1,041,570	
1920	430,001	
1930	241,700	
1936	36,329	

30-14-52

Bancroft's Estimate of Population , by Color

Year	Total	White	Black
1750	1,260,000	1,040,000	220,000
1754	1,428,500	1,165,000	263,500
1760	1,695,000	1,385,000	310,000
1770	2,312,000	1,850,000	462,000
1780	2,945,000	2,383,000	562,000

30-14-57

FOLK-WAYS

1780 – ENGLISH – LAW + ORDER.
2⅓ MILLION
NEGRO – LABOR – RYTHYM
560,000.

1820 – 3 MILLION WHITES
1 " NEGROES

1820-1936

38 MILL

6,000000	GERMANS	MUSIC + HOME
4,500,000	IRISH –	LABOR + POLITICAL ORG.
4,500,000	ITALIANS	LABOR + ART
4,000,000	SLAVS	
3,500,000	– JEWS	BUSINESS – SOCIAL THOUGHT
2,500,000	– BRITISH	
2,000,000	– Scandinavian	– COOPERATION
1,000,000	– ASIATIC	– THRIFT
100,000	– NEGROES	– [redacted]

IDEALS

RACE
TOLERATION
DIVERSITY – LANGUAGE
ABILITY
ART

SOCIAL MELTING POT
DOOR-MAT
POVERTY

23-IX-38

AMERICANIZATION

There have been four periods of immigration policy in the United States

To 1783 - settlement - English, Dutch, Swedes and Negroes

1783-1830 - free immigration - English, Scotch-Irish, Germans, French

1830-1882 - agitation and state regulation - Irish, German, English, French, Scandinavian

1882-1917 - federal control

1917-1938 - restriction

1845 Irish potato famine

1848 German politcal uprising

1864 The Danish-Prussian War

1850 Taiping Rebellion in China

Social Science Survey
(1938-1939)

Section IX: POPULATION

Chapter 48: Americanization

The Meaning of Americanization: The word Americanization has been used for years without a clear analysis of its meaning or implications. There is general agreement that Americanization involves the social adjustment of the immigrant to the American environment. It is a process of social expression by which immigrants in these United States come to participate in the life of the nation. When, however, it comes to the formulation of a program, there is disagreement as to what is implied in this process.

The term Americanization did not come into general use until the World War. It was at this time that the heterogeneous character of our American population made itself more evident. Many Americans were fearful that the diversity of aims might become a serious problem. This was not a new attitude. Anti-foreign outbursts have taken place in our history from time to time. Most Americans however believed that American environment would of its own weigh weight exert such pressure upon the immigrant that he would become an integral part of the community. The World War revealed that many immigrant groups were voicing the beliefs and aspirations of their kin in Europe. There was an intensification and a heightening of group consciousness. Reservists were called back by many countries and thousands returned to the country of their birth. In many instances the foreign press endeavored to mold public opinion in favor of the mother country. There were intrigues and plots on the part of hyphenated groups. On the other hand, fine loyalties and a deep sense of patriotism were evident on the part perhaps of most of the newcomers. The war lasted long enough to make Americans painfully conscious of their peculiar problem of nationalities. During the war period there was the beginning of a process of fusion of the divergent elements. This process continued in the post war period. Since the advent of the dictators with their fierce doctrine of racism, there is again danger of division among the foreign born, some allying themselves with the anti-democratic theories of the rulers of the country of their birth. Totalitarian states are making definite attempts to reach into every layer of society and win advocates for their ideologies through techniques designed to appeal to the particular interes interest of each group. These outside pressures threaten the unity of American life and the basic concepts of American thought and attitudes. The question of Americanization again looms as an important problem though not of the same character as in previous years.

Accomodation and Assimilation: Every continuing group cherishes a set of social values a tradition, History, language, and religion. These values may be called the cultural heritage of the group. Each group believes its standards, its culture good. Each group tends to regard its own ways as refined and excellent. Ethnocentrism of peoples must be reckoned with, since society is a vast array of groups and individuals. There must be a constant adaptation. As stated by Park and Burgess, "Mankind is distinguished, in fact, from the animal world by being composed of persons of divergent types, of varied tastes and functions. Civilization is the product of an association of widely different individuals and with the progress of civilization, the divergence in individual human types has been and must

continue to be constantly multiplied." In this world of differences, men must develop working arrangements to eliminate conflict without the complete destruction of the different. Accomodation is an adjustment by which the identity of the respective groups is not lost. It mitigates conflict between persons or groups and enables persons or groups widely separated by social distance to carry on activities and forestall undesirable assimilation. Accomodation rests upon acceptance, real or apparent on the part of conflicting groups.

Assimilation refers to the manner by which two or more cultures are merged, It means the sharing and fusing of folkways and mores. It is a process by which persons and groups assume the memories, sentiments, ideas, attitudes of other persons or groups and by sharing their experiences become incorporated with them in the common cultural life of the na tion. It may be a reciprocal process resulting in a new combination of elements. The process of accomodation is largely conscious, in assimilation the individual and groups are largely quite unconscious of the fusion of ideas, attitudes and habits that are taking place. There are forces which hasten assimilation, there are others which retard. Among the obstacles are those forces which stimulate the immigrant to look to the land of nativity rather than to America. When strong nationalist sentiment exists in Europe, the home government may encourage the immigrant to keep up contact with the homeland. The Italian Fascist government has taken this course as has the Nazi government. ~~which ordered registration at Consulates.~~ On the other hand there are forces helping assimilation, of which the school is perhaps the most important factor. A common language is a unifying force as are the history, geography, flag of the country, Extra-curricular activities, organized recreation under the guidance of the school or of private agencies make the immigrant child, America conscious. American institutions, particularly settlement house and community centers have aided the immigrant in becoming adapted to American life. It may be of interest ~~tha~~ that in many instances, the foreign language press has also been a factor for assimilation.

Theories of Americanization: 1. The Dominant Group Theory. Americanization has been defined as an adjustment to the American pattern of life. It aims to bring about the identification of the immigrant with American thought and feeling and enables him to participate in the life of America. There is one theory that may be called the Dominant Group Theory which holds that America is already populated with a fairly homogeneous type which in race and culture is Anglo-Saxon. All newcomers from foreign countries must as soon as possible divest themselves of their old character, their past traditions. They must completely accept the customs, patterns of the American type, and wipe out all ethnic distinctions. Under this theory, there was no expectation that American culture should itself be modified or influenced by the various types of culture of the different minority groups. They must forget the land of their birth and eradicate all recollections of its traditions. The newcomers must do all the changing and mold themselves into the form of the dominant group. This theory as stated by its proponents meant a complete forgetfulness of all connections with other countries because of descent or birth. It failed to recognize the positive terms of a loyalty to the new life but emphasized the negative attitude toward the past of the immigrants life. America is made up of many races. The composite American is Engligh-Scotch-Irish,-Spanish,-Polish,-Jewish,-Italian,-Russian,-Scandinavian, and many others. All of these are represented in substantial numbers. This dominate group theory advocates a fixed type of culture as against a diversified culture enriched by the tradition of many peoples. It tends to break down loyalty to the immediate family and even evokes a feeling of contempt for their language and custom. It has been a source of dis-

organization in the life of the immigrant. To conceive of America as belonging to the Anglo-Saxon race or to any other is a notion contrary to the fundamental idea of democracy and to the principle of free institutions. Such a program of Americanization based upon the superiority of one group would be a tyranny that would impose a superficial American pattern upon the newcomer and would violate the most profound feeling in American tradition; namely a decent respect for the worth of the individual. To interpret Americanism as the culture of one definite race denies the immigrant the right to modify and contribute to the development of American institutions. This conception of Americanization implies a static America instead of a growing, developing, dynamic nation.

The Melting Pot Theory: This second theory although it is broader than the complete assimilation theory agrees with the latter in that both theories aim for the disappearance of divergent ethnic cultures within the American framework. The Melting Pot Theory gives the newcomer a part in the development of American culture and welcomes the contributions of the newcom newer racial elements. Americanism is regarded as in the making. This theory which Zangwill evolved implied that the cultural heritage should be refined, melted into the American pattern. The minority cultures were to be obliterated but incorporated into the American cultural stream. A lowering of the morale of the immigrant is to be avoided. Pride in his past and in his people is to be encouraged until the ultimate fusion takes place. Old cherished customs and old ideals are not to be forsaken too rapidly. The tragedy of disintegrated families with a loss of social control is avoided by keeping the children faithful to the old life and bringing the parent nearer to the new. The Melting Pot Theory did not recognize sufficiently the vital needs of our minority groups nor did it provide for the preservation of the rich cultural values of age old groups. There are groups which wish to make their contributions perennially and not a once-for-all contribution says one of the critics of this theory. The contribution in culture made by completely absorbed groups is almost negligible. Few worth while customs, ideas, are added to the dominant culture by dying immigrant groups. Just as a great man usually continues to make his contribution to society as long as he lives, so a nationality is an ethnic personality that continues to contribute as long as it maintains its vital existence. Must such groups as desire to maintain their identity be suppressed! Must there be complete fusion or is there a way, compatible with the best interests of America of preserving freedoms for groups which wish to maintain their cultural existence!

Cultural Pluralism: One school of thought then believes the solution lies in the complete assimilation of all minority groups and the eventual blending of all nationalities into a composite pattern for America. Another school of thought is convinced that it would be a great loss to American life to disregard the rich and varied heritage which these many groups may continue to contribute to American life. In the conclusion of the report of the National Resources Committee on the Problems of a Changing Population in the section, Cultural Diversity in American life, it is stated, "There are undoubtedly powerful influences working at present in opposite directions. One set of forces tends toward the totalitarian state through the suppression of racial and cultural diversity and conflicting interests of all sorts. The other set of influences fosters cultural pluralism, the free adjustment of conflicting interests group and individual initiative and thus makes for the preservation and furtherance of democracy." Cultural pluralism makes possible the adjustment of minority groups to major civilizations. This theory assumes that no one culture contains all favorable elements but that each group which is a component part of the American population has unique values and that the nation will be finer and richer in its cultural composition if the

country conserves the best that each group has brought. The theory of cultural pluralism requires that cultural traits be preserved. It dignifies values and practices different from the dominant group. It creates a feeling of pride for them and their blends them into the best cultural patterns of American tradition.

Americanization Programs: The WORld War made many aware of the fact that there were millions of immigrants and their children within the country, who were not sufficiently adjusted to American life. The demand arose for the public schools and private agencies to undertake a nation-wide program to bring about more complete adjustment. As a direct result, the schools took on a more conscious program. Provision was made for evening classes for adult foreigners. These classes were often hasty and makeshift. It was instruction on a large scale and aimed at immediate results. Laws were enacted raising the upper age limits of compulsory education. English as the language of instuction was made mandatory in elementary schools. Employers insisted that their employees become naturalized. There was some tendency to use coercion and force, unfortunately too there was emphasis in the externals and too little attention to the fundamental concepts of Americanism. The critisism of the Dominant Group and Melting Pot theories of Americanization necessarily applies to this program which is based upon these theories. This program rests on the assumption that American culture is something already complete and does not give suffisient value to the culture of the immigrant. There is no particular pattern to which all Americans from every section of the country, rural and urban, North and South, East or West will conform. Uniformity is not only impossible, it is also highly undesirable. There are some who regard the Americanization process as highly successful if the immigrant is treated with a prescribed amount of American history, government, hygiene, and the English language to be followed up by taking out naturalization papers. Americanization has far greater implications. It is a slow process, a graduated adjustment by which the experiences, traditions, culture of the immigrant are related to those of America, a building of the new life upon the sound foundation of the old. It is usually a problen of re-education, an adjustment of another culture with that of the United States. The process cannot be carried on successfully by compulsion but rather by guidance and protection. Americanization should not disrupt individual standards with weakened guides and sanctions for behavior. Some concrete progress has been made in taking account of the worth-while qualties of alien cultures by the recording and popularizing of folklore songs and other cultural traits of various minerity peoples. The National Resources Committee says, "Americans have come to realize that while we do not have a wealth of cathedrals, fine carvings, old family customs, or a national folk music and literature, we do possess an abundance of cultural resources in the heritage of many American groups. Such recognition is becoming a spontaneous and wide-spread movement of great importance. Itis significant that this has been announced as a major theme of the New York World's Fair."

A present day Americanization plan envisages a more dynamic program. A conception of America in the making must assume some form of change, not an America crystalized, rigid but an America prepared to meet changing conditions. An Americanization program first and foremost must teach the basic implications of democracy as a vital force in an American life. It must give the immigrant a real understanding of the meaning and principles of philosophy underlying them. The immigrant would learn that it is the right of the majority to rule but also that the majority must not suppress the rights of the minority. Democracy accepts the existence of different economic and cultural interests says the National Resources Committee. The aspirations and needs of different economic and cultural groups must be recognized and be given free opportunity of expression.

The immigrant must recognize tolerance as a characteristic of democracy both in principle and practice. He must recognize the true meaning of tolerance, the higher tolerance as expressed by President Washington when he said, "The citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlargod and liberal policy; a policy worthy of imitation. All profess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all

occasions their efficient support. This concept of tolerance is not something that a dominant group grants to a subordinate and by its "indulgence" permits the minority to enjoy different cultural practices, but rather as America's first President makes clear the recognition of such practices as a natural right. In order that this higher concept of tolerance be inculcated in children, they should be taught to respect differences. Difference does not mean that people are better or worse. Through dramatization, through pageant, music and art, they may see different aesthetic values. This encourages the group that presents the program and also concretizes the idea that America respects differences and uniformity is not a desideratum but unity is the important objective. Such programs in presenting the contributions of all races and nationalities will develop esteem, respect and good will. It will help to make America safe for differences.

Democracy connotes cooperation as a complement to tolerance. Former attempts at cooperation among different groups were usually made by finding a common denominator. A higher basis of cooperation may be found by working out a plan of living together with an awareness of differences in point of view. It implies a conscious effort on the part of Catholic, Jew and Protestant to associate together as such with a common goal in terms of his own experience.

Americanization so conceived would mean teaching not only a knowledge of our fundamental, basic law and the guarantees granted in the Constitution but also the tolerance and cooperation they imply. An adequate program of Americanization would involve not only the political and economic relationships but also the social. Such a program would insist that the immigrant must learn the language of the country but it should not encourage the forgetting of the native tongue. In fact it would call for the giving of an opportunity to the younger generation to learn the language of their people. More over it would point out clearly the difference between political and cultural loyalties. For the citizen of the United States there can be only one political loyalty, since a citizen can be a member of only one state. There can be no divided alegiance, no dual loyalty for an American citizen. On the other hand many cultural loyalties enrich his personalities. The immigrant should become a part of the American scene, not an outsider, or an onlooker. ~~It must make~~ The immigrant should be eager to become an American citizen and to fulfill the duties of an American citizen.

Americanization in its broadest sense includes both the immigrant and those of native stock. Americanization is not a ~~one-~~ unilateral adjustment, but requires a giving and taking on the part of all persons living in America. The native born who follows ideas and practices contrary to Americanism is un-American to the same degree as is the immigrant who retains and follows an ideology contrary to our American democracy. Frequently native born Americans are less appreciative of the privilege that are theirs, than is the case of the immigrants who came to America because America symbolizes to them an ideal, the value of which was enhanced through experience in societies where that ideal was lacking. According Americanization programs must not be limited to work with immigrants but should be provided to all elements of American society. Naturally the character of the program would vary with the specific needs of each group. All programs would have this in common the aim to make manifest that our democracy implies faith in the ability of a people as a whole to solve its problems through the participation of the entire electorate. This participation expresses itself through the ballot and through the choice of representatives who express the will of the electors The emplications of democracy transcend the political aspect of human relationships. Democracy implies the right to think, to talk, to worship as one wishes and what is more, as a necessary corollary, the recognition of THE RIGHT of others to exercise those same privileges. Likewise democracy betokens an economic opportunity to all elements of the population. The factors which determine the specific economic opportunity which shall be OPEN TO ANY individual are not subject to control but democracy at no time can tolerate the limiting of opportunity to special groups or classes WITHOUT BEING UNTRUE to its fundamental principles.

should be

89-121-35

desideratum

Theseconcepts of democracy might perhaps be summarized in the emphasis which democracy places on the dignity of man, the value of the individual and in marked contrast to the totalitarian ideology, the insistence that the function of the state is to serve the citizen rather than the notion that the citizen is of no consequence excepting to the degree which he serves the state. Americanization must be of a character which would focus the attention of native and immigrant upon the philosophy of human relationship and must be planned to evoke the fullest cooperation of all elements individual and collective for the common welfare.

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Terms to Understand:

Nation
Nationalities
Minorities
Pluralism
Cultural heritage
Ethnocentrism
Naturalization process
Heterogeneous character of population
Totalitarian ideology
Hyphenated groups

Questions for Discussion:

1. What are the differences of implication of Americanization programs in the various theories of Americanization?
2. How would Americanization broadly conceived be related to the problems of(a) relations between immigrant and native, (b)white man and negro?
3. Contrast the attitude of the totalitarian statesand democracies in respect to (a) treatment on of minorities, (b) function of the ballot, (c) autarchy, (d) effeciency and inefficiency in the solution of social and economic problems.
4. Discuss the role of the school in the Americanization process.
5. Describe the naturalization process.

Watson 1856 - 1922

1842-3 State legislature
1891-3 - Congress
1892 nom. V.P. by Populists
1904 - nom by Pop
1921-2 Senator - Democrat

S.M. Smith grandson Ab. 18, 1906
Bellamy Rest Sept 22

32-25-2

Doyle - 1867 - 1913

@ 18 1885 Clark U. (Cragin, Bowen) Thurlow

1888 Ohio Wesleyan (Foster, 1846-1917) Thurlow

1890 Toronto Toccoa

NH 16 2 Sqwood 1892 Pastor, Waynesboro Walker 2 Isabels
" Cedar, Talladega Ala, West DC
1907-13 Ala, T3 House in Thomson

1885
1867
18

1885 1876
1876 1867
9 9

1870 1892
1876 1876
14 16

1892
1867
25

8/08/04

2nd Plan Congress by Forest
Cross Vol 23, f 12, (c
3rd Pan Af Cong Vol 26 p. 24 b

Virginia, 1705 (Henings Statutes) 32-31-2

---------c.23. --An act declaring the Negro, mulatto, and Indian slaves within this dominion to be real estate.--3 Hen.333, sec. 1. The words are, "to be real estate (and not chattels)." This affected slave property only under the laws of descent and devise, judgments, executions Etc. See Chinn v. Respass, 1 Munroe's R. 28.

32-31-3

Louisiana

"Slaves shall always be reputed and considered real estate; shall, as such, be subject to be mortgaged according to the rules prescribed by law, and they shall be seized and sold as real estate." (Statute of June 7, 1806; 1 Martin's Digest, 612)

Kentucky.- By the law of descents, slaves are considered real estate, and pass in consequence to heirs, and not to executors. (2 Littell & Swigert's Digest, 1155.)

32-12-37

SAN FRANCISCO FIRE AND EARTHQUAKE

April 18, 1906.

The night before, April 17, Caruso sang in Carmen with the Metropolitan Opera Co. in San Francisco.

As a result of the earthquake and fire:

4 square miles were burned, or 500 blocks

$350 million worth of property was destroyed

200,000 were homeless

There were 438 known deaths

500,000 library books were destroyed.

NOTES 1881. 1847 35 ---1---

Ben Tillman was born at Chester, Edgefield District, South Carolina-1847. From this same county came men like Butler and Wigfall. Tillman's family once owned 2000 acres and many slaves, but he had smaller holdings, although he was a well to do farmer by 1881 . He was an uncouth and self-rightous man rude and abusive . He once told Senator Hoar " All the Yankees from Cape Cod to Hell, can't make us submit to Negro domination."

52-13-42

He had a fist fight with McLaurin, his fellow senator in the 90's , which was the first fight on the floor of the senate for 50 years . He got a bloody nose and was excluded from the senate four days and the president's invitation for him to dine with Prince Henry was revoked . He never forgave Roosevlet. He was given to profanity but was really conservative on property. He was blinded in one eye by an absess and loss the eye in 1865 . In 1873 he joined the Straight Out faction of Carolina and led the Hamburg riot in 1876.

He gave a good deal of time to reading of general literature, but did not know much about economics . In 1882 he became captain of the Edgefield Hussars and was very proud of that . Meantime economic differences took place in Carolina; the rice crop faded out in the low-lands while cotton flourished in the uplands . The Bourbons of Charleston, the old aristocracy followed the philosophy of Grady in the 80's . From 1883 to 86, Tillman was near bankruptcy and became a great advocate of reform and education in agriculture . He attended the Rx Farmer's Convention in 1886 and joined the Farmers Alliance in 1887 .

In 1890, he was nominated for governor in a stampeded convention , but when the real convention met, although he got the nomination, Haskell made a vote, he quoted the Negro vote ; and while Tillman got 59,000 ballots , Haskell got 15,000 including 5000 Negroes . As governor, Tillman increased taxes on corporations and pushed the state monopoly of liquor. Hampton was replaced

33-12-43

Kriby , a drunkard in the senate in 1890. In 1892, Tillman was re-elected as governor , while Blease became House Leader . Tillman who had first opposed lynching now defended it violenty . He supported the white primary

In 1882, a second Haskell manisfesto , asking for Negro votes was issued. In December 1894, the legislature elected Tillman as senator. In 1894, anti-Tillmanites again appealed to the Negro votes . Evans was elected governor , but Pope , another candidate fought for the Negro vote . Evans was elected 39,000 to 17,000 , while all but 10,000 of the possible 130,000 Negroes were kept from the polls by threats or violence .

In 1903, Jim Tillman, Nephew of Ben, killed Gongalez , editor of THE NEWS AND COURIER. From 1898 to 1909, Tillman gave continual talks and lectures against the Negro. In 1902, he was not invited to the White House for dinner and called the president an S.O. B. In 1903 he made a long and continuous fight on Crumb, and in 1908, a last attack on Roosevelt . That year he was stricken with paralysis, while in 1910 Blease was elected governor.

Ohio

The provision in this law requiring colored settlers to give bonds was, as far as I can learn, a dead letter till 1829, when the trustees of Cincinnati, alarmed at the increasing colored population, issued a proclamation ordering the colored to comply with the requirements of the law within thirty days or leave the city. They petitioned and obtained from the authorities an extension of thirty days. In the meantime, they sent a deputation to Canada to ascertain what provision could be made for them there. Before their return the sixty days expired; finding that few if any had given security, and that the authorities had made no effort to enforce the law, some of the citizens became exasperated and resolved upon forcible expulsion. The fury of the mob raged for three days and nights. In vain the colored people besought the authorities for protection, and at last barricaded their homes and defended themselves. Several of their assailants were killed and wounded, and at length the mob retired. The deputation from Canada soon returned with favorable news. Sir James Colebrook, Governor of Upper Canada, said he would extend to them a cordial welcome, and "Tell the Republicans on your side of the line that we royalists do not know men by their color. Should you come to us you will be entitled to all the privileges of the rest of His Majesty's subjects." On receipt of this intelligence, it is estimated that one-half of the colored population of Cincinnati, numbering about 2,200, left the city and founded a settlement in Canada, which they called Wilberforce. (Page 44.)

32-8-20

MARYLAND COUNTY.

Section 16. There shall be four administrative districts in this County, two of which the Department can presently define, namely: Kru Coast and Cavalla.

Paragraph 1. The limits of the Districts in this County will be ascertained by consultation with the authorities in the County Government.

Section 17. A Commissioner will be appointed to each of the administrative districts provided for ~~[illegible]~~ in this Circular, and they shall bear the official title of "County Commissioners".

Section 18 The County Commissioners shall be under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior and shall forward their reports to the Interior Department, furnishing copies to the Superintendents of the respective Counties.

Section 19. The Salary of each County Commissioner is fixed by law at $300.00 per annum.

Section 20. This Circular becomes operative from May 1, 1923, and in making reference there to in letters or reports, the title hereinabove given must be cited.

(Sgd.) Jas. F. Cooper
Secretary of the Interior, R. L.

APPROVED:
(SGD.) C. D. B. KING
President of Liberia.

30-22-1

disfranchisement

30-10-2

I'm the world but not of it
— consciously disfranchised
from civilization, & yet in
subtle compensation I have seen
the cultism of my day as a
crystal gazer down & to
intels

6 WEST 131st STREET

Telephone Harlem 1079

Date.....

Name.....

Address.....

Subscriptions sent by mail may be addressed to the Music School Settlement. MRS. WORTHINGTON MINER, (Treas.)

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Any Club or individual who sends 100 subscriptions will bd entitled to one year's scholarship or priviledged to appoint a pupil for such a scholarship.

J. ROSAMOND JOHNSON, Director

	Negroes Disfranchised	Whites Disfranchised
Virginia	349,231	626,814
North Carolina	337,756	324,230
South Carolina	375,930	337,711
Georgia	569,330	703,560
Florida	179,008	208,209
Alabama	438,130	464,195
Mississippi	451,130	342,484
Arkansas	240,234	443,421
Louisiana	357,251	449,849
Oklahoma	71,331	463,852
Texas	374,428	1,615,250

30-12-3

30-10-4

1. Illiteracy: The voter must be able to read and write.
2. Property: The voter must own a certain amount of property.
3. Poll tax: The voter must have paid his poll tax for the present year or for a series of years.
4. Employment: The voter must have regular employment.
5. Army service: Soldiers in the Civil War and certain other wars, or their descendants, may vote.
6. Reputation: Persons of good reputation who understand the duties of a citizen may vote.
7. "Grandfather" clause: Persons who could vote before the freedmen were enfranchised or descendants of such persons may vote.
8. Understanding clause: Persons may vote who understand some selected clause of the Constitution and can explain it to the satisfaction of the registration officials.

1890--Mississippi (1 or 8) plus 3.

1985--South Carolina 1 or 2 or 8.

1898--Louisiana (1 plus 2) or 7.

1901--North Carolina (1 plus 3) or 7.

1901--Alabama (1 plus 4) or 2 or 5 or 6.

1902--Virginia (1 plus 3 or 5) or 8 or 2.

1909--Georgia 1 or 2 or 5 or 6.

Ethiopia

First Egyptian Empire. 4777 B.C. Aha-Mena. 2000 years.

2777 B. C. Empire divided into Egyptian and Ethiopian halves.

In Sphinx at Gizeh.

3064 B. C. Middle Empire, lasting 24 centuries.

2660-2622 B. C. Usertesen III triumphs over Negroes.

1703 B. C. New Empire. Aahmes-Nefertari.

1420 B. C. Queen Mutemua. Son, Amenhotep III. Temple Luxor and Colossi and Memmon.

Remeses II. 1300-1234 B. C. Exodus.

Center of rule passes to Ethiopia. Modern Sudan equals Egyptian Kush, below Kush Punt.

Royal son of Kush.

1000 B. C. Shesheng I of Lybia, usurps Egyptian throne.

Egyptian monarchy at Nepata. 750 B. C. to 650 B. C.

Ethiopian Kingdom

Pankhy, Cashta, Tar Harqa.

Asia conquers Egypt.

630-600 B. C. Aspeluta.

525-500 B. C. Nastosenen repells the Persians.

500-200 B. C. Greek culture.

Ergamenes, Merve, Queen Cambace, The Romans, the Nubians.

1050 B. C. The Queen of Sheba. Axumite Kingdom.

330 A. B. Fromentius. Bishop of Ethiopia.

600 A. B. King Kalab. Judah, Prester John.

600 A. B. Nubians at Dongola.

1200-1500. New Kingdoms. Mohammedans. Mameluke beys, Turks.

1881. The Mahdi.

8-101

10.2.42

1830. French in Algiers

1881. French in Tunis.

1902. French in Morocco.

1911. Italy in Triopli.

1869. Suez Canal.

1876. Dual Control.

1882. British Control.

1850. The Emperor Johannes.

1855. The Emperor Theodore.

1867. British Army under Napier Invade Abyssinia.

Theodore Commits Suicide. British Withdraw.

1872. Johannes, the Sixth.

1887. Menelik.

1889. The Treaty of Uccialli.

1893. "Ethiopia has need of no one. She stretches out her hand to no one but God."

1896. March 1, Battle of Adua.

1898. Fashoda. Cape to Cairo Railroad and the march of Marchande to the Nile Valley.

1896-1898. Kitchener at Khartoun.

8-91

10.2.43

NOTES

During the war, 84,000 schools, universities and libraries were completely destroyed.

In 1941, there were 1,222,805 teachers; in 1943, 774,795; in 1949, 1,225,000 teachers.

There are 34,000,000 pupils in the Russian elementary and secondary schools. 1,280,000 in the Middle professional schools. 674,000 in the Institutes for Higher Learning.

Amounts devoted to education and culture.

1943---12,000,000,000 Rubles

1944---21,000,000,000

1949---60,000,000,000 --equals 26% of total budget.

822.4-SS

1943--1,340,000 in Kindergarter

1945--1,000,000 " "

1950--5,000,000 " "

1946---3,152 technical schools with 891,000 students.

304 Universities and Institutes.

Every school has clubs, circles for sports, arts & sceinces, handicraft and hobbys.

32 Universities

20 types of Institutes with 1000 to 4000 students each.

Adult Education

10,000 schools for secondary education of adults

95,400 workers clubs with palaces of culture

Lectures, and Lecture Bureaus

1948--800 higher educational institutions with 700,000 students.

"The goal is eventually to make higher education universal." The goal of adult education is to give everybody at least 7 years schooling.

The road to higher education is open to all who can qualify.

Primary and Secondary education is free. Higher Education charges tuition but most students through the Scholarship system do not have to pay.

35-4-229

Bureaucrats contended for power during the last few years.
Approach to the Emperor comes through channels: the Supreme War Council; the Imperial household ministry, stronghold of the bureaucrats; and the cabinet
Capital rules the bureaucrats. The war party is against capital. The rebellion of young officers in Feb. I936, was on the whole against industry and party government. War council has ruled by assassination

Tokyo,6,000,000; Yokohama, 7oo,000; Nagoya,I,000,000; Kyoto, I,I00,000; Osaka, 3,000,000
Kobe, 900,000

I5 interests control 70% of all Japanese trade and industry. 8 of these control 50%
Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Sumitomo control 25%; Mitsui, I5%. Mitsui, Finance, trading cotton,rayon, mining, paper; Mitsubishi, finance, heavy industry, shipping,marine and fire insurance and mining. Sumitomo, finance, metals, munitions, shipping.
Industrial hierarchy of Japan integrated like one corporation

Value of Japanese trade: I900, 500,000,000, I9I4: I,200,000,000; I9I9: 400,000,000,000
I925, "
I936 "

Volume I9I3, I00
20 II7
25, I67
28, I87
3I, I9I
34, 24I

Import of raw material and its increased cost

I,000,000 in 70,000,000 unemployed

History of Japan
660B. Jimmu
284, Chinese script
536, Shoguns
I500 All Japan at war
I542, Portuguese shipwrecks
I549 Spanish missionaries
I622, Zenith of Feudalism
I624, expulsion of Spaniards
I853, Perry
I858, anti-foreign demonstration
I863-4 British, French, American and Dutch fleets distroy forts
I867, Emperor Meiji, Tokyo, eastern capital
I869, Clans surrender fiefs
I874, first popular assembly
I889, Ito constitution
I890, Imperial diet
I894-5 Sino-Japanese war
I902, Anglo-Japanese treaty
I904-5 Russo-Japanese war
I905 Anglo-Japanese alliance
I9I0, Korea annexed
I9II, Gentleman's agreement with U.S. and Canada
I9I2 Emperor Yoshihito
I9I4, World war
I92I, regency of Hirohito
I923, Earthquake
I924, Exclusion law by U.S.
I926 Emperor Hirohito
I93I, Manchurian incident

II-37

Quaint, Amazing, Presumptious, Dangerous.

Kyushu, Honshu, Hokkaido, Sakhalin, Formosa, Kuril Islands, Ogasawara, Marianas, Caroline, Marshall Islands

Korea

Manchukuo, Hopeh, Charar, Shantung

Mongolia, Suiyuan, Shansi

4 earthquakes a day; cataclysms in I596, I703, I854 (5500 deaths) I888, I89I, I896 (27,000 deaths) I923 (I50,000 deaths $2,750,000) Fires and floods.

Japanese textiles export increased II7%, I924 to I933 and lead the world. In Malaya, Ceylon, India (undersell British and Indian mills) Africa, Uganda, Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Zanzibar; West Indies, Egypt, Venezuela, Argentine; United States and England.

Microscopes, $7.50 in America,	made in Japan and exported	$I.95
Cigarette	$2.28	.39
Flash-light	.59	.39
Tooth-brush	.35-50	.I0
Gross matches	.66	.I5
Shirt	England I½ Sh.,	I Sh.

11.37

Japanese mill hands receive one tenth the wage of Americans, and yet are contented, healthy, comfortable, with recreation, study and advancement (Report of American mission under W.Cameron Forbes)

Europe reached industrialism by the disintegration of Feudalism. The intervening age of freedom and independence, produced science, skepticism and invention. Then Europe attempted to re-build the integrated social structure it had lost. Japan did not disintegrate Feudalism, jumped the period of freedom, indivualism and inventiveness and landed into an integrated industrial system, borrowing the results of the Industrial Revolution in Europe.

Wage in Japan is low but expense of living in Japanese comfort is so much lower that the Japanese worker is happier on I yen a day than the European laborer on I0 yen.

Japan in North China: A Chinese official, with a Japanese wife, and a Japanese brother-in-law, who was a Japanese army officer, were set up with the consent of Chiang Kai- shek as Administrator-General of the East Hopeh demilitarized Zone. This official declared the autonomy of I8 counties, with a low tarif. Japanese goods were poured into China. China lost as $I20,000 a day in customs. Bankruptcy of Chinese firms followed and Japanese beganto invest in Chinese textile mills

The Emperor of Japan is not a ruler-- he is that by virtue of which rule is excersized Since 536, the real political question in Japan, has been: Who is using the Emperor now? From 536 until I867, the power was for the most part exercizby the Shogun, while the Emperor was used almost purely for ceremonial purposes. Today the Emperor's prestige is so high that he ranks as god; nevertheless although theoretically the Emperor is the state, he never acts save on the advice of his ministers. Until the World War these ministers belonged to two noble clans, the Chosu and Satsuma, led by Viscount Ito.Gradually after the World War, the power of the new financiers and business men became evident, but they worked through the army onthe one hand, and the civil servants on the other. Thus the War Council, and the

1900, Labor law

1925, Peace preservation law

1928, Communist round-up

AMERICA BOUND

11.37

One and a Half Millions Invested Outside

The total ordinary revenue of the Native Administrations of Nigeria for 1945/46 was £2,430,168 and the surplus balances on March 1, 1946, amounted to £3,100,026. These figures were given by Mr. Rees-Williams, in reply to a question by Mr. Gallacher. About half of the total recurrent expenditure, said Mr. Rees-Williams, is devoted to general administrative purposes, such as district and village administrative, judicial, treasury, police and prisons; and with the remainder, provision is made for agriculture, education, forestry, health, public works and other services of a local character. £1,580,400 of the surplus balance was invested outside Nigeria.

42/90/02

7

Prohistory has come to the fore in Africa, with several important newly found sites and the holding of the first Pan-African Prehistoric Conference. This latter event took place at Nairobi in January (1947) and was attended by representatives of 24 nations. Several notable addresses were made by world recognized authorities, and the conference was invited by General Smuts to hold the next of its meetings, in 1951, in South Africa. Opportunity was taken to visit a few of the remarkable sites recently uncovered in Kenya and Tanganyika.

NOV. 1946-47 42/90/95

7

(c) Sierra Leone:- The actions taken by the Church Mission Society to save Fourah Bay College are most favorably received by all Gold Coast people. Country-wide drives have been organised to raise funds to help retain in perpetuity the full facilities now provided by the College. The Secretary's original decision would have relegated it to a very minor role, and the Gold Coast Government proposed to expropriate the College buildings.

W.A. 42/90/02

Prehistory in Africa

Several notices regarding Prehistory in Africa have appeared during the past year. The important discoveries by Dr. L.S.B. Leakey in East Africa during the past few years were amply publicized particularly by his article in the "London Illustrated News" of 5 Oct., 1946 (pp. 382-385), which describes the happy discovery and subsequent development of the sites at Olorgesailie, with photographs and a spirited 2 page depiction of prehistoric men hunting prehistoric baboons. A month later the News"followed up with a two page spread showing animals of the period reconstructed from skeletal remains found in the area, drawn to scale with their present day counterparts. The East African finds are further described, with photographs, in "The Museums Journal", July 1947 (pp. 67 and 68), showing the work done at Ogesailie and Kariandusi.

The first "Pan-African Prehistoric Scientific Conference" was held at Nairobi in January, 1947. "Man" for July, 1947, article 106, carries a digest of the memorable paper read before the Conference by Dr. LeGros Clark; and the "London Illustrated News" of June 7, 1947, (p. 606) has a column on the conference with photographs. A brief summary of the status of African Prehistory up to and including the Conference appeared in "African Affairs", April, 1947, p. 64, which is here quoted:

"It has been known for some time that Africa provides a rich field for the scientific study of the origins of man, and not in his living survivals only. Work has been done in almost every region: on the marine terraces of Morocco, on New Stone Age Sites (Caspian) among the stone circles of the Gambia and French West Africa, on Old Stone Age sites in the Sudan (Chellean and Acheulean), in the Congo, and French Equatorial Africa where new caves have just been discovered near Manyamba. Until recently, Southern Africa had yielded perhaps the most exciting clues; fossil apes belonging to ages infinitely older than any we have mentioned - the Lower Miocene, 20 million years ago. But interest has now shifted to East Africa and especially to Kenya, where a wealth of remains have been discovered. It was therefore only just that the first Pan-African Prehistoric Scientific Conference should be held in Nairobi in January. Representatives of 24 nations, among them some of the leading prehistorians of the world, gathered to listen to papers and to visit some of the sites made famous by the discoveries of Dr. L.S.B. Leakey. Perhaps the most remarkable of the papers read was one by Professor Le Gros Clark of Great Britain, who declared that, in the light of South African finds of fossil apes at Sterkfontein and Kromdraai, we shall have to revise our views on the development of man; for these creatures combined many apelike features (in proportions and brain) with many equally human, including teeth, face-bones, and some limbs. (It follows that man's body cannot have developed uniformly, as was once thought). Some of these apes have been discovered in Kenya; but perhaps the most remarkable site is the Living-floor recently found at Olorgesaile, near Nairobi, which is left almost exactly as it was when occupied by a group of Acheulean (Old Stone Age) men 200,000 years ago. Other

NN. 1946-47

Nov. 1946-47

42/9C/37

EDUCATION

Headline Summary

1. General

(a) Britain:- As of January 1947, Mass Education Officers have been appointed for the Gold Coast and Nigeria. Sierra Leone, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are also to get them. Experiments in mass education in 5 areas total some 8,000 or 10,000 people, and show that extensive schemes will be very expensive. Kenya estimates £ 1 million a year just to achieve child literacy. Uganda says rapid cure of illiteracy impossibly costly. Northern Rhodesia, however, is hopeful and enthusiastic. Nigeria has big program - 12 officers, literature bureaus, broadcasting, movies, newspapers, competitions, etc.

-9- W.A.F.

42/9C/69

7

Nov. 1946-47

8. Western Africa

(a) General:- (August 1946), There are about 500 or 600 West African students in Britain of whom some 150 are Government scholars.

#8 -2- W. A.

(b) Nigeria: - United Africa Co. plans many developments in Nigeria: at Sapele, a timber mill to have £500,000 plywood mill employing 300, a planing mill, and seasoning kilns; the yield of this forest area will be quadrupled, and reforestration carried out on Government plan to assure regeneration in 100 yrs.; cargo handling facilities at Burutu, the company's Niger Delta base; a brewery at Lagos (with Dutch assistance); an extension of the Apapa soap factory; and new works at Port Harcourt.

The "Nigerian Farmers and Commercial Bank" was incorporated in Jan., 1947, with Government approval. It is owned by Natives, backed by Indian and American money, and affiliated with the "Gold Coast and Nigeria Farmers' Bank". The National Bank(President, Dr. Moja) increased its capitalization to £250,000.

Mining concession of 900 sq. miles, in Sokoto and Kabba Provinces, taken by London African Trust Co. An all African mining company has formed, £100,000 capital.

Nigerian economy is by no means sound in the palm oil areas, or in other places where over-population is out-stripping improvements in farming standards.

The new oil mill at Amwo is to sell 1/3 of its 60 ton output to African middlemen. 5000 traders have been on strike at Ibadan against conditional sales.

A waterway between Lagos and Sapele is to be re-opened, thereby avoiding the stormy Lekki Lagoon - it was blocked 100 yrs. ago in operations against the slave-raiders.

42/90/99

6. Western Africa

(a) General: - United Africa Co. (branch of Unilever) has placed four Natives in managerial positions. The Company plans £9 million developments throughout Africa. (These will be noted under the respective areas). Regular publication of Trade Information Bulletins, covering Nigeria and the Gold Coast, is planned by the Company for the near future.

41-18-75

Jefferson:- On Our "free press"

"And I will add that he who never looks into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them, this inasmuch as he who knows nothing is nearer to the truth than he whose mind is filled with falsehoods and errors." --Jefferson, in 1808.

Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt confirmed Jefferson. A few years ago, Dr. Robert M Hutchins and his 12 able colleagues in their investigation of our press confirmed Jefferson likewise.

It has been suggested that we of the United States are the most MISinformed Nation on Earth. What do you think?

Upland California

Franklin Baxter

M E M O

PARAGRAPH 1: Message sent by cable to the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protective Society for presentation to the British Government:

> "From correspondence so far received it appears Secretary of State and British Cabinet do not favorably consider our case but as General Assembly at UNO is International Tribunal to decide future South West Africa including our relative position we ask for assurance that our full documents will be placed before General Assembly at UNO stop I earnestly request you to place above representation before Secretary of State on our behalf and at same time I trust and ask for Secfetary of State pardon in not sending message through official channels my action being merely prompted by fact that time practically gone before reply given us on this point despite repeated requests."

PARAGRAPH 2: In terms of the mandate over South West Africa the welfare of the Native Aboriginal population was a "sacred trust" accepted by the Union of South Africa and all other Nations parties to the mandate system in order to protect backward people until they were able to stand on their own feet. This postulates that such people are in the position of minors and in no recognized civilized Court of Justice are the rights of such people dealt with or waived without appointing a curator-ad-litem to protect their equal rights and privileges. Such a curator would have had to consider the aborigines' rights under the existing mandate and under the mandatory system detailed in the Charter of the United Nations and then argued before any impartial tribunal what would be the result of handing such backward peoples without the said rights to the Union of South Africa as its private property. Nothing of that kind has been done and surely the least the General Assembly should be called upon to do is to appoint an International Independent Committee to take evidence on the whole position of the mandate of South West Africa and report back to the General Assembly before any final action terminating the mandate is decided upon?

31-4-18

PARAGRAPH 3: The Director's memo concerning the South African Institute of Race Relations' attempts to obtain independent inquiry is:

1. This Institute proposed to send three representatives, including a former Native Affairs official, to South West Africa, to ascertain all facts relevant to the Union Government's proposal to annex the territory, also to ascertain opinion among both Europeans and non-Europeans in the territory.

2. After consulting the Administrator of South West Africa, the Institute sought the approval of the Prime Minister, making it clear that the representatives would visit the territory after the plebiscite of natives had been concluded, i.e. after the end of April.

3. The Prime Minister replied that he feared the visit would confuse the natives and asked that the visit be postponed. He said that Lord Hailey, who had also suggested visiting the territory, had been asked to defer his visit. The Prime Minister added "As I have to bring the question of South West Africa before the UNO Meeting next September, I myself consider these visits should be postponed until after that meeting.."

4. In June the Institute drew the Prime Minister's attention to the unfavorable inferences which had been drawn by the public in the Union and elsewhere from his disapproval, and again asked for his approval for a representative to visit

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1912

South Carolina casting 50,348 votes had 9 electors
Massachusetts " 488,156 " " 18 "

Georgia and New Jersey each had 14 electors
Georgia cast 121,532 votes for hers
New Jersey cast 432,534 votes for hers

Louisiana casting 79,372 votes had 10 electors
Rhode Island " 77,624 " " 5 "
Oregon " 137,040 " " 5 "

Kansas and Mississippi each had 10 electors
Kansas cast 365,444 votes for hers
Mississippi cast 64,319 votes for hers

1/6/63

Alabama and Minnesota each had 12 electors
Alabama cast 117,888 votes for hers
Minnesota cast 334,219 votes for hers

New York cast 1,587,983 votes for her 45 electors
Georgia (14) South Carolina (9) Alabama (12) and Mississippi (10)
cast 354,087 votes for their 45 electors

ELECTION OF 1914

Alabama: 1st district - Grey elected - total vote ---- 4,681
2nd " - Dent " - " " ---- 7,470
3rd " - Stegal " - " " ---- 7,951
4th " - Blackmor - " " ---- 5,441
5th " - Heflin " - " " ---- 8,100
6th " - Oliver " - " " ----10,718

Alabama:	7th district	- Burnett	elected - total vote	----	16,781
	8th "	- Almon	" - " "	----	6,314
	9th "	- Huddleston	" - " "	----	8,072
					75,528

(1 congressman at large)

Minnesota:	1st district	- Anderson	elected - total vote -		36,479
	2nd "	- Ellsworth	" - " " -		34,180
	3rd "	- Davis	" - " " -		36,832
	4th "	- Van Dyke	" - " " -		30,786
	5th "	- Smith	" - " " -		30,929
	6th "	- Lindebergh	" - " " -		32,378
	7th "	- Volstead	" - " " -		28,815
	8th "	- Miller	" - " " -		28,059
	9th "	- Steeverson	" - " " -		31,662
	10th "	- Sehall	" - " " -		32,691
					322,811

1/6/65

Mississippi and Kansas, 1914

Mississippi:	1st district	- Candler	----------	5,271
	2nd "	- Stephens	----------	5,169
	3rd "	- Humphreys	----------	2,168
	4th "	- Sisson	----------	4,899
	5th "	- Witherspoon	----------	6,952
	6th "	- Hamson	----------	6,620
	7th "	- Quinn	----------	3,702
	8th "	- Collier	----------	2,404
				37,185

Kansas:	1st district	- Anthony	61,127
	2nd "	- Taggart	68,133
	3rd "	- Campbell	74,395
	4th "	- Doolittle	50,821
	5th "	- Helvering	54,981
	6th "	- Connelly	58,190
	7th "	- Shouse	69,851
	8th "	- Ayres	46,185
			483,683

Each Mississippi voter casts 13 votes where a Kansas voter casts one.

ELECTION 1914

Georgia,	3rd district	- Crish	4,357
	11th "	- Walker	4,959
Louisiana,	4th district	- Watkins	3,454
	5th "	- Wilson	3,014
	6th "	- Morgan	3,211
Mississippi,	3rd district	- Humphreys	2,168
	8th "	- Collier	2,404
Virginia,	4th district	- Watson	3,002
			25,569
New York,	2nd district	- Caldwell	39,161
	3rd "	- Flynn	22,550
	6th "	- Ross	41,351
	8th "	- Griffin	32,587

1/6/67

New York, 18th district - Patten		23,354
22nd " - Bruckner		28,684
23rd " - Goulden		42,582
24th " - Oglesby		40,218
		270,487

1/21/69

30-14-7

AMERICANIZATION

There have been four periods of immigration policy in the United States

To 1783 - settlement - English, Dutch, Swedes and Negroes

1783-1830 - free immigration - English, Scotch-Irish, Germans, French

1830-1882 - agitation and state regulation - Irish, German, English, French, Scandinavian

1882-1917 - federal control

1917-1938 - restriction

1845 Irish potato famine

1848 German political uprising

1864 The Danish-Prussian War

1850 Taiping Rebellion in China

30-14-3

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

1860	Lincoln	1,866,352
"	Douglass	1,375,157
"	Breckenridge	845,763
"	Bell	589,581
	Total	4,725,664
1864	Lincoln	2,216,067
"	McClellan	1,808,725
	Total	4,011,415
1868	Grant	3,015,071
"	Seymour	2,709,665
	Total	5,679,322
1872	Grant	3,597,070
"	Greeley	2,834,079
	Total	6,532,558
1876	Hayes	4,033,950
"	Tildon	4,284,885
	Total	8,402,902

11

OUTLINE OF WORLD WAR II and THEREAFTER

'36-'39	Civil War in Spain
'39-'40	USSR and Finland - war
'39-'40	Phony war
'40	Denmark and Norway fall
	Belgium falls
	Dunkirk
	France surrenders
	Battle of Britain
	Italy attacks in North Africa
'41	U.S. Lend-lease
	Atlantic Charter
	Pearl Harbor
'42	Rommel in North Africa
	U.S. in North Africa
'43	North Africa conquered
	Stalingrad (February)
	U.S. in Sicily
	Italy surrenders
'44	Battle of the Bulge
	Normandy
'45	February - Yalta
	April - UNO
	April 12 - Roosevelt dies
	July - Potsdam
	July - Atom bomb tested

41-11F-18

History Notes

'45 (cont.)	August 6 - Hiroshima	
	August 9 - Nagasaki	
'45 - '47	July - January '47	Byrnes, Secretary of State
'46	Churchill at Fulton	
'47 -'49	Marshall, Secretary of State	— Plan — A Bomb
	49 - USSR	
1949	China Independence	— Nato Atl Hoss
'49 - '57	Acheson, Secretary of State	
1950	June - Korean War	— Emergency — H Bomb
1951	MacArthur recalled	Hollywood 10
1953	Armistice	51-3 Roundup
'57 - '59	Dulles, Secretary of State	

41-11F-19

52 - McCarthy

58 - Sputnik

Mississippi Code of 1930

of the Public Statute Laws of the State of M.

Published by authority of the Leg.

by the Code Commission

30-11f

Ch. 20

Sec. 1115

Railroads - not providing separate cars. -

If any person or corporation operating a railroad shall fail to provide two or more passenger cars for each passenger train, or to divide the passenger cars by a partition, to secure separate accomodations for the white and colored races, as provided by law; or if any railroad passenger conductor shall fail to assign each passenger to the car or compartment of the car used for the race to which the passenger belongs, he or it shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction, shall be fined not less than twenty dollars nor more than five hundred dollars

1085; 1351; 1276

30-11f-21

Ch. 20
Sec. 1103

Races - social equality, marriages between - advocacy of punished. - Any person, firm or corporation who shall be guilty of printing, publishing or circulating printed, typewritten or written matter urging or presenting for public acceptance or general information, arguments or suggestions in favor of social equality or of intermarriage between whites and negroes, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and subject to a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars or imprisonment not exceeding six months or both fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court.

~~(1143e, 1920 ch. 214)~~

30-11f-20

Chapter 163 - Schools
Article 6 County School Board
~~Chapter 163~~ Sec. 6586

30-11 f-22

Separate districts for the races - description of the districts. - Separate districts shall be made for the schools of the white and colored races, and the districts for each race shall embrace the whole territory of the county outside the separate school districts. A regular school district shall not contain less than forty-five educable children of the race for which the district is established except where too great distance or impassable obstructions would debar children from school privileges. In such cases the board may, in its discretion, establish a regular district containing not less than fifteen educable children....

The Constitution

Adopted Nov. 1, A.D. 1890

Wm Graham

Article III Bill of Rights Section 8

All persons, resident in this state, citizens of the United States, are hereby declared citizens of the state of Miss.

Article 8 - Education. Section 207

separate schools shall be maintained for children of the white and colored races

The Penitentiary and Prisons

Article 10 Section 225

... It (the legislature) may provide for.... the separation of the white and black convicts as far as practicable, and for religious worship for the convicts

Article 14 - General Provisions. Section 263

The marriage of a white person with a negro or ~~mulatto~~ mulatto, or person who shall have one-eighth or more of negro blood, shall be unlawful and void.

51-411-30

Ch. 170 Supervision of Common Carriers

Sect 7079 To inspect depots - reception rooms. -

It is the duty of the commissioners to inspect the depots of all ~~races~~ railroads from time to time, and of the commission to require comfortable and suitable reception rooms for passengers, separate for the races, and, if it deem proper, for the sexes . . . . .

30-11-26

Chapter 173 University - Colleges - State school

Article 1, Agricultural and Mechanical College

Section 7184 Apportionment of students. - The right belongs to each county to have a number of students admitted proportionate to its number of white educable males compared with the whole number in the state

30-11-f-27

Article 2. Alcorn A + M. College

Section 7195 Recognized and continued. - The Alcorn A-- + M-- college of Miss., created by act approved February 28, 1878, for the education of the colored youth of the state, shall continue as a body-politic and corporate for that purpose.

Section 7196 Certain laws applicable - all the provisions in article 1 of this chapter, being sections applicable to the A.. + M.. C.., that can reasonably apply to Alcorn A + M C, shall apply to the last named college, except those parts on the subject of the number of students entitled to free tuition therein, on the subject of apportioning students among the several counties of the state and dormitory privileges

(over)

for them, and on the subject of agricultural experimental stations - - - -

Article 4 - Miss. State College for Women

Section 7205 ~~Its purpose~~. —

The purpose and aim of the college is the moral and intellectual advancement of the white girls of the state - - - -

Chapter 170 Supervision of Common Carriers

section 7072 Regulations for passenger depots.—

The commission shall establish such rules and regulations for the arrangement and management of passenger depots as will secure the comfort of passengers, and it shall cause a copy thereof to be posted in each passenger depot or reception room. In cities of three thousand or more inhabitants, it shall cause to be constructed and maintain, in connection with the reception room for whites, two closets or retiring rooms to be exclusively used by passengers arriving and departing; the following notice shall be painted in bold letters on the door of one, "closet, white; females only," and on the other, "closet, white; males only;" and likewise closets shall be provided for the negroes with like signs painted on the doors, substituting "colored" for "white," and it shall see that the closets are kept clean and in good sanitary ~~state~~ condition

30-11f-25

Schools,

Chapter 163, Article 26, Enumeration of Educable Children;

Section 6747. ~~Names~~ Names, receiving. - Each principal white teacher shall receive names of children having a living parent or guardian, and being in the care of such, only from the guardian. ...

30-11f-23

Section 6749. List to be submitted to trustees. - It shall be the duty of said principal white teacher to submit list of educable children to the local board of trustees.....

→ Section 6746 County superintendent to make enumeration. - During 1931 and every two years thereafter, the county superintendent of education shall require each principal teacher in his county to enumerate the educable children, in his or her school district. said enumeration shall be taken by townships and shall show the school districts, the names, ages, and sex of the educable children therein. Separate lists shall be made for white, negro, and Indian races.....

Chapter 163 Schools; Article 29; Schools for Indians and other Races

Section 6789 Counties establishing - licensing teaches

In a county where there are Indian children, or children of any race not otherwise provided for by law with educational advantages, sufficient to form a school, the county school board may locate one or more schools exclusively for Indians, or children of such other race, and pay salaries of teachers for same under rules and regulations prescribed by the state board of education. Special license may be provided by the state board of examiners for teachers of Indian schools and other schools mentioned in this section.

Section 6790 Municipal separate school districts establishing Trustees of municipal separate school districts are authorized and empowered to provide schools for Indian children living within the district in the same manner and under the same regulations as schools are provided for the children of other races.

30-11-24

32-15-46

Louis Marshall.

Marshall, Louis, lawyer: born, Syracuse, N.Y. Dec. 14, 1856; s. Jacob and Zilli (Strauss) M.; Syracuse pub. and high schs.; Law Sch., Columbia U.; LL.D., Syracuse U., 1913; L.H. D., Hebrew Union Coll., 1920., L.H.D., Jewish Theological Seminary, 1927; m. Florence Lowenstein, of New York, N.Y., May 6, 1895(died May 27, 1916). Began practice at Syracuse, 1878; now mem. Guggenheimer, Untermyer & Marshall; has argued many important causes in the higher courts, especially constl. and corpn. law. Mem Constl. convs., N.Y.1890, 1894, 1915, (1st citizen of U. S. to serve in 3 convs.);mem. commn. apptd. by Mayor Low, 1902 to investigate East Side conditons: chmn. N.Y State Immigration Commn., apptd. by Gov. Hughes, 1908, counsel for Gov. Sulzer in her impeachment trial, and for Leo. M. Frank in the U. S.Sup. Court; leader in movement for abrogation of treaty with Russia; mediator settling cloakmakers' strike, 1910, and prepared protocol of settlement which has since been basis of numerous strike adjustments; mem. arbitration bd. that settled N. Y. clothing workers' strike of 1919; chmn. com. to fix price of bread; procured enactment of laws regulating private and foreign bankers and other reform legislation. Chmn. bd. and chmn. exec. com. Jewish Theol. Sem. of America; pres. Am. Jewish Com., pres. of Temple Emanuel; founder Jewish Protectory and Aid Soc.;dir. Edn1. Alliance Dropsie Coll., Phila.;pres. Am. Jewish Com., An. Jewish Relief Com., which will kindred organizations collected more than $75,000,000 for relief of Jewish war sufferers. Mem. N.Y. District Board, 1917-19, Pres. Comite des Delegations Juives aupres de la Conference de la Paix, whose efforts resulted in the treaties with Poland, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia, Czecho-Slovakia and other countries, which guarantee equal rights to all racial

32-15-47

religious, and linguistic minorities. Has addressed many learned and philanthropic socs. Trustee Syracuse U. since 1910, to which has presented law library; pres. N.Y.State Coll. of Forestry; for wo years chmn. com. on amendment of law of Assn. Bar City of N.Y.(com. revision of N.Y. corpn. laws); mem. Am. Law Inst., Am. Bar Assn., N.Y. State and N. Y. Co. bar assns.; life mem. Zool. Soc., Bot. Garden, Am. Mus. Natural History, N.Y. Hist. Soc., Acad. Sciences; hon. mem. Phi Beta Kappa. Republican. Clubs: Lotos, Bankers, National Republican. Active in settlement of di ferences of opinion regarding articles appearing in the Dearborn Independent concerning alleged attempt of Jews to control the finances of the World. Home: 47 E. 72d St. Office 120 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

32-15-48

Moorfield Storey.

Storey, Moorfield, lawyer; b. Roxgury, Mass., Mar. 19, 1845; s. Charles William and Elizabeth Eaton (Moorfield) S.; A. B., Harvard, 1866, A. M., 1869; Harvard Law Sch., 1866-67; m. Gertrude Cutts, of Washington, Jan. 6, 1870. Admitted to bar, 1869, and since in practice at Boston; sr. mem. Storey, Thorndike, Palmer & Dodge. Pvt. sec, to Charles Sumner, 1867-69; editor American Law Review, 1873-79. Overseer Harvard Coll.,1877-88 and 1892-1910; pres. Am. Bar Assn., 1896, pres. Mass. Reform Club, 1898-1901; v.p. Nat. Civ. Service Reform Club, pres. Mass. Civil Service Reform Assn.; pres. Anti-Imperialist League from 1905; pres. Bar Assn. of the City of Boston 1909-13; Pres. Mass. Bar Assn. 1913-14; pres. Nat. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People since 1910; hon. pres. Indian Rights Assn. Mem. Mass. Hist. Soc.; fellow Am. Acad. Arts and Sciences. Author: Life of Charles Sumner (Statesman series) 1900;Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, a Memoir (with E. W. Emerson), 1911; The Reform ofLegal Procedure (Storr's lectures at Yale Law Sch.), 1911; Problems of To-Day (Godkin lectures at Harvard College 1920); pamphlets; Politics as a Duty and as a Career; 1889; What shall we do with our Dependencies? 1903; The Democratic Party and Philippine Independence, 1915; The Negro Question, 1918; also various other pamphlets, addresses and articles. Home: Lincoln, Mass. Office, Exchange Bldg., Boston, Mass.

I

WIFE OF FORMER ASSEMBLYMAN E.A. JOHNSON DIES

After an illness of several months Mrs. Edward A. Johnson, nee Lena Allen Kennedey, the daughter of George and Sarah H. Kennedey died January 30th at 11.57 p.m. She was born August 20, 1865 at Hastings, Minnesota and reared in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. After completing her Public school education she entered the Boston Conservatory of Music and later taught music in Sioux Falls privately to Senator Pettigrews' family and also the family of Banker Tate. ~~#########~~ Mrs. Johnson taught at Bennett College, Greensboro, N.C., St. Augustine, Raleigh, N.C. and Shaw University. She was married in 1894 to Ex-Assmeblyman Edward A. Johnson and has been a resident here since 1907. While ~~######~~ living in New York she was active in the N.A.A.C.P. and raised more money than any single person in the organization. She was a member of the Board of Managers of the Y.W.C.A., organizer of the Womens' Republican Club, succeeded in enrolling the largest number of colored voters in various districts of Harlem in 1917and 1918. She was a member of Bethel A.M.E. Church which was founded by her great grandfather Bishop Richard Allen in 1808. She is survived by ~~##########~~ a daughter, Adelaide, one sister, Mrs. Lillian N. Hawkins, wife of Prof. John R. Hawkins, financial secretary A.M.E. Church, ~~two~~ three neices, Mrs. Kate Burnley of Burlington, N.J. and Mrs. Irene Hall Walker of Philadelphia and Corbin Hall and Mrs. Ester Hawkins Wilson, daughter of Prof. and Mrs. John R. Hawkins. Funeral services will be held at Bethel A.M.E. Church on Wednesday at 1 p.m. and will be conducted by Rev. J.K. Spearman the pastor and assisted by Rev. Hutchins C. Bishop of St. Philip's & President Emeritus Chas. Francis Meserve of Shaw University

Interment at Woodlawn Cemetery.

31-1-14

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.....DEPT. 192

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 7.-- Perry W. Howard, special assistant to the Attorney General, is now the highest salaried Government official of color in the United States. This distinction comes as the result of a promotion in the tangible form of an increase of $1,000 in his yearly salary. He now receives $6,000 a year.

Result of Legal Efforts.

This promotion is a recognition of the very valuable legal services Mr. Howard has rendered the Government. He received his appointment two years ago and was assigned a large number of suits brought by various railroad companies against the United States. Many millions of dollars in claims against the Government were involved. The railroad companies had the best lawyers they could retain. But Mr. Howard went to his work enthusiastically and, as a result of the success with which he defended these claims against the Government, the Attorney General shortly after his return to the Department of Justice last week approved this promotion for him.

Engaged in Important Work.

A conception of the importance of the work in which Mr. Howard is engaged at the Department of Justice may be had from the fact that during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922, 91 railroad cases handled by him, in which the amount claimed was $4,999,415.70, were disposed of. The claimants, however, secured judgments for only $513,850.19, for a large part of which there

was no defense; the only question involved being the ascertainment of the correct amount due. He now has 102 cases pending, in which the amounts claimed aggregate $3,901,204.46.

He has also represented the Government in two coal cases involving the question of the liability of the United States for losses incurred by producers in selling their coal at prices fixed by the Fuel Administration under the wartime powers given the President. In both of these cases he filed demurrers to the petitions, which were sustained in the Court of Claims. The coal companies immediately appealed to the Supreme Court and if these test cases should be decided adversely to the Government, the United States will probably be called upon to satisfy judgments amounting to millions.

31-23-13

A Fine Example.

Born and reared in Mississippi, his is a splendid example to the Negro youth of this country of the height which may be attained in the legal profession by application and determination.

---ooOoo---

Statistics on Crime relative to Negroes

Although the following is not a true measure of the incidence of crime in the United States, yet it gives some idea of crime as far as statistical information makes it possible to measure such anti-social acts. The following data refers to crimes committed by Negroes fifteen years old and over for 1940; The figures represent the per cent that the Negro committed of the total of such offenses reported per 100,000 population:

Crimes 1940 and 1910

	1940	1910
criminal homicide	40.1%	56.0
robbery	30.8	33.3
assault	44.0	41.1
burglary	28.5	30.5
larcency	28.4	31.8
auto theft	14.8	
embesslement-fraud	11.5	16.6
stolen property	27.3	
arson	17.4	
forgery-counterft.	9.1	14.6
rape	22.1	25.7
prostitution	25.4	33.6
other sex offenses	14.9	
narcotic drug laws	19.3	

	1940	1910
weapons: carrying, possess.	45.8%	
offenses against family	15.6	
liquor laws	47.2	31.9
driving while drunk	6.8	
road and road driving laws	21.6	
parking violations	14.3	
other traffic and motor laws	21.0	
disorderly conduct	28.1	
drunkenness	12.3	15.9
vagrancy	19.5	16.4
gambling	41.9	
suspicion	27.1	
not stated	19.5	
all other offenses	23.5	37.6

Negro proportion of all offenses committed 22.8% 1940
21.9 1910

35-1-282

Prisoners material for 1944, and 1910

Of the 38,880 male felony prisoners received from courts by State and Federal prisons and reformatories during 1944, 11,354 or 29.2 per cent were Negro.

Of all prisoners, including juvenile delinquents, in 1910, 21.9 per cent were Negroes

Crime 1910
homicide 56.0

EDUCATIONAL ENROLLMENT

Negroes 6 to 20 years of age in school

1910 1,644,759 or 44.7 per cent

1940 4,188,998 or 64.0 per cent

Lynchings

1900 - 1916.....1,183	1927 - 1936.....136	1917 35
1917 - 1926..... 419	1937 - 1947..... 43	1947 1

Population Distribution

Year	South		North		West		Total	
1920	8,912,231	85.2	1,472,309	14.1	78,591	0.7	10,463,131	9.9
1940	9,904,619	76.9	2,790,193		170,706		12,865,518	9.8
	Urban		Rural					
1920	3,559,473	34.0	6,903,658	66.0				
1940	6,253,588	48.6	6,611,930	51.4				

35-1-203

National office holders

	City Council	State Legislature	U. S. Congress	Judges	Governors
1917	10	2	0	0	0
1947	6	33	2	13	1

Southern States with Negro Policemen

1917: In this year there was not one Southern state employing Negroes as policemen.

1947: At least twelve states employ Negro policemen in more than fifty cities, although in practically every case the Negroes are limited to the policing of Negroes only.

Health Data

1920: The life expectancy for Negro males was 40.5 years and for females 42.3 years.

1940: The life expectancy for Negro males was 55.9 years and for females 58.5 years.

For the United States as a whole 47 per cent of all Negro registrants in those age groups physically examined for induction were rejected as "unfit" as compared with 27 per cent for whites. In the South, where the majority of Negroes live, and the health and educational facilities are the poorest, the percentage of rejections is considerably higher than in the North where these services for Negroes are better still but grossly inadequate. In the North, the rejection was 39.0 per cent and in the South, 49.3 per cent

35-1-804

MATERIAL ON THE NEGRO: 1917 to Present

Holders of the Ph.D. degree:	1910-1917	6
	1937-1947	279
other doctorates	1937-1947	35
of education		
of science		
of laws		
total doctorates: all types	1917-1947	454

Recipients of Phi Beta Kappa	1910-1917	15
	1937-1947	40

Recipients of undergraduate degrees (Bachelors)	1917	475
	1947	6,052

Negro enrollment in higher institutions	1930	25,082
	1947	71,792

Illiteracy of Negroes 10 years old and over	1910	30.4 %
	1920	22.9
	1930	16.3
	1940	10.0 SEE NOTE

NOTE (The 1940 Census did not secure data directly on the number of "illiterate" persons in the U.S. The nearest approach to this information is available in the data for the number of years of school completed. In 1940, 10% of the total Negro population, 25 years old and over, had completed no school years.

Selective Service Rejections for Military Service due to Educational Deficiency

For the entire United States, 7.4 Per cent of the whites rejected were disqualified because of educational deficiency; 32.1 per cent of the Negroes rejected were disqualified for this defect.

Educational deficiency was the cause of per cents of rejections more than twelve times as high among Negroes in Alabama (44.4 per cent of all rejections) as among Negroes in Minnesota (3.6 per cent).

In all states except one, Kentucky, the per cent of disqualifications caused by educational deficiency accounted for a larger per cent of all rejections among Negroes than among whites. In Louisiana the per cent of disqualifications for educational deficiency was over three times as high among Negroes as among whites; in Illinois the rate was five times as high among Negroes as among whites.

It should be noted, however, that the per cent of all rejections due to educational deficiency was higher for whites in North Carolina (15.0 per cent of all rejections) than for Negroes in Massachusetts (5.6 per cent of all rejections); and the incidence of disqualification for educational deficiency was over six times as high for whites in Texas (22.7 per cent of all rejections) as for Negroes in Minnesota (3.6 per cent).

35-1-205

An analysis by race of special training unit figures for a period in 1943 shows that of the Negro illiterates inducted by the Army, 90.7 per cent completed the training satisfactorily, and 9.3 per cent were discharged for inability to learn and other reasons; while 84.5 per cent of the white illiterates succeeded in completing the training and were assigned, and 15.5 per cent were discharged.

Differences in the Army General Classification Test rating were found also among Negroes in various regions of the country. in the First Service Command (New England) and in the Sixth (Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin), eight times as many Negroes socred above average grades as scored above average in the Fourth (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, N.C., S.C., Tennessee) and Eighth (Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas) Service Commands. The proportions of Negroes scoring below average grades in the First and Sixth Service Commands were far lower than in the Southeast or the Southwest, where no more than 7 per cent of the Negroes attained even the average rating, and only 1.1 per cent made above average scores.

This variation in scores reflect relative educational opportunities among regions of the country is shown by comparative median years of school attainment for Negroes 18 through thirty-nine years of age. In the Second Service Command (Delaware, New Jersey, New York), a median of 8.5 school years was attained; the in the Fourth Service Command (see paragraph immediately above) a median of 5.7 school years.

The regional differences in degree of literacy and schooling of Negroes were known from the testing of World War I inductees. The per cent distribution by letter grade on induction tests among Negroes in five Northern states was compared with that among Negroes in four Southern states. The results, showe regional differences parallel to those of the AGCT scores of Negroes in World War II.

The median year of school attained by Negroes at the time of World War I scores shows again the close relationship between schooling and test grades, just as it did twenty years later in World War II. The Negroes from five Northern states in the World War I sample had attained a median of 4.9 yeras of schooling; the Negroes from four Southern states had 2.6 years.

GAINFULLY EMPLOYED NEGROES FOR SELECTED MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS, 1900 and 1940
(1900, Negroes 10 years of age and over; 1940, Negroes 14 years of age and over)

Occupation	1900		1940	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
All occupations	3,992,000	100.0	4,479,068	100.0
Agriculture	2,143,000	53.6	1,484,914	33.2
Professional Service	4,800	0.0	176,685	3.9
Domestic and Personal Service	1,318,000	33.0	1,292,524	28.9
Trade and Transportation	209,000	5.2	200,191	4.5
Manufacturing & Mechanical Ind.	275,000	6.8	515,514	11.5
Clerical	6,636	0.0	79,322	1.8
Public Service	645	0.0	56,921	1.3
Other	36,019	0.9	762,997	14.9

Source: Based on data from tables in Negro Year Book, 1947, and Sterner's Negro's Share, whose original data were based on Census material for 1900 and 1940

35-1-206

176,685

	1920	1940	Employment 1920 and 1940	1920
1 Agriculture	45.2%	32.2	4 Transportation & Communication	6.5%
3 Manufacturing	18.4	11.5	5 Trade	2.9
8 Clerical-Per...	0.8	1.8	6 Professional Service	1.7
7 Public Service	1.0	1.3	2 Domestic & Personal Service	22.1

NOTE: data for 1920 is for Negro gainful workers 10 years old and over
data for 1940 is for Negro fainful workers 14 years old and over

	Professional workers	1920	194
2	Ministers	19,571	7,191
4	Physicians and surgeons	3,495	3,530
3	Nurses	3,341	7,191
6	Lawyers, judges, and justices	950	1,063
5	Dentists	1,109	1,611
1	Teachers (all kinds)	36,626	52,876

32-12-52

From Writings of Washington letter to Lear

"without going into the detail on the several points of your letter I can assure you that the measures you have adopted with respect to Washington, George and Lawrence, my black people, and the employment of Mr. Fraunces and Mrs. Emmerson -- ... meet my entire approbation. "

Iconography of Manhattan Island: (Phelps-Stokes)

Aug. 23, 1775

"During the firing 'a house next to Roger Morris's and Samuel Fraunces' at the corner of the exchange each had an 18 lb. ball shot into their roofs; some other houses suffered a little but the principle damage was sustained by some small buildings adjoining the battery.

"The statement about 'Fraunces' is substantiated by Freneau, who mentions the incident in one of his poems:

"'Scarce a broadside was ended till another began again --
By Jove! it was nothing but Fire Away Flannegan!
At first we supposed it was only a sham,
Till he drove a round ball thro' the roof of black Sam .'"

(the Poems of Philip Freneau, written chiefly during the late war (1786) p. 321.

Bayles - Old Taverns of N.Y. 1915 — meeting

33-12-51

References earlier than Johnson's:

Daily Globe: - no date

"The Landmark of Fraunces Tavern" 1901

A Retrospect by Mrs. Melusina Fay Pierce for Womens Auxiliary for preservation of Scenic and Historic Places and Objects:

"This new owner was a West Indian and though from the swarthiness of his complexion commonly was called "Black Sam", he was of French extraction."

The New York Age Sat. Dec. 18, 1926

"Historic Frances Tavern at Broad and Pearl Sts."

"Founded by Samuel Frances, West Indian Negro, in1763"

..."Yet it is not a matter of common knowledge that this historic eating place patronized by George Washington, Governor Clinton and other great Americans of that day was originally owned and conducted by Samuel Fraunces, a West Indian Negro of French extraction, familiarly called "Black Sam" because of his swarthy complexion."

..."It is presumed that he came to the U.S. from the West Indies on an English vessel where he served as a n officer's cook; that upon landing here he settled in the Negro colony in the Wall Street District which section of the city was then used as a depot for supplying ships."

Wall Street Journal News Bulletin Weds. Aug 26,1914

"In 1762 Sam Fraunce or Fraunces called "Black Sam" a West Indian, purchased the De Lanney property.

"Already an innkeeper in 1755 he had been made a Freeman of New York"

33-12-52

From Pamphlet: "Fraunces Tavern" published by Sons of the Revolution in State of New York. Written by H. R. Drowne 1919

In 1762 the property was sold by de Lancey, Robinson & Co. for 2000 pounds -- deed Jan. 15, 1762 to SAMUEL FRAUNCES, a man of French extraction from the West Indies. Fraunces, who had been an innkeeper in New York since 1755, took possession early in 1763 when he opened the place, calling it the "Queens Head Tavern."

32-12-53

From pamphlet put out by Fraunces Tavern celebrating 1719 - 1918

On January 15 of that year (1762) it was opened as a tavern by Sam Fraunces, a West Indian known to his contemporaries as "Black Sam."

From magazine "Old Castle Gardens" Sept. 1935, v.5 no. 3 Published by the Mission of Our Lady of the Rosary, 7 State St. N.Y.

"Samuel Fraunces -- Immigrant and Patriot "

... it remained for a native of the West Indies -- we do not know more definitely his birthplace -- to be commemorated in the oldest and best loved memorial of revolutionary times -- Fraunces Tavern. According to reliable authority he came to New York before 1755, but whether on his own initiative or at the suggestion or invitation of others we know not.

From The Elks Magazine, Washington & South Avs. Dunellan, N.J.
May 1940

"Tavern in the Town" by Fairfax Downey.

"He came from the West Indies. Born there in 1722 of French extraction. It was his swarthy skin tanned by the tropical sun that gave him his nickname of Black Sam.

32-12-54

English historians had nothing:

"Lecky's 'American Revolution"by Woodburn 1898

"The American Revolution" by Egerton, 1923

"George III and American Revolution" 1924 London by Frank Mumby

"Legends of American Revolution 1776" by George Lippard, Philadelphia 1876

~~History of New~~

32-12-55

To look up fur ther:

1785 Fraunces sold Tavern and went to County Monmouth, N.J

Beulah Sherwood Hogg, 516 N. Oak Street, Little Rock, Ark. (mother a Burnell) wrote that seeing his pictures was like seeing her great-gr-gr- grandfather in uniform. She had read clippings of Miss Fanny Burnell of Milwaukee, borther is SAR (Capt.Joseph Burnell) She is DAR

1755 and before- look under Freemen's lists.

To look into:

Will, August 23, 1753 in "Abstract of Wills for N.Y."

"to Mr. Fraunces who now lives with Mr. George Burns,

50 lbs., --(Lydia George)

look up Lydia George and George Burns inNY

33-12-56

"Private Affairs of George Washington" by Stephan Decatur, Jr.
mentions steward

see Pastor Shewkirk's Diary in Campaign of 1776 pg 2, 103

Jones: History of N.Y. during the Revolutionary War II 343
Aug. 24, 1775

1760 he was witness to will of Cornelius Healy (look up Healy)

He had been caterer at Mason's Tavern before - look up Mason'S

Two more books: Jones: History of New York 1879

Documents relating to colonial History of N.Y.
viii page 789,792. By Broddard, 1857 Albany

Tammany Soc. 1789-1916

Tavern Keepers licenses 1784-1796

Old N.Y. -- Pasko

NY in year of Washingtons Inaug 1789 by Thomas Smith

History of City of ny - Mary Louise Booth

Old N.Y. - John W Francis

Sketches, R Osgood Mason 1799-1865

after dementalk of Osgood Mason

Autobiog Nathaniel Hubbard (1798-1875)

Naturalyzation records Rm 315 Supreme Ct 60 Centre St

1787-1789 - OCallaghan Papers Book III ny Hs

Deeds

Makers of my Charles Morris (6-
Amen of my Matthews Jas
Lineage book of D A R.
my Genealogical & Biographical Record

all composed F.B. Slave trade ← — — Pile 1799 1807

"The Sale of 30 Africans is unavoidably postponed until To-Morrow, the 2d inst. precisely at 11 o'clock, if a fair day.

M'M. CAMPBELL.

—

One Hundred Bales of Cotton, are wanted to fill up the ship FAIR AMERICAN, for Liverpool, to sail by the 6th instant. Apply to Captain MARSHALL, on board, at Crafts's North Wharf, or to
January 1. F. WEIR & CO. No. 4, Chisolm's Wharf.

—

WINDWARD COAST SLAVES.

The sale of the Brig Washington's Cargo will commence THIS DAY, the 2d instant, at 11 o'clock, on board said Vessel, at Gadsden's Whaff. For terms apply to
December 2. DAVID M'KELVEY.

—

CONGO SLAVES.

The sale of the ship UNION's cargo of 312 very Prime Slaves, will commence THIS DAY, the 1st of December, at 11 o'clock, on boad said vessel, at Gadsden's wharf.

WM. BOYD.

49-13-51

—

Prime Windward-Coast AFRICANS.

The sale of the schooner Edward & Edmund's cargo, consisting of 108 prime Mandingo Africans, will commence, on board said schooner, at Gadsden's Wharf, TO-MORROW at 10 o'clock. For terms, apply to Mr. JAMES COOPER, or
JOHN CALLAGHAN,
December 23. 5 Elliott-Street.

—

PRIME CONGO NEGROES.

The sale of the ship JOHN's Cargo, consisting of 330 very Prime Congo Negroes, will commence in the Brick Stores Nos. 10 and 11, Gadsden's wharf, THIS DAY, the 18th inst. at 11 o'clock.

T.W.RAWLINSON.

N.B. Produce will be taken in payment at the market price.
December 16.

—

The sale of the ship MERCURY's cargo, consisting of 400 prime Angola SLAVES, will commence on board, at Gadsden's Wharf, THIS DAY, the 29th inst. at eleven o'clock.

JOHN WATSON & CO.

N.B. The whole of this cargo have had the smallpox, and are in an excellent condition. Produce, at market price, will be received in payment.

For sale, received per said ship, a few bales of INDIA GOODS, well assorted for the African trade; and 4 puncheons of Brandy -- all entitled to drawback.

—

PRIME MANDINGO NEGROES.

The Sale of the ship MARGARET's Cargo, consisting of 150 very prime healthy Mandingo NEGROES, will commence on board, at Gadsden's Wharf, on MONDAY, the 5th January, at 11 o'clock.

T.W.RAWLINSON.

N.B. Produce will be taken in payment, at the Market price.
December 31.

GOLD COAST NEGROES.

The sale of the Brig Little Ann's Cargo of 81 choice GOLD COAST NEGROES, will commence THIS MORNING on board said Brig at Gadsden's Wharf. Apply to
CHARLES CHRISTIAN.

December 29.

For Hire, a complete Blacksmith.
Apply to
JOHN OWEN,
No. 27, Tradd-Street.

December 27." --

[All from]
Charleston, S.C., Courier, Jan. 1, 1807.

All compared

49-13-52

D

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~~If no finding place is indicated, it is to be understood that a work named is not rare or that at least one edition of it is in~~ the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library, probably the most complete existing assembly of books by and about the Negro. Other libraries are either named in full or designated by the following abbreviations: AAS (American Antiquarian Society); BA (Boston Athenaeum); BPL (Boston Public Library); CHS (Connecticut Historical Society); Col U (Columbia University); CorU (Cornell University); LOC (Library of Congress); MHS (Massachusetts Historical Society); MdHS (Maryland Historical Society); NYHS (New York Historical Society); NYPL (New York Public Library); PHS (Pennsylvania Historical Society); UTS (Union Theological Seminary); and YU (Yale University).

(The Negro Author, Vernon Loggins, p. 408.)

408/4/21

do not copy Mile

INFORMATION TO SECURE FROM NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

I. ORGANIZATION:

1. National organization:

a. Form
   1" Centralized
   2" Decentralized
   3" Internal organization - various depts. with functions.

b. Executive boards of national organizations.
   1" How organized, who elects, what representation have local units of organization, how often does it meet?
   2" Powers - who determines policies of national organization.

c. National executives
   1" Who appoints?
   2" What powers have they, and who are they responsible to?
   3" Have they an advisory ~~?~~ council?

d. Relationship of local units to national organization
   1" Membership in national organization
      a" Individual memberships
      b" Organization memberships
   2" Branch organization
      a" What is the nature of the tie with national headquarters?
      b" What degree of autonomy has local unit?
      c" Does request for organization of local group come from community or from national headquarters or both?

2. Local Units

a. Form
   1" One or more units within a community, how grouped?
   2" Internal organization of local organization

b. Executive boards of local units
   1" How organized, who elects?
   2" Powers - who determines policies of local organization - to what extent may local body disregard, or adapt national policies?
   3" Who exercises control over local executives?

c. Local executives
   1" Who selects and what is basis for selection, what control has national has national organization over selection of local executives?
   2" What powers have local executives, and duties, and who are they responsible to?
   3" Have they an advisory council which functions, or is it a one man organization?

d. Relation of local units one to another in the same community and in neighboring communities.
   1" Membership in local organization and whether this automatically establishes membership in national organization.
      a" Kinds of membership
   2" Subdivisions of local unit.

II. FIELD FOR WORK OF ORGANIZATION

1. National organization
   a. Any restrictions as to territory
   b. Any restrictions as to groups in community with whom organization will work.

2. Local organization
   a. Restrictions as to territory
   b. Restrictions as to groups in the community for which service is intended.

III. PROGRAM

1. National Organization
   a. Who established program and why?
   b. Has it been changed in any way since originally established and why was it changed?
   c. What other organizations have the same general program intended for the same groups in the community?
   d. Is any attempt being made by agency to turn over its work to any other agency public or private?
   e. Has any attempt been made to amalgamate any agencies in the same field? What have been the obstacles in the way of such amalgamation?
   f. Have any cooperative arrangements been worked out with organizations having similar programs or allied programs?

2. Local organization
   a. What are the possibilities of adaptation of the national program to a local community?
   b. Who determines such adaptation? and must it be submitted to national headquarters for approval?

IV. METHODS OF WORK

1. National Organization
   a. What is the approach to local communities?
   b. How far does national organization go in forcing the formation of a local unit or is that against policy?
   c. Does national organization attempt to bring local work of an organization up to certain standards before admitting it to membership or affiliation?
   d. Does national agency serve other organizations in the community?
   e. Does national organization consult with any other national or regional agencies before going into a community?
   f. What formal types of service are offered by national headquarters to local units and under what conditions are they offered?
      1" Field Service - what is purpose-organization, supervision, consultation, public speaking, etc. Is field service continuous, available only in emergencies, or upon special invitation of local community?
      2" Educational Service - training courses for executives, for possible workers in local units, for local groups who might serve as volunteers? Follow-up work done on such students? Publications along educational lines for the use especially of executives? Conferences for general educational purposes. Compilation of statistics and collecting material for the use of executives when educating communities to their responsibilities.

5" Publicity Service - material sent out to local units? Throughout the year or only at times of campaigns? Kind? Is it sent to individuals direct or to local unit for distribution? What use is made of motion pictures? Is approach to newspapers made through national headquarters or local units? Are there special publications for publicity purposes?

4" Speakers' Bureau - are speakers from the national organization furnished to local communities at any time during the year or only at time of campaigns or special meetings? Are speakers used chiefly for inspirational purposes or to give local people an opportunity to meet and directly ask advice on their local problems of national executives?

3" Personnel Service - Does national organization actually recruit workers for local communities? Does national organization place workers in local communities or does it just recommend available personnel to the local group? What control does national organization exercise over personnel chosen by the local group? Does it insist on certain standards of qualifications?

6" Survey Service

7" Conference Service - National conference, for whom, how often.

8" Correspondence Service - this may include the information service if there is no other bureau for this.

48-13-13

Look up 1st

5. Publicity Service - Material sent out to local units? Through what channels? Is it sent to individuals direct or to local units? Distribution? What use is made of motion pictures? Is approach to newspapers made through national headquarters or local units? Are there special publications for publicity purposes?

4. Speakers' Bureau - Are speakers from the national organization furnished to local communities at any time during the year or only at time of campaigns or special meetings? Are speakers used chiefly for inspirational purposes or to give local people an opportunity to meet and directly ask advice on their local problems of national executive?

3. Personnel Service - Does national organization actually recruit workers for local communities? Does national organization place workers in local communities or does it just recommend available personnel to the local group? What control does national organization exercise over personnel chosen by the local group? Does it insist on certain standards of qualifications?

2. Salary Service

7. Conference Service - National conference, for whom, how often.

8. Correspondence Service - Can any include the information service if there is no other bureau for this.

The Crisis — Education

Sept., 1926 — The Negro Common School, Georgia — p. 248

Dec., 1926 — The Negro Common School, Mississippi — p. 90

Dec., 1927 — The Negro Common School in South Carolina — p. 330

May, 1927 — The Negro Common School in North Carolina, p. 79

July, 1928 — The Negro Common School in Oklahoma — p. 228

8-10-29

Bulletin — Dept. of Education

Mrs. Caroline Calver
Dept. of Negro Education
Dept. of Interior
Washington, D. C.

Education

Schools

NEGRO EDUCATION ARTICLES

THE CRISIS

September, 1926	THE NEGRO COMMON SCHOOL, GEORGIA, p. 248
December, 1926	THE NEGRO COMMON SCHOOL, MISSISSIPPI, p. 90.
<December, 1927	THE NEGRO COMMON SCHOOL, SOUTH CAROLINA, p. 330.
May, 1927	THE NEGRO COMMON SCHOOL IN NORTH CAROLINA, p. 79.
July, 1928	THE NEGRO COMMON SCHOOL IN OKLAHOMA, p. 228.

11-01-28

MILITARISM

The growing numbers of colleges in business abuse their tax exempt status, under the federal income tax laws, the Association of American Colleges said that unless the trend toward college controlled business that was not related to education stopped, the future of higher education would be in danger. 445 colleges and universities operated projects beyond their campuses.

65-01-25

[illegible] of Bernal an Indian-terrorist trade

"Bernal is an outstanding and unique product of this exciting half-century, which -- it must be remembered -- has been a period of unparalleled advance: from Tsarist society to Soviet society, from bourgeois democracy to new democracy; from the discovery of radio-activity to the atomic pile, from the overthrow of classical physics to the victory of atomistics; from the first international combustion engine to the jet-propelled aircraft, from the Hertzian waves to radar; from the atomistic approach to man to the integrated study of man and his environment; from ethnocentric anthropology to the comparative study of culture; from science as an 'aristocratic pursuit' to science as bread-and-butter work; from the learned society for the few to the association of scientific workers for the many."

32-12-58

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illiteracy; less than one-fourth because of white illiteracy. If Congress should create a fund which would give $3 per annum per capita for the education of this class alone, it will require an aggregate annual sum of $18,719,958. Of this, Mississippi, e.g., would receive $1,119,603; but of this $959,529 would be for colored illiterates and $160,344 for white illiterates.

Representing an educational work in the South chiefly for the negro race, in which have been expended about $10,000,000, and speaking with a wide knowledge of facts, we emphatically assert the impossibility of accomplishing this great work unless the General Government shall come to the assistance of those States in which this illiteracy is chiefly found.

Every dollar we have expended expresses the conscientious and earnest desire of the donor that this work shall be done, and is an emphatic vote for the action for which we ask.

In the name of the millions of Christian citizens whom we represent we earnestly urge Congress to help qualify the ignorant voters who are intrusted largely by Congresstional action with the ballot for the duties with which they are charged, believing the power to do this is co-ordinate with the power that enfranchised them.

Rev. M. E. Strieby, D.D.,
American Missionary Association; Congregational.
Rev. J. C. Hartzel, D.D.
Secretary Freedmen's Aid Society; Methodist.
Rev. H. L. Morehouse, D.C.,
Home Missionary Society; Baptist.
* Rev. J. L. M. Curry, D.C.,
Agent of the Peabody Fund.
Professor C. C. Painter,
Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
S. C. Armstrong,
Hampton Institute, Virginia.

Washington, D.C., March, 1882.

* Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D.D.,
Home Missionary Society, Presbyterian.

The following deeply interesting documents were presented to the Senate Committee, of which Hon. Mr. Blair was chairman, in 1884, but were republished in his speech introductory to the debate on the bill and for the second

time presented to the Senate in 1886.

Document I.

Address before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, by gentlemen representing the South; under the direction of a committee of superintendents of schools consisting of Hon. G. J. Orr, of Georgia; Hon. M. A. Newell, of Maryland; Hon. J. H. Smart, of Indiana; Hon. Hugh Thompson, of South Carolina; Dr. J. W. Dickinson, and Hon. B. G. Northrop, of Connecticut. Address of Hon. Hugh S. Thompson, then state superintendent of public instruction; afterwards Governor of South Carolina.

The bill, as passed the second time by the Senate, March 5, 1886, by a vote of yeas 36, nays 11 was in substance the bill of 1884; with the addition of $2,000,000 as a common schoolhouse fund; not more than $150 to be paid towards the cost of any single schoolhouse; nor more than half the cost of it in any case. This valuable addition was an amendment offered by Hon. John Logan of Illinois. This bill reads as follows:

(S. 194, March 5, 1886)

(Bill too mutilated to copy)

92-8-3

REFERENCES

1.	McPherson	p. 37	January 17, 1866	
2a.	McPherson	p. 33	March 12, 1866	
2b.	McPherson	p. 41-42	January 24, 1866	
3.	McPherson	p. 39	January 12, 1866	
4.	McPherson	p. 30	November 24, 1865	
5.	McPherson	p. 43	December 1865	
6.	McPherson	p. 36	December 21, 1865	
7.	McPherson	p. 29	March 10, 1866	
8a.	McPherson	p. 41	January 24, 1866	
8b.	Stephenson	p. 53		
9.	McPherson	p. 29	November 22, 1865	
10.	McPherson	p. 37	January 17, 1866	
11.	McPherson	p. 41	January 24, 1866	
12.	McPherson	p. 39	January 12, 1866	
13.	McPherson	p. 31	November 25, 1865	
14.	McPherson	p. 43	December 1865	
15.	McPherson	p. 36	January 17, 1866	
16.	McPherson	p. 31	November 25, 1865	
17.	McPherson	p. 35	December 19, 1865	
18.	McPherson	p. 33	December 1866	
19.	McPherson	p. 40	January 15, 1866	
20.	McPherson	p. 32	November 29, 1865	
21.	Fleming	p. 280	July 1865	local law
22.	Fleming	p. 280	July 1865	local law
23.	McPherson	p. 37	January 17, 1866	
24.	McPherson	p. 36	December 21, 1865	
25.	McPherson	p. 39	January 11, 1865	

32-8-4

26.	McPherson	p. 30	November 24, 1865
27.	McPherson	p. 37	January 17, 1866
28.	McPherson	p. 33	December 15, 1865
29.	McPherson	p. 42	January 25, 1866
30.	McPherson	p. 42	February 28, 1866
31.	McPherson	p. 33	December 9, 1866
32a	McPherson	p. 31	November 25, 1865
32b	Stephenson	p. 214	
33.	Stephenson	p. 117	1875
34a.	McPherson	p. 41	January 24, 1866
34b.	Fleming	p. 274	1866
35.	McPherson	p. 35	January 12, 1866
36.	McPherson	p. 31	November 25, 1865
37.	Fleming	p. 281	
38.	Stephenson	p. 213	1869
39a.	McPherson	p. 33	December 15, 1865
39b.	Fleming	p. 292	March 10, 1866
40.	McPherson	p. 43	January 25, 1866
41.	McPherson	p. 41	January 24, 1866
42.	McPherson	p. 38	January 11, 1866
43.	McPherson	p. 31	November 26, 1865
44.	Stephenson	p. 73	1869
45.	McPherson	p. 34	October 19, 1865
46.	McPherson	p. 33	March 17, 1866
47.	McPherson	p. 42	January 25, 1866
48.	McPherson	p. 33	December 9, 1866
49.	McPherson	p. 31	November 25, 1865
50.	McPherson	p. 43	
51.	McPherson	p. 35	December 19, 1865

32-8-5

52.	McPherson	p. 29	March 10, 1866
53.	McPherson	p. 33	March 9, 1866
54.	McPherson	p. 42	January 25, 1866
55.	McPherson	p. 40	January 16, 1866
56.	McPherson	p. 32	November 29, 1865
57.	Fleming	p. 281	July 1865

November - The colored State Convention addressed a memorial to Congress, asking that equal suffrage be conferred upon them in common with the white men of the State.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 24.

S.C. Nov. 1865

41-9-333

A = [illegible] (1st page) N° 1 ([illegible])

B = " " " N° 2 (2d Ms 5+6

V = " " N° 22 (22. Ms 45+46)

W = [illegible]

Y = [illegible]

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and Letter

A = 1st line

B = 2nd line

C = 3rd line

N = 14th line

[illegible]

[illegible]

7c

I hope that you Legislature will adopt a code in reference to free persons of color that will be acceptable to the country, at the same time doing justice to the white and colored population.

Andrew Johnson.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 24.

41-9-334

The criminal laws of the State are extended in their operation to embrace persons of color, and the same punishment is inflicted on them as on the whites, except for rape, which, if a white female is the victim, is a capital crime for a black. The law regarding apprentices is so amended as to make its provisions applicable to blacks, but it gives the former masters the preference, and declares that they should be regarded as the most suitable persons.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 29.

41-9-335

Governor Patton has also vetoed the bill "to extend the criminal laws of the State, applicable to free persons of color, to freedmen free negroes and mulattoes." He says:

"The bill proposes to apply to the freedmen a system of laws enacted for the government of free negroes residing in a community where slavery existed. I have carefully examined the laws which, under this bill, would be applied to the freedmen; and I think that a mere recital of some of their provisions will show the impolicy and injustice of enforcing, them upon the negroes in their new condition."

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 21.

41-9-336

Sec. 1 provides that it shall be the duty of all sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other civil officers of the several counties in this State to report to the probate courts of their respective counties semi-annually, at the January and July terms of said courts, all freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes, under the age of eighteen, within their respective counties, beats, or districts, who are orphans, or whose parent or parents have not the means, or who refuse to provide for and support said minors, and thereupon it shall be the duty of said probate court to order the clerk of said court to apprentice said minors to some competent and suitable person, on such terms as the court may direct, having a particular care to the interest of said minors:

Provided, That the former owner of said minors shall have the preference when, in the opinion of the court, he or she shall be a suitable person for that purpose.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 29.

41-9-337

Sec. 2 provides that all freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes in this State, over the age of eighteen years, found on the second Monday in January, 1866, or thereafter, with no lawful employment or business, or found unlawfully assembling themselves together, either in the day or night time, and all white persons so assembling with freedmen, free negroes, or mulattoes, or usually associating with freedmen, free negroes , or mulattoes on terms of equality, or living in adultery or fornication with a freedwoman, free negro, or mulatto, shall be deemed vagrants, and on conviction thereof shall be fined in the sum of not exceeding, in the case of a freedman, free negro or mulatto, fifty dollars, and a white man two hundred dollars and imprisoned, at the discretion of the court, the free negro not exceeding ten days, and the white man not exceeding six months.

41-9-338

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 30.

Sec. 5 provides that all fines and forteitures collected under the providions of this act shall be paid into the county tr treasury for general county purposes, and in case any freedman free negro or mulatto, shall fail for five days after the imposition of any fine or forfeiture upon him or her, for violation of any of the provisions of this act to pay the same, that it shall be, and is hereby made, the duty of the sheriff of the proper county to hire out said freedman, free negro or mulatto, to any person who will, for the shortest period of service, pay said fine or forfeiture and all costs: Provided, A preference shall be given to the employer , if there be one, in which case the employer shall be entitled to deduct and retain the amount so paid from the wages of such freedman, free negro or mulatto, then due or to become due; and in case such freedman, free negro or mulatto cannot be hired out, he or she may be dealt with as a pauper.

41-9-339

Sec. 6 provides that the same duties and liabilities existing among white persons of this State shall attach to freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes, to support their indigent families and all colored paupers; and that in order to secure a support for such indigent freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes, it shall be lawful, and it is hereby made the duty of the boards of county police of e each county in this State , to levy a poll or capitation tax on each and every freedman, free negro or mulatto, between the ages of eighteen and sixty years, not to exceed the sum of one dollar annually to each person so taxed, which tax when collected shall be applied by the commissioners of the poor for the maintenance of the poor of the freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes, of this State, under such regulations as may be established by the boards of the

county police in the respective counties of this State.

Sec. 7 provides that if any freedman, free negro or mulatto shall fail or refuse to pay any tax levied accroding to the provisions of the sexth section of this act, it shall be prima facie evidence of vagrancy, and it shall be the duty of the sheriff to arrest such freedman, free negro or mulatto, or such persons refusing or neglecting to pay such tax, and proceed at once to hire, for the shortest time, such delinquent tax-payer to any one who will pay the said tax, with the accruing costs, giving preference to the employer , if there be one.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 30.

41-9-340

Section 1 provides that all freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes may sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded in all the courts of law and equity of this state, and may acquire personal property and choses in action by descent or purchase, and may dispose of the same in the same manner and to the same extent that white persons may: Provided, That the provisions of this section shall not be so construed as to allow any freedman, free negro or mulatto to rent or lease any lands or tenements, except in incorporated towns or cities, in which places the corporate authorities shall control the same.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 31.

41-6-14

Sec. 4 provides that in addition to cases in which freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes are now by law competent witnesses, freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes shall be competent in civil cases, when a party or parties to the suit, either plaintiff or plaintiffs, defendant or defendants; also in cases where freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes are either plaintiff or plaintiffs, defendant or defendants, and a white person or white persons is or are the opposing party or parties, plaintiff or plaintiffs, defendant or defendants. They shall also be competent witnesses in all criminal prosecutions where the crime charged is alleged to have been committed by a white person upon or against the person or property of a freedman, free negro or mulatto: Provided That in all cases

41-9-342

* McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 31.

Sec. 5 provides that every freedman, free negro, and mulatto shall on the second Monday of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, and annually thereafter, have a lawful home or employment, and shall have written evidence thereof, as follows, to wit: If living in any incorporated city, town, or village, a license from the mayor thereof, and if living outside of any incorporated city, town, or village, from the member of the board of police of his beat, authorizing him or her to do irregular and job work, or a written contract, as provided in section six of this act; which licenses may be revoked for cause at any time by the authority granting the same.

41-9-343

Sec. 6 provides that all contracts for labor made with freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes, for a longer period than one month, shall be in writing and in duplicate, attested and read tos said freedman, free negro, or mulatto by a beat, city, or county officer or two disinterested white persons of the county in which the labor is to be performed, of which each party shall have one; and said contracts shall be taken and held as entire contracts, and if the laborer shall quit the service of the employer before the expiration of his term of service without good cause, he shall forfeit his wages for that year up to the time of quitting.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 31.

Sec. 7 provides that every civil officer shall, and every person may arrest and carry back to his or her legal employer any freedman, free negro, or mulatto who shall have quit the service of his or her employer before the expiration of his or her term of service without good cause; and said officer and person shall be entitled to receive for arresting and carrying back every deserting employe aforesaid the sum of five dollars and ten cents per mile from the place of arrest to the place of delivery, and the same shall be paid by the employer and held as a set-off for so much against the wages of said deserting employe.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 31.

41-9-344

Sec. 8 provides that upon afidavit made by the employer of any freedman, free negro, or mulatto, or other credible person, before any justice of the peace or member of the board of police, that any freedman, free negro or mulatto legally employed by said employer, has illegally deserted said employment, such justice of the peace or member of the board of police shall issue his warrant or warrants, returnable before himself or other such officer, directed to any sheriff, constable, or special deputy, commanding him to arrest said deserter and return him or her to said employer, and the like proceedings shall be had as provided in the preceding section; and it shall be lawful for any officer to whom such warrant shall be directed to execute said warrant in any county of this State, and that said warrant may be transmitted without indorsement to any like officer of another county to be executed and returned as aforesaid, and the said ~~warrant~~ employer shall pay the cost of said warrants and arrest and return, which shall be set off for so much against the wages of said deserter.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 31.

41-9-345

Sec. 9 provides that if any person shall persuade, or attempt to persuade, entice, or cause any freedman, free negro, or mulatto to desert from the legal employment of any person before the expiration of his or her term of service, or shall knowingly employ any such deserting freedman, free negro, or mulatto, or shall knowlingly give or sell to any such deserting freedman, free negro or mulatto any food, raiment, or other thing, he or she shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be fined not less than twenty-five dollars and not more than two hundred dollars and the costs; and if said fine and costs shall not be immediately paid, the court shall sentence said convict to not exceeding two months' imprisonment in the county jail, and he or she shall, moreover, be liable to the party injured in damages.

- McPherson's Hist. of the Recon. Page 32.

41-9-346

Sec. 1 provides that in every case where any white person has been arrested and brought to trial, by virtue of the provisions of the tenth section of the above recited act, in any court in this State, upon sufficient proof being made to the court or jury, upon the trial before said court, that any freedman, free negro or mulatto has falsely and maliciously caused the arrest and trial of said white person or persons, the court shall render up a judgment against said freedman, free negro or mulatto for all costs of the case, and impose a fine not to exceed fifty dollars, and imprisonment in the county jail not to exceed twenty days; and for a failure of said freedmen, free negro or mulatto to pay, or cause to be paid, all costs, fines and jail fees, the sheriff of the county is hereby authorized and required after giving ten days' public notice, to proceed to hire out at pb public outcry, at the court-house of the county, said freedman, free negro or mulatto, for the shortest time to raise the amount necessary to discharge said freedman, free negro or mulatto from all costs, fines, and jail fees aforesaid.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 32.

41-9-347

Sec. 1. Be it enacted, &c., That no freedman, free negro or mulatto, not in the military service of the United States Government, and not licensed to do so by the board of police of his or her county, shall keep or carry fire-arms of any kind, or any ammunition, dirk, or bowie-knife; and on conviction thereof, in the county court, shall be punished by fine, not exceeding ten dollars, and pay the costs of such proceedings, and all such arms or ammunition shall be forfeited to the informer; and it shall be the duty of every civil and military officer to arrest any freedman free negro, or mulatto found with any such arms or ammunition, and cause him to be committed for trial in default of bail.

Sec. 2. That any freedman, free negro, or mulatto, committing riots, routes, affrays, trespasses, malicious mischief and cruel treatment to animals, seditious speeches, insulting gestures, language, or acts, or assaults on any person, disturbance of the peace, exercising the functions of a minister of the gospel without a license from some regularly organized church, vending spirituous or intoxicating liquors, or committing any other misdemeanor, the punishment of which is not specifically provided for by law, shall, upon conviction thereof, in the county court, be fined not less than ten dollars, and not more than one hundred dollars, and may be imprisoned, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding thirty days.

41-9-348

3

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 32.

Sec. 4. That all the penal and criminal laws now in force in this State , defining offences, and prescribing the mode of punishment for crimes and misdemeanors committed by slaves, free negroes or mulattoes, be and the same are hereby re-enacted, and declared to be in full force and effect, against freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes, except so far as the mode and manner of trial and punishment have been changed or altered by law.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 32

41-9-349

March 9 - That among persons of color the parent shall be required to maintain his or her children, whether legitimate or illegitimate.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 33.

41-9-350

March 17 - County courts organized, as in other States, for hearing of "cases arising out of the relation of master and servant," &c.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 33.

41-9-351

Sec. 13 states that persons of color constitute no part of the militia of the State, and no one of them shall, without permission in writing from the district judge or magistrate, be allowed to keep a fire-arm, sword, or other military weapon, except that one of them, who is the owner of a farm, may keep a shot-gun or rifle, such as is ordinarily used in hunting, but not a pistol, kusket, or other fire-arm or weapon appropriate for purposes of war. The district judge or a magistrate may give an order, under which any weapon unlawfully kept may be seized and sold, the proceeds of sale to go into the district court fund. The possession of a weapon in violation of this act shall be a misdemeanor which shall be tried before a district court or a magistrate, and in case of conviction, shall be punished by a fine equal to twice the value of the waapon so unlawfully kept, and if that he not immediately paid, by corporeal punishment punishment.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 35.

41-9-352

Sec. 22 provides that no person of color shall migrate into and reside in this State , unless, within twenty days after his arrival within the same, he shall enter into a bond, with two freeholders as sureties, to be approved by the judge of the district court or a magistrate, in a penalty of one thousand dollars, conditioned for his good behavior , and for his support, if he should become unable to support himself.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 35.

41-9-353

Sec. 30 provides that, upon view of a misdemeanor committed by a person of color, any person present may arrest the offender and take him before a magistrate, to be dealt with as the case may require. In case of a misdemeanor committed by a white person toward a person of color, any person may complain to a magistrate, who shall cause the offender to be arrested, and, according to the nature of the case, to be brought before himself, or be taken for trial in the district court.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 35

41-9-354

Courts are established to have "exclusive jurisdiction, subject to appeal, of all civil causes where one or both the parties are persons of color, and of all criminal cases wherein the accused is a person of color, and also of all cases of misdemeanors affecting the person or property of a person of color, and of all cases of bastardy, and of all cases of vagrancy, not tried before a magistrate."

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 35

41-9-355

"Colored children between 18 and 21, who have neither father nor mother living in the district in which they are found, or whose parents are paupers, or unable to afford them a comfortable maintenance, or whose parents are not teaching them habits of industry and honesty, or are persons of notoriously bad character, or are vagrants, or have been convicted of infamous offences, and colored children, in all cases where they are in danger of moral contamination, may be bound as apprentices by the district judge of one of the magistrates for the aforesaid term."

41-9-386

It provides that no person of color shall pursue or practice the art, trade, or business of an artisan, mechanic, or shopkeeper, or any other trade, employment, or business, (besides that of husbandry, or that of a servant under a contract for service or labor,) on his own account for his own benefit, or in partnership with a white person, or as agent or servant of any person until he shall have ~~been~~ obtained a license therefor from the judge of the district court, which license shall be good for one year only. This license the judge may grant upon petition of the of the applicant, and upon being satisfied of his skill and fitness, and of his good moral character, and upon payment by the applicant to the clerk of the district court of one hundred dollars if a shopkeeper or pedlar, to be paid annually, and ten dollars if a machanic, artisan, or to engage in any other trade, also to be paid annually: Provided, howe ver, That upon complaint being made and proved to the district judge of an abuse of such license, he shall revoke the same: And provided, also, That no person of color shall practice any mechanical art or trade unless he shows that he has served an apprenticeship insuch trade or art, or is now practicing such trade or art."

McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page36

December 2 - Anti-slavery amendment ratified in this form:

1st. That the foregoing amendment to the Constitution of the United States be, and the same is hereby, ratified, to all intents and purposes, as part of the Constitution of the United States.

2d. That this amendment to the Constitution of the United States is adopted by the Legislature of Alabama with the understanding that it does not confer upon Congress the power to legislate upon the political status of freedmen in this State.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 21.

41-9-357

"Resolved, that this amendment to the Constitution of the United States is adopted by the Legislature of State of Florida, with the understanding that it does not confer upon the Congress the power to legislate upon the political status of the freedmen in this State."

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 24.

41-9-358

3. That any attempt by Congress towards legislating upon the political status of former slaves, or their civil relations, would be contrary to the Constitution of the United States as it now is, or as it would be altered by the proposed amendment, in conflict with the policy of the President, declared in his amnesty proclamation, and with the restoration of that harmony upon which depend the vital interests of the American Union.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 23.

41-9-359

November 6 - Slavery abolished - "slavery having been destroyed in the State by the Government of the United States." Same ordinance gives colored people the right to testify in all cases where the person or property of such person is involved, but denies them the right to testify where the interest of the white class are involved.

- McPherson's Hist. of Recon. Page 24.

41-9-360

It gives them all the privileges of white persons before the courts in the mode of prosecuting, defending, continuing, removing, and transferring their suits at law and in equity, and makes them eligible as witnesses, when not otherwise incompetent, in "all controversies at law and in equity where the rights of persons of color shall be put in issue, and would be concluded by the judgment or decree of court; and also in pleas of the State, where the violence, fraud, or injury alleged shall be charged to have been done by or to persons of color. In all other civil and criminal cases such evidence shall be deemed inadmissible, unless by consent of the parties of record;

- McPhersons Hist.of Recon. Page 29

41-9-361

Negro Fables & Conjure. 1800
Gabriel 1800
Louis & Bayou
1802 Arthur
1808-9 Negro Arch Story work
1910 Lucas
1810 Bayou Fables
1812 Tom
1813 Nat Turner
1813 Forbes
1814 Clamb
1817 Colonization
1819 Edwin. Society
1820 Underhill
1822 Vesey
1827 Freedom Journal
1827 Legacy by Jefferson
1829 Walkers Appeal
1830 Liberator
1841 Douglass
1841 - Craft 277
1849 Freedom for Hungry 290

45-9-16

Douglass
Denmark Vesey
Theodore D Weld 1835
Paul Coffee 1759-1817
B. Banneker 1731-1804
W. W Brown 1816-74?
~~F A Bourdeaux 1855-~~
R Allen 1760-
Lott Carey 1780-1828
A Crummell
Garnet - 1850
Lemuel Haynes 1753-1833
Aldridge 1804-1867
Black Tom 1849-
G. Vassa - 1745-
T. L'Ouverture 1748
N. Turner 1800
M R Delaney 1812
J Chavis

45-9-17

World 1850 - 1860

India

Burma

England — China then war

France

Napoleon

Haiti

Toussaint

The Slave — that served

Sir Wickards

Arrogance — Consumed

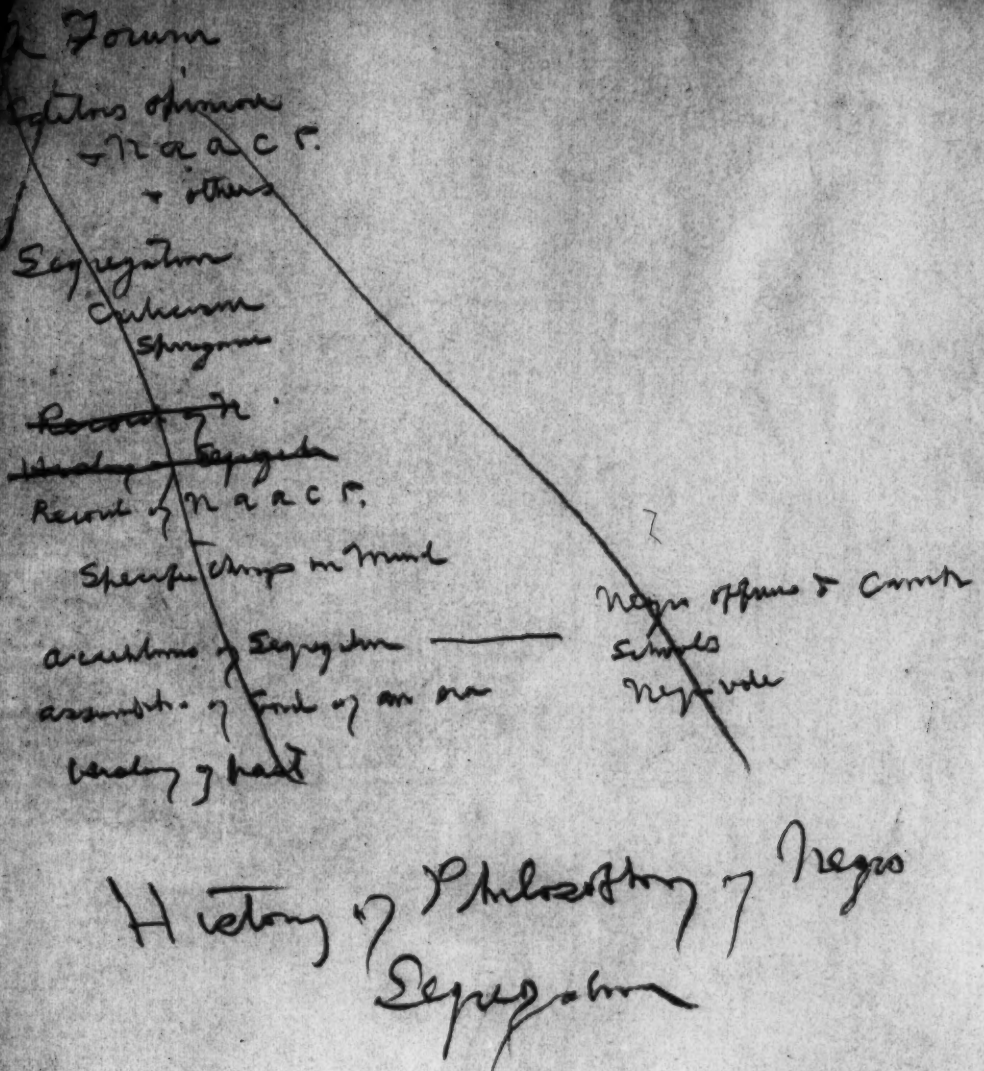
Provocation

The Congress good days

absolute power

corrupts absolutely

45-9-24


Forum
Letters of Protest
- N A A C P.
- others
Segregation
Cultivation
Symptoms
Record of N A A C P.
Negro Officers & Council
Schools
Negro vote
History of Philosophy of Negro
Segregation

41-15B-15

Bibl.

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Yale "

Tuskegee "

Calhoun "

30-26-48

Lakeside II 421

X Nation V 411

~~Outlook III 505~~

X Atlantic ~~XVIII~~ ~~XIX~~ 685

Our Day XIII

Music III 119, XIII 604,

Independent 49: 1105 (aug 26, 97)

Bandanna Ballads: Weeden.

J. Amer. Folk Lore ~~II~~ XI 22, 60

X Century ~~XXVI~~ 36: 577
by M.A. Haskell

New Eng Mag. n.s. 19: 609, 707

Journal of American Folk-Lore

Slave Songs of the U.S. N.Y.
A Simpson & Co, 1867 pp XIV, 115
(by Prof. Allen. Reviewed in
Nation V 411.)

Bill of Amer Neg.

Report Indus. Comm

The Sorrow Songs

A study of the
Folk Music of American Negroes
by
W. E. Burghardt DuBois
Assisted by S Coleridge-Taylor,
Harry Burleigh, Paul Lawrence Dunbar
and Meta Warrick

The Thirteen Themes.

The Primitive Music
The First Dramatic Music
The Second Dramatic Music
The Third Dramatic
The Songs behind the Music
The words. — Dramatic words
Singers & Instruments
The world's estimate

Century or Harper's

A)

"In the metropolis of the modern world, in this the closing year of the nineteenth century, there has been assembled a congress of men and women of African blood, to deliberate solemnly upon the present situation and outlook of the darker races of mankind. The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line, the question as to how far differences of race, which show themselves chiefly in the colour of the skin and the texture of the hair, are going to be made, hereafter, the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civilization."

(B)

24-41-45

Save us, World-Spirit, from our lesser selves!
Grant us that war and hatred cease,
Reveal our souls in every race and hue!
Help us, O Human God, in this Thy Truce,
To make Humanity divine!

(C)

The ideals of the peace Congress have to do with the rights of distincitive peoples; a more distinctive people than the American Negro would be difficult to imagine when taken in his present surroundings and as compared with the other races interested which have not the distinguishing mark of color.

More than to the Black race within her borders, America owes to the world the solution of her race problem, from this very year. The question can be resolved and should be resolved, by the same impartial and righteous judgment that is to be applied to other peoples. The consequence of such an effort would not be revolution but untramelled [redacted]olution.

(D)

A Conference held to consider the dispisition of the former German colonies

(D --Continued)

in Africa will serve, perhaps, better than any other means that could be taken, to focus the attention of the peace delegates and the civilized world on the just claims of the Negro everywhere.

(E)

The sending of personal invitation to representatives of the Negro race who can attend such a Congress and who represent the Governments of Abyssinia, Liberia and Haiti; the French, English, Spanish, Italian, Belgian, Dutch and former German Colonies; and the descendants of Negroes inhabiting North and South America and the Islands of the Sea.

The making of strong representations to the Peace Conference sitting in Paris in behalf of both voice in and protection for 250,000,000 Negroes and Negroids in the League of Nations.

The cordial and sympathetic co-operation of the Black, Yellow and White Races on terms of mutual respect and equality in the future development of the world.

24-41-44

(F)

We of America fight the great fight of Peace--we agitate, we petition, we expose, we plead, we argue. It is a long, slow, humiliating path, but for us War, Force, Revolution are impossible, unthinkable. For anybody the costs of bloody uprising are so vast and uncounted that they must bring pause to the wildest. Yet, who can judge, others? Who sitting in America can say that Revolution is never right on the Ganges or the Nile? Who of us who suffer can judge how unbearable is the suffering of unknown friends? We bow our heads and close our aching ears. Only our hearts pray that Right may triumph and Justice and Pity over brute Force and Organized Theft and Race Prejudice, from San Francisco to Calcutta and from Cairo to New York.

(G)

Wherever persons of African descent are civilized and able to meet the tests of surrounding culture, they shall be accorded the same rights as their fellow citizens; they shall not be denied on account of race or color a voice in their own government, justice before the courts and economic and social equality according to ability and desert.

Greater security of life and property shall be guaranteed the natives; international labor legislation shall cover the native workers as well as whites; they shall have equitable representation in all the international institutions of the League of Nations, and the participation of the blacks themsleves in every domain of indeavour shall be encouraged in accordance with the declared object of article 19 of the League of Nations, to wit: "The well being and the development of these people consittute a sacred mission of civilisation and it is proper in establishing the League of Nations to incorporate therein pledges for the accomplishment of this mission."

Whenever it is proven that African natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any State or that any State deliberately excludes its civilized citizens or subjects of Negro descent from its body politic and cultural, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the attention of the civilized World.

(For the Pan-African Congress, composed of 57 members from 15 countries, inhabited by 85.000.000 Negroes and persons of African descent--to wit:)

(H)

I find that I can arrange a meeting between the officers of the Pan-African Congress and members of the Labour Party Advisory Committee on Sunday Afternoon August 28th in order to discuss questions connected with your movement.

(N)

The hall of Liga Africana where we met was a gem--scarce 20x50 feet but with beautiful frescoes, and a tapestry covered table at the end and brass-studded leather chairs.

Jose de Magalhaes presided quietly and without pretense. He is a man of fifty and more--a deputy from the black colony of San Thome in the Portuguese Parliament, a professor in the State School of Tropical Medicine. The audience was singularly striking. They were mostly young black men, students, well dressed and courteous in manner and they hailed from eight African colonies: from Angola, San Thome, Mozambique, Guinea, Nigeria, Ajuda, Cape Verde, and also from Goa (India) and of course from Lisbon and America.

We had as guests and speakers the present Portuguese Minister of Colonies, E. Vicenti Ferreira, and Vieria da Rocha, who has twice formerly been Minister of Colonies, and Professor Adolfo Benarus.

The first session was devoted to an explanation of the history and meaning of the Pan-African Movement and to a most interesting exposition of the work of the Negroes of San Thome--the most independent and progressive of Portuguese African colonies. The second session was devoted to the history and work of American Negroes and the future of the Pan-African Movement.

(M)

Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States of America, To His Excellency, Charles D. B. King, President of the Republic of Liberia.

"Great and good Friend:

I have made choice of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois as my Special Representive,

24-41-41

(M--Continued)

with the rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, on the occasion of your inauguration for another term as President of the Republic of Liberia.

(N)

Here were England, France, Germany, Spain, Belgium, Holland and Panama to be presented to me in order of seniority by the small brown Secretary of State with his perfect poise and ease.

The President entered--frock-coated with the star of a European order on his breast. The American Minister introduced the Envoy and the Envoy said:

"Your Excellency:

The President of the United States has done me the great honor of designating me as his personal representative on the occasion of your inauguration. In so doing, he has had, I am sure, two things in mind. First, he wished publicly and unmistakably to express before the world the interest and solicitude which the hundred million inhabitants of the United States of America have for Liberia. Liberia is a child of the United States, and a sister Republic. Its progress and success is the progress and success of democracy everywhere and for all men; and the United States would view with sorrow and alarm any misfortune that might happen to this Republic and any obstacle that was placed in her path.

24-41-42

May I, finally in thus expressing to your Excellency the good wishes of my country and its President, be permitted to add my own personal sense of the distinction put upon me in making me the humble bearer of these messages. I have now the honor, Sir, to transmit to you the personal word of Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States of America by the hand of Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State.

(P.*)

My scheme then for the Pan-African movement had to depend upon voluntary organization largely outside the NAACP. This to some degree I secured and planned a congress to sit successively in three capitals of Europe: London, Brussels, and Paris, from August 29 to September 6, 1921. This congress really deserved to be called Pan-African and it attracted world-wide attention. There were one hundred thirteen accredited delegates from twenty-six different groups, including thirty-five persons from the United States, thirty-nine from Africa and the rest from the West Indies and Europe.

24-41-39

Among the speakers were Sir Sidney, now Lord Olivier, and Norman Leys of England; Paul Otlet, often called the "father of the League of Nations;" and Senator La Fontaine of Belgium; Dr. Vitellian, former physician of Menelik of Abysinnia; General Sorel s of Spain; Blaise Diagne of France; and Florence Kelly and Bishop Hurst of America. The attention which the Congress attracted all over Europe was astonishing. It was discussed in the London TIMES, the OBSERVER and DAILY GRAPHIC; in the Paris PETIT PARISIEN, MATIN and TEMPS; in the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN and in practically all the daily papers of Belgium. It led to heated debate in Brussels touching the rights of these delegates to discuss at all the relation of colonies, and it emphasized in the minds of all of us

(C)

The ideals of the peace Congress have to do with the rights of distincitive peoples; a more distinctive people than the American Negro would be difficult to imagine when taken in his present surroundings and as compared with the other races interested which have not the distinguishing mark of color.

More than to the Black race within her borders, America owes to the world the solution of her race problem, from this very year. The question can be resolved and should be resolved, by the same impartial and righteous judgment that is to be applied to other peoples. The consequence of such an effort would not be revolution but untramelled evolution.

(D)

24-41-4D

35-9-39

Sweden

Peasy ousts 1802

Foster Rad mbr

Reform Bill 32

Charters 38-48

Pleasy 1757

1801 Pitt resigns

1805 Trafalgar

Pitt returns (dies 1806 Austerlitz

Fox + Whigs — ganerals

Tennessee War

War of 1812 Castlereagh

Moscow 1812

1814 DC. cabinet

1815 Jackson NO

1826 Canning Free Trade Peel

1833 Reform Factory

1839 Opium War

1837 Victoria

1855 Palmerston

Disraeli + Gladstone

35-9-40

	Slaves		Free		Pop
1790	700000		750		
1800	893 00		900	— 1000 00	
1810	1,191	—	~~1 500~~		
	1 538	—	1.500		
1820					11½
1830	2 009	—	2 800	— 3000 00	
40	2 487	—	2,500		
50	3 204	—	3		
60	3 953	—	4	— 5000 00	

			Free min
Slave revolts	1800-10	— 33% —	72%
	10-20	- 29	25
	20-30	- 30	37
	30-40	27	21
	40-50	- 24	12
	50-60	-23	12

Slaves
1800 South 857 00

Free Negroes	South	North
1800	61 M	~~47~~
		100
1820	133 M	138
31	181	172
40	213	197
50	235	225
60	258	

Slaves, South	Alabama	E Florida	W Florida
1800	~~5 000~~ 800 M	57	8
		281	76
1820	1 [illegible]	800	145
1840	1 400	1100	35
1850	1 600	1370	625
60	1850		

Texas

annexed 1845

Mexican War 46-48

Texas — regard: 1812-19 Hidalgo
Lafitte
1821 Austin
Rusk 1835
1836 Santa Anna - Mexico

35-9-41

Hidalgo
Lower Cal 53-4 — Quitman
Nacoma 55 — Walker
Honduras 65

Cuba Lopez 1848-51
Colonel Disraeli 1854

GENERAL AIMS

American Negro Labor Congress:

A

Against White Terrorism, Lynching, Mob Violence, Police Brutality.

Against Segregation and All Forms of Race Hatred and Discrimination.

For Equal Pay for Equal Work.

For Better Working Conditions.

For the Organization of All Negro and White Workers Into Industrial Unions on a Basis of Full Equality.

For the Organization of all Negro and White Farmers and Agricultural Workers.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

B

We have before us today five major aims: 1, the complete abolition of lynching and mob law; 2, political freedom; 3, industrial democracy; 4, better education; 5, the absolute ending of segregation of all sorts based on race and color.

The Object: Justice

This Association exists in order to combat the spirit of persecution which confronts the colored people of this land, safeguard their full civil, legal and political rights, and secure for them equality of opportunity with all other citizens.

To Make 12,000,000 Americans:

Physically free from Peonage;

47-5-225

Mentally free from Ignorance;

Politically free from Disfranchisement;

Socially free from Insult.

L Y N C H I N G

American Negro Labor Congress:

The immediate enactment of a Federal law against lynching as a capital crime, with severe penalties against all states and counties where lynchings occur.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

(continued on Page 3)

Sec. 5-44

N.A.A.C.P. (Continued from P. 2)

L Y N C H I N G

Resolutions of the Conference of 1909:

Denounce the murder of Negroes with impunity.

Denounce, "most of all the crimes committed by mobs in the mockery of the law."

--First Annual Report, 1911.

The attempt to detect and prosecute the lynchers at Coatesville, Pennsylvania.

--Third Annual Report, 1913.

Support of Anti-Lynching Bill introduced in the Legislature of Pennsylvania.

--Fourth Annual Report, 1914.

Investigation of lynchings in Cherokee, Dawson and Forsyth Counties, Georgia, and in Waco, Texas. Beginning of anti-lynching fund of $10,000.

--Seventh Annual Report, 1916.

Investigation of lynchings in Tennessee and Texas.

--Eighth Annual Report, 1917.

Beginning of the systematic lynching campaign with investigations, telegrams, letters and press stories.

--Ninth Annual Report, 1918.

Natl Conf. re Lynching

Lynching made a national issue by an Address to the Nation signed by 140 leading citizens from 30 states; publication of Thirty Years of Lynching; campaign to secure Congressional investigation; special articles in the magazines. $15,793 spent in campaign.

--Tenth Annual Report, 1919.

Further investigations of lynchings. Anti-lynchingsbills introduced in Congress.

--Eleventh Annual Report, 1920.

42-5-223

45,000 pieces of literature on lynching sent out from the National Office.

"The following is a summary of what the Association has been enabled to accomplish, with the aid of generous contributors, both white and black:

(1) Investigated more than a score of lynchings and race riots.

(2) Kept an accurate record of lynchings.

(3) Published "Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States," a book of 105 pages, and the only statistical study of lynchings ever compiled.

(4) Sent 4,462,899 copies of the Crisis to every state in the Union and to every country on the globe.

(5) Sent out hundreds of news releases. Of 139 press stories sent out during 1921 from the National Office, 30 were devoted to the subject of lynching.

(6) Held more than 2,000 public meetings, attended by more than 3,000,000 people, at which speakers acquainted the audiences with the facts about lynching.

(7) Sent literature on lynching, with actual photographs of lynchings and burnings at the stake, all over the civilized world, disproving the statement that rape is the cause of lynching.

(8) Fought successfully six notable extradition cases when attempts were made to carry colored men accused of crimes from Northern States back to sections of the South where the men would probably have been lynched.

(9) Held in New York City in May, 1919, a great and successful conference against lynching. The call for this conference was

was signed by 120 of the leading citizens of the country, 20 of them from Southern States. The number included 5 governors, 4 ex-governors, members of Congress, judges of the higher courts, members of the President's cabinet, and other men and women prominent in the nation's affairs.

(10) Issued the "Address to the Nation," signed by citizens of 29 States and the District of Columbia, urging upon Congress a nation-wide investigation of lynching and mob murder.

(11) Raised and expended since 1911 in the fight against lynching $33,928.56, this amount being spent for investigations, printing and publicity of all kinds, meetings and conferences.

(12) Through its Frankfort Branch secured the passage of a law in Kentucky providing for the punishment of any peace officer who allows a prisoner to be taken from him and lynched.

(13) Furnished information which led to the introduction and passage of a similar bill in West Virginia.

(14) Presented to committees of both the Senate and the House of Representatives of Congress, through its representatives, evidence and testimony showing the necessity of a Federal law against lynching.

(15) Furnished lawyers to defend colored men involved in lynching cases; secured the acquittal, for example, of 12 of 13 colored men arrested in connection with the lynchings at Duluth, Minn., in June, 1920, totally disproving the charge that criminal assault on a young girl had been committed by any of the three men lynched; defended since October 1919, 12 men sentenced to death and 67 to prison terms, thus preventing a legal lynching in Phillips County, Ark."

--Twelfth Annual Report, 1921.

47-5-2284

The Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill is passed by the House of Representatives January 26, 1922 by a vote of 230 to 119.

Memorial presented to the Senate by Senator Lodge, signed by 24 state governors, 39 mayors of cities, 47 lawyers, 88 bishops and churchmen, 29 college presidents and professors, 30 editors and 37 other prominent citizens. Appeal to President Harding. Filibuster in the Senate prevents the passage of the Bill.

--Thirteenth Annual Report, 1922.

Re-introduction of Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill. President's message advocates passage of the Bill.

--Fourteenth Annaal Report, 1923.

Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill reported favorably by the House Judiciary Committee. Anti-lynching campaign in England during the meeting of the American Bar Association in London. Sandwich men parade the streets with placards,"American Lawyers--How About Burning Alive of Human Beings in Your Country?"--"Fight for Law Enforcement"--"Write for Information to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York."

Meantime, lynching drops from 65 in 1920 to 16 in 1924.

New Anti-Lynching Bill introduced in Congress.

--Fifteenth Annual Report, 1924.

Investigation of lynching in South Carolina and Florida and attempts to punish the lynchers.

--Seventh Annual Report, 1926.

Presidential message against lynching,and Anti-Lynching Bill again introduced. Lynchings continue to decrease.

--Eighteenth and Ninteenth Annual Reports, 1927 and 1928.

Rope and Faggot

V O T I N G

American Negro Labor Congress:

The removal of all restrictions, actual or implied, which operate to prevent Negroes from voting, and will organize Negro and white workers to resist the terrorist tactics of the fascist American Legion, Ku Klux Klan, Vigilante Committees and other agents of white ruling class government against Negro voters.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

(Continued on Page 8)

47-5-330

V O T I N G

(Continued from Page 7)

N.A.A.C.P.

"The systematic persecution of law-abiding citizens and their disfranchisement on account of their race alone is a crime that will ultimately drag down to an infamous end any nation that allows it to be practised, and it bears most heavily on those poor white farmers and laborers whose economic position is most similar to that of the persecuted race."

--Proceedings, 1909.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People seeks to uplift colored men and women of this country by securing to them the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens."

--First Annual Report, 1911.

"In February, 1920, the National Office sent to seventeen men who had been mentioned as candidates for the presidential nomination a questionnaire asking their views on lynching, enforcing the fourteenth amendment, Jim Crow Cars, education, etc."

--Eleventh Annual Report, 1920.

A letter to the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action:

"Gentlemen:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Fifteenth Annual Conference, speaking for a large portion of the thinking Negroes of America, takes this opportunity to lay before your Conference certain considerations touching the Negro race.

"The political power of Negroes has greatly increased owing to the continuous migration of black working people from the disfranchising South to the industrial centers of the North.

47-5-231

"Any political party which aims to attract the votes of Negroes today must first convince them of its determination and ability to forward their industrial and political and social emancipation.

"This emancipation involves the same problems of labor and wage, of monopoly and privilege, of effective industrial democracy, which face all laboring classes the world over.

"But the American Negro has in addition to these another and more subtle and more dangerous problem, that of discrimination against him within the very ranks of labor itself; discrimination to keep him out of the unions; discrimination in the unions after he has joined; discrimination of all sorts to deprive him of earning a decent livelihood.

"It is this widespread and determined race discrimination that is alienating the Negro vote from the progressive liberal and labor vote, and is furnishing the capitalists free of charge not only cheap and increasingly efficient and non-union and union-hating labor, but also a large and growing vote in the main industrial centers of the country.

"We appeal to the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action to take such enlightened and far-sighted steps against race and color discrimination as will enable us to appeal to our people in behalf of the liberal and labor parties of the nation, without being faced by the present incontrovertible fact that these very persons are today greater enemies of our right to earn decent bread and butter than the captains of Monopoly and Privilege."

47-S-033

A letter to the American Federation of Labor:

"For many years the American Negro has been demanding admittance to the ranks of union labor.

"For many years your organizations have made public profession of

your interest in Negro labor, of your desire to have it unionized, and of your hatred of the black "scab."

"Notwithstanding the apparent surface agreement, Negro labor in the main is outside the ranks of organized labor, and the reason is first, that white union labor does not want black labor and secondly, black labor has ceased to beg admittance to union ranks because of its increasing value and efficiency outside the unions.

"We thus face a crisis in interracial labor conditions; the continued and determined race prejudice of white labor, together with the limitation of immigration, is giving black labor tremendous advantage. The Negro is entering the ranks of semi-skilled and skilled labor and he is entering mainly as a "scab." He broke the great steel strike. He will soon be in a position to break any strike when he can gain econo economic advantage for himself.

"On the other hand, intelligent Negroes know full well that a blow at organised labor is a blow at all labor; that black labor today profits by the blood and sweat of labor leaders in the past who have fought oppression and monopoly by organization. If there is built up in America a great black bloc of non-union laborers who have a right to hate unions, all laborers, black and white, eventually must suffer.

"Is it not time, then, that black and white labor get together? Is it not time for white unions to stop bluffing and for black laborers to stop cutting off their noses to spite their faces?

"We, therefore, propose that there be formed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Federation of Labor, the Railroad Brotherhoods and any other bodies agreed upon, an Interracial Labor Commission.

44-5-383

"We propose that this Commission undertake:

1. To find out the exact attitude and practice of national labor bodies and local unions toward Negroes and of Negro labor toward unions.
2. To organize systematic propaganda against racial discrimination on the basis of these facts at the labor meetings, in local assemblies and in local unions.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People stands ready to take part in such a movement and hereby invites the cooperation of all organized labor. The Association hereby solemnly warns American laborers that unless some such step as this is taken and taken soon the position gained by organized labor in this country is threatened with irreparable loss."

--Fifteenth Annual Report, 1924.

42-5-234

"For a long time the Southern States of the United States have defied democratic government in this land. They form an oligarchy where the political power is held by a small minority of the qualified voters and by a minority which does not represent the best intelligence of their own section. This condition has been permitted by the silent acquiescence of the North and by a series of evasive and unconstitutional laws and practices. The most outrageous of these laws were the so-called "Grandfather Clauses." Through the co-operation of this Association these laws were finally declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. There still remain, however, the laws and customs which support the White Primary. The White Primary is an attempt to substitute a single political party for the whole state and local government and to allow that party to base its membership upon purely racial lines. Such laws are a plain defiance of the constitution of this government, and this

Association pledges itself to keep this matter before the courts until justice is done."

"Particularly is it possible and right for American Negro voters so to cast their ballots as to restrain Financial Imperialism which has throttled Haiti and threatens Liberia and Central and South America and which is still using slavery and forced labor to heap up profit in Africa.

"For several years the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has tried on the one hand to show the white labor movement in the United States that it must recognize colored labor, welcome it to Union ranks and affirm the unity of all laborers in the great fight for industrial democracy. On the other hand, this organization has sought to impress upon Negro labor its duty to leave no stone unturned in an attempt to cooperate with organized labor and to maintain and advance the standards for which organized labor has so long fought. We are glad to note in the unionization of the Pullman porters a great step towards both these objects. We regret that white Union labor is still disappointingly laggard and unfair in taking effective steps toward organizing black labor."

--Seventeenth Annual Report, 1926.

"For twenty-five years the white primary system of the South has been the most successful method of disfranchising Negroes. This year, for the first time, we have secured from the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Texas case, a decision which is the beginning of the overthrow of the white primary; and not only this, but in its decision the Shpreme Court in the most emphatic language rewrote and reaffirmed the Fourteenth Amendment as the fundamental charter of the rights of Negroes in America."

--Eighteenth Annual Address, 1927.

"The year of the Presidential Election brings forcibly to the mind of every American, white and black, the insistent problem of Democratic Government in the United States. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its 19th Annual Conference reiterates its charge that the disfranchisement of the majority of intelligent adult Negroes in the United States is not simply a race problem, it is a problem of Democracy and it affects the entire nation and the whole world.

"If Democracy is discredited and sneered at today, it is very largely because of its partial failure in the United States. We are today dominated openly by selfish private interests, rather than by free and intelligent public opinion; and this is no no small measure because the disfranchisement of 3,750,000 black voters in the South has involved the disfranchisement of more than 5 million Southern white voters. Despite an increase of 100 per cent in the voting population of 11 Southern states, and despite the 19th Amendment, we face the astonishing fact that in the last forty years the voting population there has increased only 50 per cent and in the Southern South, there has been practically no increase in the number of voters in a generation.

"These facts, together with the disfranchisement of the foreign-born in New England, and the gerrymandering of congressional districts elsewhere, give the astonishing result that a million voters can elect 45 Congressmen in the South and 16 in New England, but only 13 in the Middle West and 12 on the Pacific Coast.

"Facts such as these are running the interest of Americans in elections all over the United States. Ordinarily, scarcely one eligible

44-5-036

American voter out of three goes to the polls, and the number of citizens 21 years of age and over who did not vote in the last election, reached 90 per cent in two states; 70 to 90 per cent in 7 states; from 50 to 70 per cent in 9 states; and from 40 to 50 per cent in 16 states.

"Thus, Democratic Government in the United States has become a farce, primarily because for the sake of disfranchising black men, white America has been willing to disfranchise itself."

Four court cases on exclusion from Democratic Primaries in Texas, Virginia, Florida and Arkansas.

--Nineteenth Annual Report, 1928.

"Grandfather Clause" case **DISFRANCHISEMENT**

Beginning of the White Primary Cases.

--Sixteenth Annual Report.

Texas White Primary Case.

--Seventeenth Annual Report.

Victory in the Texas White Primary Case.

--Eighteenth Annual Report.

Registration in Oklahoma and White Primary Cases in Texas, Virginia, Florida and Arkansas.

--Nineteenth Annual Report.

Nixon vs. Condon (Tex.)
West vs. Bliley (Va).
(Ark.)
(Fla.)

LABOR ORGANIZATION

American Negro Labor Congress:

The removal of all restrictions against the admittance of Negro workers into existing trade unions and their full participation in all offices and affairs of the union;

The immediate organization of all Negro and white workers into industrial unions in industries where no union now exists.

The calling of Inter-Racial Labor Conferences as a step toward the organization of Negro workers and for the promotion of the solidarity of all workers regardless of race or color.

The organization of Negro agricultural workers and farmers to put a stop to existing conditions of landlord domination; to abolish oppressive conditions of work on the farms, and to establish on all farms the eight-hour day and the five-day week.

The building of farmers' co-operatives of Negro and white farmers, to get cheap credit, purchase seed, machinery and live stock and to market crops.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

We stretch again hands of fellowship and sympathy to all the working people of this land and the world. We would unite with them as equals and as fellows, striving through organization to make modern industry democratic rather than autocratic, to end monopoly aand privilege in credit and capital and to make social welfare rahher than individual wealth the end of all industry.

We still face the discrimination and exclusion of trade unions, and we hereby repeat our invitation and warning of 1924 to the American Federation of Labor:

"Is it not time that black and white labor get together? Is it not

8sc-5-th

time for white unions to stop bluffing and for black laborers to stop cutting off their noses to spite their faces?

"We propose that there be formed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Federation of Labor, the the Railway Brotherhoods and any other bodies agreed upon, an Interracial Labor Commission.

"We propose that this Commission undertake:

1. To find out the exact attitude and practice of national labor bodies and local unions toward Negroes and of Negro labor toward unions.
2. To organize systematic propaganda against racial discrimination on the basis of these facts at the labor meetings, in local assemblies and in local unions.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People stands ready to take part in such a movement and hereby invites the co-operation of all organized labor. The Association hereby solemnly warns American laborers that unless some such step as this is taken and taken soon the position gained by organized labor in this country is threatened with irreparable loss."

For several years the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has tried on the one hand to show the white labor movement in the United States that it must recognize colored labor, welcome it to Union ranks and affirm the unity of all laborers in the great fight for industrial democracy. On the other hand, this organization has sought to impress upon Negro labor its duty to leave no stone unturned in an attempt to cooperate with organized labor and to maintain and advance the standards for which organized labor has so long fought. We are glad to note in the unionization of the Pullman porters a great step towards both these objects. We regret that white

Union labor is still disappointingly laggard and unfair in taking effective steps toward organizing black labor.

Organization of colored firemen at Knoxville.

--Third Annual Report.

Defending Negro porters against legislation.

--Fourth Annual Report.

Color line fought on the nationalized railroads and in trade unions.

--Ninth Annual Report.

Discrimination against Negro workers in Civil Service positions and by trade unions.

--Tenth Annual Report.

Defense against discrimination in New York post office and on railways.

--Eleventh Annual Report.

Discrimination against colored railway trainmen.

--Twelfth Annual Report.

Cases of discrimination against colored stewards by the United States Shipping Board and discriminations in the United States Customs Service.

--Thirteenth Annual Report.

Defense of Ark. peons

OHC-S-th

E D U C A T I O N

American Negro Labor Congress:

The right of every Negro child to a free, adequate education fitting him for any occupation or calling he desires.

The immediate abolition of "Jim-Crow" schools.

Equal school facilities for communities where Negroes are in majority.

Uniform expenditures for all schools in proportion to population regardless of race or color.

Equal pay for Negro and white teachers.

Selection and promotion of all teachers on a merit basis regardless of race or color.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

"In the past, racial discrimination in the United States has been repeatedly excused on account of the ignorance of the descendants of the slaves, despite the fact that this ignorance was once notoriously made compulsory by law. Even today with the tremendous advance which black Americans have made in intelligence, their means of education are deplorably limited. In the chief centers of Negro population there is open discrimination in the salaries of teachers, length of school terms, provision of housing and equipment, and amount of money spent on white and Negro public schools.

"A recent document published in the Congressional Record shows that the states which have separate schools for Negroes have only 3,000 college students, where they ought to have 37,000 and receive only $2,300,000 a year from State and National funds, when they ought to receive twelve millions. This is illegal and unconstitutional and socially suicidal. It must be remedied and we must remedy it by every means in our power and especially by ballots and by court action."

--Nineteenth Annual Report, 1928.

Discrimination at Carlisle, Pennsylvania High School.

--Sixth Annual Report.

Defense against social discrimination in the Brooklyn Girls High School.

--Eleventh Annual Report.

Opposition to Federal aid unless discrimination was made impossible.

--Fifteenth Annual Report.

Discrimination in schools in Indianapolis and Dayton, Kansas and New Mexico.

--Fifteenth Annual Report.

Fighting segregation in schools in Dayton, Ohio; Philadelphia and Cleveland.

--Sixteenth Annual Report.

Defense of three seniors in a Detroit High School against discrimination.

--Sixteenth Annual Report.

Court decisions against school segregation in New Jersey.

--Eighteenth Annual Report.

The High School fight at Gary, Indiana.

--Eighteenth Annual Report.

Unsuccessful attempt to secure the entrance of a colored nurse into Sloane Maternity Hospital.

--Nineteenth Annual Report.

School segregation cases in Gary and Atlantic City.

--Nineteenth Annual Report.

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SOLDIERS

American Negro Labor Congress:

The removal of all color restrictions in all branches of the military service, both in war and peace.

Removal of all "Jim Crow" practices in military and officers' training schools and camps.

For the right of Negroes to fill office of any rank.

Discontinuance of the present practice of using Negro troops as "labor battalions".

N. A. A. C. P.:

Work to insure the training of Negro officers at an officers training camp.

---Eighth Annual Report.

Memorandum to the Secretary of War on the grievances of colored people against the army.

--Eighth Annual Report.

Efforts to prevent the retirement of Lieutenant-Colonel Young.

--Eighth Annual Report.

Welfare and Defense of colored soldier.

--Ninth Annual Report.

Defense of the Colored soldier.

--Tenth Annual Report.

Petition of 120 people asking pardon for Houston rioters.

--Fifteenth Annual Report.

Answer to Bullard's slander. Of the original 55 Houston rioters only 22 remain in prison.

--Sixteenth Annual Report.

"We ask that the American people demand the release of the fifty-four members of the twenty-fourth Infantry now incarcerated at Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary for their

42-5-243

connection with the Houston, Texas, riots of 1917, a riot provoked by continued insults and contumely and finally by violence perpetrated upon colored men wearing the uniform of the United States and dedicated to the service of their country in war time."

--Resolutions of Annual Conference, 1923.

1929 Last man of 61 freed.

IMPERIALISM

American Negro Labor Congress:

Against imperialist oppression.

Against the American occupation of Haiti and the presence of United States marines in Nicarauga and other Central American countries.

Against American imperialist aggression in Mexico.

For the freedom of Africa, of Haiti, of Santo Domingo, of Central America, and for a free Federated West Indian Republic.

N.A.A.C.P.:

Investigation of conditions in Haiti by James Weldon Johnson and Herbert J. Seligmann.

Pan-African Congress. -- Eleventh Annual Report.
-- Twelfth Annual Report

"We ask that the troops of the United States be withdrawn from the black republic of Haiti, illegally seized in 1916 and since then lawlessly held by virtue of superior force."

--Resolutions of Annual Conference, 1923.

Continued fight vs. Haitian occupation 1921-1930

INTERMARRIAGE

American Negro Labor Congress:

The abolition of restrictions against intermarriage between individuals of different races or color.

N. A. A. C. P.:

Defeating Anti-intermarriage Bills in Congress. -- Fifth Annual Report

42-S-244

Opposition to Anti-Intermarriage laws in Ohio, Michigan and Iowa.

-- Sixteenth Annual Report.

Defeat of Anti-Intermarriage Bills in Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Rhode Island.

-- Eighteenth Annual Report.

"Unfair marriage laws to encourage bastardy and prostitution are proposed annually in those states where they have not yet been enacted." - Resolutions of Annual Conference, 1927.

PEONAGE

American Negro Labor Congress:

The abolition of imprisonment for debt and the convict lease system under which Negroes and workers of other oppressed races are framed up, put in jail and farmed out to private corporations under conditions of unspeakable brutality for the personal profit of the business interests and state officials.

N. A. A. C. P.:

The Phillips County, Arkansas, massacre.

-- Tenth Annual Report

Defense of the Arkansas peons.

-- Eleventh Annual Report.

Continued defense of 12 men sentenced to death and 67 sentenced to prison terms, in Arkansas.

-- Twelfth Annual Report.

Demanding investigation on account of Williams Peonage Case in Georgia.

-- Twelfth Annual Report.

Continued prosecution of the Arkansas Cases.

-- Thirteenth Annual Report.

Twelve Negroes sentenced to death in the Arkansas Peonage Cases of 1919 saved. All but eight of the sixty-seven

Sn2-S-24

Negroes sentenced to prison terms set free.

-- Fourteenth Annual Report

Last of 79 Ark. peons freed

"Many Negroes are forced to labor at wretched wages and under impossible conditions. Peonage, even in the midst of such a calamity as the Mississippi flood, has been carried out openly and publicly with armed guards and militia. ..We must continue to strive.. for more intensive investigation and prosecution of peonage."

--Resolutions of Annual Conference, 1927.

COURTS

American Negro Labor Congress:

The abolition of all discriminatory practice in the courts.

N. A. A. C. P.:

Legal redress in South Carolina and New Jersey.
-- First Annual Report.

Legal redress in New Jersey, Delaware and Baltimore.
-- Second Annual Report.

Legal redress in North Carolina and Baltimore.
-- Third Annual Report.

Grandfather Clause.
-- Fourth Annual Report.

Civil rights cases.
-- Fourth Annual Report

First winning of refusal to extradite colored prisoners to the South.
-- Eighth Annual Report.

Grandfather Clause decision.
-- Sixth Annual Report.

Investigation and protest against race riots.
-- Tenth Annual Report.

Continued investigation of riots.
-- Tenth Annual Report.

Final release of Pink Franklin.
-- Tenth Annual Report.

742-5-24

Courts (cont.)

Further extradition cases.
-- Eleventh Annual Report.

Tulsa riot cases.
-- Twelfth Annual Report.

Further extradition cases.
-- Thirteenth Annual Report.

Further extradition cases.
-- Fourteenth Annual Report.

Legal defense in numbers of cases.
--Fifteenth Annual Report.

The Sweet Case in Detroit.
"Let Freedom Ring" Hayt
--Sixteenth Annual Report.

Seven court cases of persons illegally convicted or accused.
--Sixteenth Annual Report.

Discrimination cases in Washington, Pittsburgh, Chicago and the University of Michigan.
--Sixteenth Annual Report.

Acquittal of Henry Sweet, Detroit.
--Seventeenth Annual Report.

Final dismissal of Sweet Cases.
--Eighteenth Annual Report.

The Robert Bell and Grady Swain cases in Arkansas, and the Ben Bess case in South Carolina.
-- Nineteenth Annual Report.

In four cases of extradition, three colored men were prevented from being returned.
--Nineteenth Annual Report.

42-5-24

> ....."We desire to reiterate our insistence upon..... complete and full citizenship rights for the American Negro in the exercise of the ballot, before the law, in the courts, in the protection and sanctity of life and property rights, in the use and in the accommodations of public conveyances and in places of public resort whether railroads, street cars, restaurants or places of amusement."

SEGREGATION

American Negro Labor Congress:

The removal of all legal restrictions which force Negroes to live in segregated districts.

N. A. A. C. P.:

Attacking the Jim Crow car law.
-- Fourth Annual Report.

Segregation cases in Maryland and Kentucky.
-- Fourth Annual Report.

Fight on Segregation ordinances in Baltimore.
-- Fourth Annual Report.

Defeat of the Jim Crow Car Bill in Maryland.
-- Fifth Annual Report.

Segregation in government departments.
-- Fifth Annual Report.

Fighting Segregation in Baltimore, Louisville and St. Louis.
-- Sixth Annual Report.

Continuation of the fight in St. Louis and Louisville.
-- Seventh Annual Report.

Defeat of 11 Anti-Negro Bills in the 64th Congress.
-- Seventh Annual Report.

First Segregation Decision of the Supreme Court. Louisville case
-- Eighth Annual Report.

Fighting Discrimination on Pullman cars and at ticket offices.
-- Tenth Annual Report.

Fighting exclusion of students from Oberlin dormitories.
-- Tenth Annual Report.

Fighting discrimination in eating places in the District of Columbia.
-- Tenth Annual Report.

Continued fight against residential segregation.
-- Tenth Annual Report.

Discrimination in Harlem Hospital.
-- Twelfth Annual Report.

Jim Crow Act Civil Rights 1918

43-5-248

Segregation (Cont.)

Successful protest at Harvard University and Veterans Hospital at Tuskegee.
-- Fourteenth Annual Report.

Discrimination in Young Women's Christian Association.
-- Fifteenth Annual Report.

Discrimination by National Woman's Party.
-- Fifteenth Annual Report.

Discrimination at Columbia University.
--Fifteenth Annual Report.

Renewed opposition to segregation by contract.
--Fifteenth Annual Report.

Dismissal of Dr. W. A. Plecker in the United States Bureau of Labor, for distributing an insulting pamphlet.
--Sixteenth Annual Report.

Appointment of colored physicians to the Harlem Hospital staff.
--Sixteenth Annual Report.

Renewed fight on residential segregation.
--Sixteenth Annual Report.

Discrimination on Pullman car in Florida.
--Seventeenth Annual Report.

Segregation cases in Washington, New Orleans, Indianapolis, Norfolk and Dallas.
--Seventeenth Annual Report.

Victory in the New Orleans Segregation Case.
--Eighteenth Annual Report.

Segregation in Government Bureaus.
--Eighteenth Annual Report.

Winning of the Pullman Jim Crow case in Florida.
--Nineteenth Annual Report.

Residential segregation cases.
--Nineteenth Annual Report.

Prevention of exclusion from the Charleston, West Virginia, Public Library.
--Nineteenth Annual Report.

"We must continue to attack disfranchisement and segregation and constantly stand on guard against

further encroachments on our fundamental rights."

--Resolutions of Annual Conference, 1927.

KU KLUX KLAN

American Negro Labor Congress:

To resist mob violence, police brutality and the attacks of the Ku Klux Klan and similar terrorist groups.

N. A. A. C. P.:

Protest against the film, Birth of a Nation.
First investigation of KKK and revelation of real purposes of KKK.

-- Ninth Annual Report.

Protest against the first appearance of the reorganized Ku Klux Klan.

-- Tenth Annual Report.

Activities against the Klan. Denunciation of the N.A.A.C.P. as the bitterest enemy of the Ku Klux Klan.

-- Eleventh Annual Report.

Petitions to Congressmen and information to New York World which became basis of nation-wide exposé.

-- Twelfth Annual Report.

Further activities against the Klan.

-- Thirteenth Annual Report.

47-5-250

1867.....No Negro or mulatto shall be permitted to attend any public school in this state, except such schools as may be established exclusively for colored persons. (Stephenson, p. 170.)

1866.....All persons of color are legally married who in 1866 at passage of act lived together as husband and wife. Thereafter all marriages of persons of color must be recorded. (Stephenson, p. 73.)

1873.....Act required the same accommodation to be furnished to all by common carriers. Keepers of public houses of entertainment, inns, hotels, restaurants, etc., public schools and benevolent institutions supported in whole or partly by general texation. (Stephenson, p. 116.)

32-8-2

1779-96 Dutch drive Kaffirs across Fish R., 500 m. E. Tarka

1658 Hottentot war

40-8R-18

1300-1500 Bechuana cross to Zambesi
Only Two vessels Hottentots & Gunkwas

1500+ Xosas begin Zuurveld –
1702 " cross Fish

1779 Dutch > Xosas – Dutch cross on Fish
1791 " " Xosas – Hottentots left Dutch
Hottentots & mulattoes mass north across Orange

1805 English drive Cafs
& Dutch back Xosas

1811-77 6 English Kaffir wars
1818 " "
1834-5 " " – Country as far as Kei annexed
Xosas invade 200 miles west of Kei
100 miles Keiskama Fish
1820-1 – 5000 British
1823. 1828 Colonists crush Xosas
1826-34 Commando Cuns > Dutch Chiefs
1835 – 1837 Great Trek across Orange 1000 miles NE

W E B DuBois

I. RACE CAPACITY.

Every race must be judged by what the average individual of that race is able to accomplish. If the average individual of a race can be educated, then we are warranted in cocluding that that race can be educated. This same test will hold good respecting all lines of development and progress.

Applying this test to the negro, it is seen that in all important respects the negro is the same as the other peoples that compose this nation. He has the same intellectual qualities, speaks the same language, practices the same arts, sings the same songs, thinks the same thoughts and can and does admit of the same kind of education. The above is in harmony with present day anthropology. It was recently said that, "going from extreme to extreme of the line (that is from white to black) we realize how much alike the races are in all essential respects. Observe the physical characters in the form of the head, the body and the limbs; the relative proportions of the parts, the upright position, the graceful movement, and the smooth skin. Note the intellectual qualities, the use of articulate speech, the ability of each to learn the speech of all and to practice the arts of all, to sing the songs of all and think the thought of all." See Am. Anthropologist, July-Sept. 1902. p.369ff.--Sketch of the origin, Development and Probable Destiny of the Races of Men.

Other references on above:-

Human Faculty as Determined by Race. Am. Assocn. for Adv. of Sci. Aug. 1894.

Darwin, Descent of Man. pp. 190, 195, 199, 212.

Brain Development and Mental Capacity. Independent, Mar. 26 1903.

Report of Comm. of Education, 1897-98, Vol.1. p.1024ff.

Denker, "Races of Men." p.98 & 128ff.

Donaldson, Growth of the Brain. pp.112f, 133, 140, 349, 356f.

Pop. Sci. Mo. July 1902.

Loeb, Physiology of the Brain. 253ff.

31-6-81

II. PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO.

The past forty years has demonstrated the fact that the Am. negro is capable of a high degree of intellectual developement.

1. Decrease of Illiteracy. "It may be said that in 1860 the colored race was totally illiterate. In 1870 more than 85% of the colored population of the south 10 years old and over could not read and write. In 1880 the per cent of illiterates had been reduced to 75%, in 1890 to 57% and in 1900 to 44.5% of the total colored population. In 40 years almost 60% of the illiteracy of the colored race has disappeared. This is a very remarkable showing, and if this proportionate decrease in illiteracy continues, it will be practially wiped out in 50 years.

References:- Reports of the Commissioner of Education, 1894-95, pp 1332ff.

Census Report for 1900. Population. Vol.I, Pt.II. Illiteracy.

2. The College bred Negro. "I am a man, and all things which are human appertain to me, although circumstances and environments may hamper me for a season, I will suffer it to be so now, but will relinquish none of the ultimate claims of my species." "Class education has no place in the order of society, and the American people will never accept it in any form." Why should the negro? In a speech at Trinity Church, Boston, Pres. Eliot of Harvard Univ. said: "If any expect that the negro teachers

of the South can be adequately educated in primary schools, or grammar schools or industrial schools pure and simple, I can only say in reply that's more than we can do at the North with the white race. The only way to have good primary schools and grammar schools, in Massachusetts, is to have high and normal schools and colleges, in which the higher teachers are trained. It must be so throughout the South: the negro race needs absolutely these higher facilities of education."

1). The negro has been successful in the higher institutions of learning. 2) About 400 negroes have graduated from northern institutions.

3) Their records in scholarship have averaged up with their white companions, in several instances negroes have made exceptional records.

4). There have been about 3000 negroes who have graduated from colleges in the U.S. since the ~~first one~~ graduation of the first one from college Bowdoin college in 1826.

5). There were in 1900 about 750 negroes pursuing courses

6). There are to-day less than 1,500 negroes who are pursuing actual college courses.

The Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1901, Vol. I, p.815f shows that while the proportional number of secondary and higher students to the whole number of children attending school in the U.S. as a whole had increased from 2.22 per cent in 1875 to ~~7.99~~ 5% in 1897, nearly two and one half times, the proportion of colored in secondary schools and colleges had increased very little, that is, from 1% to 1.16%. "And that now at the height of all this outcry against any further aid, public or private, for the higher education of colored youths, there is only one fifth as many colored students in secondary and higher institutions in the U.S. as a whole. In this same school year 1897-98, the total number of students taking the higher education in the U.S. as a whole was 144, 477, or 1,980 to each million of the total population. The total number of negroes pursuing collegiate courses for this same year was 2402, which is only 310 to the million of the negro population, that is, 6 1/2 times less than the proportion for the whole population. The investigations of Prof. Du Bois show that there were in 1901 not more than 1000 negro students of collegiate grade according to the average American standard. If the negro therefore, is to have his quota in college studies, it will be necessary to increase the proportion tenfold.

31-6-82

References:-

The Education of the Negro. Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1901 Vol. I. p.731ff. Especially Pt. II. The Higher Education of the Negro. p.794ff.

Atlanta University Pub. No.5 "The College Bred Negro."
" " " No.6 The Negro Common School. p.116 ff.

Chapter from the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1895-96 on "Education for the Negro." A Symposium.

III. THE IMPORTANCE OF OPPORTUNITY.

What a people will be depends for the most part upon the environment in which that people lives. Ripley in his studies of the races of Euro Europe, shows that people of the same ethnic derivation will differ widely in their impulses, tendencies and general progressiveness according as they are subjected to particular influences of one sort or another. The peoples of Northern and Southern Italy and of Eastern France differ in their artistic temperament, yet they all belong to the same ethnic stock The reason why some provinces of Germany show a higher rate of suicide than others appears to be on account of a greater stress and strain resulting from a higher degree of civilization. Whither the people of particular localities will be a race of peasants without ambition, or progressive artisans and merchants depends for the most part upon whether

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that people is advant[illegible] or disadvantageously situated.

The negro has [illegible] sufficiently in the past 40 years to show that what he will be is dependent more upon the opportunity which he will have than upon any particular social characteristic. It is especially important therefore that as the negro have an opportunity to develope along all lines and not be confined to a particular vocation or calling.

According to his opportunity the negro has made commendable progress

1. Along Educational Lines.

See previous statements and Reports of the Commissioner of Education.

2. In morality. Consider the examples of immorality that were constantly before him.

3. He has increased in style worth. (This to be shown).

4. He has increased his wealth. Worth in 1865 practically nothing. Under the most adverse circumstances he has during the past forty years amassed property to the amount of over $500,000,000. In 1890 [illegible] negroes owned their farms and homes, against [illegible] whites, [illegible] % of the colored families owned their farms and homes. This is not an indication of lack of thrift and energy.

References:- Report of Commissioner of Education 1901, Vol. I. p. 760ff.

Bulletin of Labor No.35, July 1901. The Negro Landholders of Georgia.

M. A. Wak Negro Real Estate Holders of Chicago. Thesis for degree of Master of Arts in the University of Chicago, found in the library of that Institution.

5. He has increased his economic efficiency. The negro agriculturist of to-day with all his faults and his disadvantages and abuses of the credit system [illegible] than all his slave predecessors. The slavery-trained artisans were for the most part careless and inefficient. The negro mechanic of to-day is progressive and efficient [illegible] a place in the ranks of organized labor. The labor parade in Chicago Sept. 7, 1903 is a witness to this fact. There were in 1901 about 40r000 negro artisans who were scattered through many trades, mostly semi skilled.

31-6-83

"The chief value of the mechanical and industrial schools of the South is that they inculcate in the minds of the crude agricultural population notions of tariff, economy, and decency, and not [illegible] that they teach the mechanical and scientific trades. Hampton, Tuskegee, and Claflin are among the most useful . . because their graduates go to and fro throughout the South and carry with them their newly acquired notions of character and life and disseminate them among the people. They are for the most part engaged in teaching school. I venture the assertion that not one such graduate in ten finds an opportunity to pl, the trade which he learned in school." It is often urged as an argument against the negroes higher education that after he has filled his mind with knowledge he cannot find a field in which to use it: but cannot this objection be urged, and that too with a greater show of probability, against too much industrial training? A trained mind is likely to be more fruitful in expedients than a mere "hand"; if it does not find a way it will make one. The one will do with his might what his hands find to do, the other will find with his mind what his hands might do." Kelly Miller, Report of Comm. Ed. 1901. Vol. I. p.820f.

Hugh Lowry

1918 – Warner RR Commissioner
Standard Oil

1921 Chairman Public Service Commission
1924 defeated
1928 gov – May 21 inaugurated
32 Senator
1735

38-20-3

1918
1874
44

~~Geo~~ Glenn

1900 Candler, gov
1902 Terrell
1904 "
1906 Smith
1908 Joe Brown
1910 Smith
1912 Slaton (~~Frank~~ FRANK
1914 ~~Harris~~
1916 Dorsey 1917-21 (defeated by Walker for U.S. Senate 1920
~~1918~~ [State Supt Ed]
1920 Hardwick (defeated by Walker / KKK [Scroggs-legend]
1922 Walker (George, Senator)
24
26 Hardman

1915-23 Bold Weevil

U of Ga – closed 1863 est – Jan 1866
Tuckers Chancellor 73-8 Honorary
78-88 Mell
89-99 Boggs – Chancellor
U. system
Hill 99-05
Brown 1905-25
Ennis – Atlanta 1914 Candler $1,000,000
1919 offered

Long
Southern
Ga
U.S. 1914-36

1910
1850

60

Hardwick runs for gov. 1920 – Elected
Watson elected Senator 1920

Walker elected gov 1922 (23-5
" " 1924 (25-7
" " 1926 (D v. R governor
1927 – Warm Springs
Hardwick " " 1930 (31-3 Senator 1933 –)

30-20-35

TD 13 Russell gov 1930 (31-3
1931. U. Snyder → Gov 1 vote, 6 seven Col. 6 four 3 negro

Talmadge 32 – (33-5-7
Rivers 36 New Deal
38 (T. feels w beg for U.S. Senate

Talmadge 40 (41-3
1930 – all vote against

Gov. of Ga
Joe Brown – 1912-13
Slaton 1913-15
Harris 1915-17
Dorsey 1917-21
Hardwick 1921-3
Walker 1923-7
Hardman – 1927-31
Russell 1931-3
Talmadge 1933-37
Rivers 1937-41
Talmadge 1941-3
Arnall 1943-7

Allen
City Supt, School
Clerk of Board
4 yrs
Capt 1914-18
1918-22
1822-26
1826-30
1931 – Pres. U of G

(C.J. Agriculture 1927-33 (35-7 no Fed. funds

	Born	Married
Bruce	1903	
Stjernsward	1907	
R. Wilson	1903	
Pierce II	1856	
D. Sheldon	1881	
H. Sheldon	1884	1907
Pierce III	1881	1907
D. Baldwin —	1880	1910 (1909 gov. 1920 Sen 1922
L.	1910	1930 C game 1924
Z Coxhead	1908	
Bruce	1903	game 1924
Baldwin		alumni 1917
29 Coxhead	1874	1904 X Pres 1920 ret. 1928?

30-30-36

9

Talmadge gov 1933-5 | 1935-7
1933-37 1941-3
Comm of Ag. 1927-33
(1935-7 no fed funds
Defeated for Senate 1936, 1938
1941 — Irregularities with State U. system
recalled '46, died

Scrogs 34-5 — C of Agriculture
36-7
Ran in gov 38

NOTES ON MILITARY PLANS

DURING WORLD WAR I

— NOT WRITTEN BY DU BOIS ? —

Outline of the Plan of Engagement

1. Zone of action -

Limited on the East by La Harazee a shut-off crossroads from Serron Bagatelle, Pavillon and the N.S. Railroad. La Harazee, Fontaine-aux-charmes, Binarville, Lancon.

Limited on the west by branch of Trench 10, Bois Carre, branch trench of Hill 176; 500 metres west of Binarville.

Disposition

1 Basis of mission of the Battalion of the 1st-line

c. In case of the retreat of the enemy, follow him up linking his movement with that of the 11 cuirassiers

As follows:

The battalion will form a line of defense of retreat as far forward as possible. Push strong patrols forward into the first German, if these last are abandoned or feebly defended occupy these and

30-5-2

push out new strong patrols against the second line of the enemy.

Keep liaison with the 11th Cuirassiers as far as the Morris branch in the direction of Bois Long (a mixed detachment under the orders of an officer of the 11th Cuirassiers) send out patrols to maintain contact. (maintain direct communication between the colonels commanding the 368th & the 11th Cuirassiers.

30-5-3

The battalion will maintain a mixed liaison detachment with a neighboring American unit; and direct communication between the colonels of the 368th & the American forces in the Argonne.

c) It shall be ready to be an advance-guard on the road to Binarville

B The Battalion of support (in camp at Placardelle)

At the disposition of the colonel of the regiment either for pushing the groupes of the battalion in the first line toward Binarville or for covering off a counter attack coming from the direction of Tour de Paris. It will not start fight except at the authorization of the brigade commander

The Commander of the Battalion will take cognizance during the day of September 25. of the state of affairs which will decide his moving his ~~battalion~~ battalion either north of the Biesme in the direction of Binarville or on the plateau of Placardelle in the direction ~~forward of~~ La Harazée - Tour de Paris front.

30-5-4

C. Reserve Battalion in camp at Hauts Bois

Reserve of D.C.P. To take part only at the order of the general commanding the division.

The head of the battalion will take cognizance during the day of Sept. 25- of the state of affairs which will decide his moving this battalion either to the north of Vienne le Chateau or upon the plateau of Placardelle.

Fisk Articles

In a case like this the question of succession presents a singularly difficult problem. The young radical white or black would say, "we want for this University the best person for president, quite regardless of his race or color. This is certainly true, but it has to be modified by fact, and as long as a prevalent complex exists the existence of separate Negro colleges so long as we have a "Negro college" we must say "we want for this Negro college the best president regardless of color," and in saying this we know that many candidates for such a job will not apply because they will not want to teach in Negro institutions for various reasons but especially because of social difficulties, of intercourse with the students, with the professors and with the surrounding white communties. Therefore against modifying the demand, the college must ask for the best man "who understands the situation and is willing to face it." This of course seriously narrows the field. Here the conservative Negroes will cut the Gordian knot and say frankly "we want and must have a Negro president." To this the Negro radical would reply "We must not compromise ourselves by such a purely racial demand", and the whites would add, " There is no Negro qualified." The capital is investigating [illegible] and the matter would seem to be solved by the fact that there is a candidate for the job, who can fill the requirements from every point of view.

36-7-43

uno pietro alonso chiamato el negro con una caravella (caravell armata a sue spese se misse andare verso mezo (mezo) di —

ma negro alonso

ma poi che Alonso negro li red- de cosi humani.

pel qual luocho alonso negro con una compagnia per quelli zorniche stettero li triumpharono.

Cap. XXVI. Come Alonso negro com- pagno de lo admirante navigado trovo (~~trovo~~) nove (~~xxxvi~~) isole & inanditi paesi con diversi costumi

Cap. XXVII Come Alonso negro andò a Canchieta; & altri bellissimi luochi & de costumi de diverse nactione.

Cap. XXVIII Come Alonso negro partito dali trovati luochi con molte

30-18?

perle per andare in spagna;
⊤ come combattete con canibali
⊤ supero.

⊤ * Libretto de Tutta La Navigation
Venesia, 1504

Alonso Negro copagno dello ad-
miranté trouo isole insudité cũ
diuersi costumi ⊤ paesi

Lochi bellissimi ⊤ costumi de
diuerse nationi pelegrinati per
Alonso Negro
Libretto of
Vicentio 1507

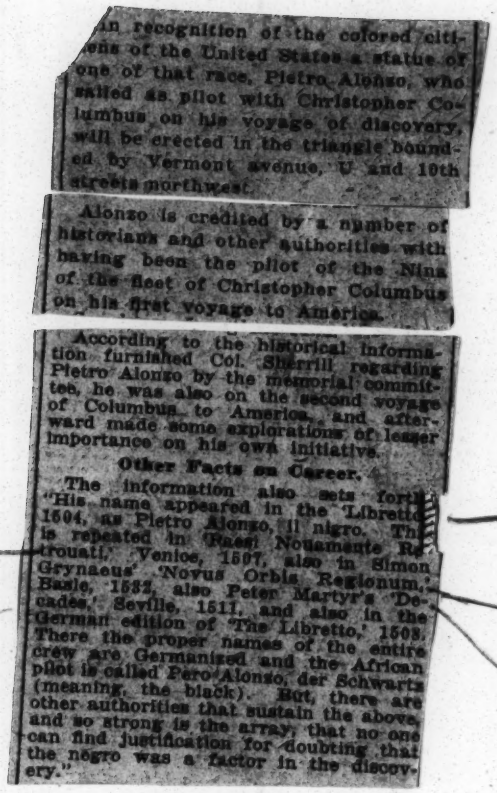
*(Reproduced by photostat)

EDITORIAL ROOMS
OF
THE CRISIS

W. E. B. DUBOIS, EDITOR
JESSIE REDMON FAUSET,
LITERARY EDITOR

70 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

30-18-3



an recognition of the colored citizens of the United States a statue of one of that race, Pietro Alonzo, who sailed as pilot with Christopher Columbus on his voyage of discovery, will be erected in the triangle bounded by Vermont avenue, U and 10th streets northwest.

Alonzo is credited by a number of historians and other authorities with having been the pilot of the Nina of the fleet of Christopher Columbus on his first voyage to America.

According to the historical information furnished Col. Sherrill regarding Pietro Alonzo by the memorial committee, he was also on the second voyage of Columbus to America, and afterward made some explorations of lesser importance on his own initiative.

Other Facts on Career.

The information also sets forth: "His name appeared in the 'Libretto' 1504, as Pietro Alonzo, il nigro. This is repeated in 'Paesi Nouamente Retrouati,' Venice, 1507, also in Simon Grynaeus' 'Novus Orbis Regionum,' Basle, 1532, also Peter Martyr's 'Decades,' Seville, 1511, and also in the German edition of 'The Libretto,' 1508. There the proper names of the entire crew are Germanized and the African pilot is called Pero Alonzo, der Schwartz (meaning, the black). But, there are other authorities that sustain the above, and so strong is the array, that no one can find justification for doubting that the negro was a factor in the discovery."

(My Library)

Reserve -303

Reserve

KAM

+

C. Schmidt

Pietro Martire Vermigli

Letter c.1

ZOF

C. Schmidt

P

Wash. D.C. Star

Aug. 14, 22

chiamare - to call
to name

Black Star

Igit̄ (igitur) Petrus Alonsus dictus Niger,
decernes ad meridiē cōtendere

Postquam aut Alonsus Niger compertum habuit

Eo igitur Alonsus Niger proficisci decrevit

Ignare Alonsus Niger iam repertis contentus

30-18-1

Extracts from the book, AGAINST THESE THREE, by Stuart Cloete

41-9-269

1870 Was a critical year, France had just been defeated, the American Civil War had ended six years before. The Suez Canal was almost completed. Europe was stretching out hands toward the tropics to supply raw material for factories. International finance was beginning and people understood the stock Company. Rudyard Kipling was five years old, four years later Lord Randolph Churchill was to marry his American wife. Hitler's father was working as a customs official in Germany. Carl Marx was 52 years old, Freud was fourteen, Oscar Wild was a boy, George Bernard Shaw was at School.

In 1870 diamonds and gold had been discovered in Africa. A new generation of gold-hunters and prostitutes traveled over the land, and In the mining camps, women autioned themselves off nightly to the highest bidder.

Lobengula, king of the Matabele had just succeeded his father. I In 1870 Cecil John Rhodes arrived in Africa, and that same year Jan Christian Smuts was born in the Cape Province. Paul Kruger was a man of 45.

The World Almanac for 1952 lists the following states as having a poll tax at the end of 1951:

Alabama
Arkansas
Mississippi
South Carolina
Texas
Virginia

25-14-58

SOUTHERN CONVENTIONS 1867 to 1868

Members	black	white
South Carolina	76	48
Louisiana	49	49
Florida	18	27
Virginia	25	80
Georgia	33	137
Mississippi	17	83
Alabama	18	90
Arkansas	8	58
North Carolina	15	118
Texas	9	81
	268	771

41-17-64

Taxes

Debt

Railroads

Officials

Schools

Social legislation

1738 – fly shuttle, roller spinning
1748 Carding machine
1789 Steam engine introduced
1779 Mule
1785 Power loom

Power of Cotton

1820 – 8½ lbs
18

45-9-13

Crop

1822	5 000 000 lbs
1831	1 000 000 lbs
1838	1 500 000
1842	2 000 000
1852	3
1856	3½
1860	5 M

English Cotton Consumption

1781 –	13 000
1820 –	572 000
1830	871 000
1860 –	3 366 000

1800 — 1,002,037

1810 — 1,377,808 37% urban

1820 — ~~2,328~~ 1,771, 28

1830 — 2,328 31%

1840 — 2873 23

1850 — 3638 26

1860 +1441 22

37.5
28.6
31.4
23.4
26.6
22.1

1820-40 — More male

1840-60 " female

9671 - 4 1000 Male - 20

969 — 30

1005 — 40 — 20

1008 — 50 — 50

1003 — 50 — 50

British cotton consumption

French " " etc

Negro population by state

Negro artisans: masons, carpenters, painters, blacksmiths & iron workers

Negro nurses

Housekeepere, cooks , laundresses, maids

cultural gifts: folkways, folklore, language

Southern cotton crop; other crops

Learned skills: cotton gin, pluming

commerce, colonies & revolt (World & Af ica, p.p. 60-61) Aptheker revolt

Slave law Dred Scott

Negro leaders

Negro church

Burial societies

Negro in North

War of 1812

Battle of N. Orleans

Seminole Wars

Filibusters & W.S.A.C

45-9-18

CRISIS CIRCULATION FIGURES

FOR 1913 - 1915 ?

Summary

"a year in hand loan"

Average weekly Circulation 1913-14

22,078

1914-5 - 20,008

▽ smaller issues

Quarterly Commercial received

~~£39905.17.7~~

£48,021.40 in 1914-15

6128.65

£41,892.75 in 1

48021,40 in 1914 15

6128.65

£54,150.05 in 1913-14

Commercial receipts 48,021.40

Donations £45,281.50

(Shared work £10,000)

41-9-419

38-9-737

Congo I2 million plus 4 mil, 900,000 sq miles 77,000 whites

Rhodesias & Nyassaland 6½ million and 2I0,000 whites

Nigeria 3I million, I5,000 whites

Sudan, I0 million, 950,000 sq mi

USA ~~8½~~ 8½ millions plus 2½ million whites plus I½ col (300,000 Asia

~~Kenya~~ Bucs 87% of Land to Whites

France 2I2,000 sq mi

United States 3,000,000 sq mi

Kenya - 2000 whites — 4½ million acres (11% cultivated
87% of the land

Clay + Newmont
Peace Crusade

42-44-222 a

UN

POPULATION

Negro in U.S. 16 million

Canada - (1956) 15,861,000

Ethiopia - 1956 - 19,500,000

Iran - 1955 - 21,146,000

Portugal - 1955 - 8,765,000

Australia, 1956 9,400,000

Austria - 1955 6,974,000

Ceylon - 1954 - 8,384,000

Bulgaria - 1950 7,160,000

Greece - 1955 3,263,000

Hungary - 1955 - 9,808,000

Negro Population of the United States

36-31-1

1790 -	750,000	19%
1800 -	1,000,000	
1830 -	2,000,000	18
1850 -	3,500,000	16
1860 -	4,500,000	14
1870 -	5,000,000	13
1880 -	6,500,000	13
1890 -	7,500,000	12
1900 -	9,000,000	11⅛
1910 -	10,000,000	
1920 -	10,500,000	
1930 -	12,000,000	10
	(11,891,00)	(9.7)

Appertionment of Congressional Representation
1860

30 - 31 - 3

Ratio - 127,381

		White	Negro
Alabama	6	526,271	437,770
Arkansas	3	324,143	111,259
Florida	1	77,746	62,677
Georgia	7	591,550	465,698
Louisiana	5	357,456	350,373
Mississippi	5	353,899	437,404
North Carolina	7	629,942	361,522
South Carolina	4	291,300	412,320
Texas	4	420,891	182,921
Virginia	11	1,047,299	548,907

Constantine Rose

Africa & other countries

40/88/1

	1910	1920
MALE	4,885,881	5,209,436
FEMALE	4,941,882	5,253,695
	1011	1008

40/88/2

KENYA

UGANDA

NYASALAND

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

NATAL

TRANSVAAL

NIGERIA

GOLD COAST

SIERRE LEONE

ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

TANGANYIKA

SOUTHWEST AFRICA

BRITISH GUIANA

BARBADOS

JAMAICA

ABYSSINIA

BELGIUM CONGO

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA

FRENCH WEST AFRICA

GUADELOUPE

HAITI

LIBERIA

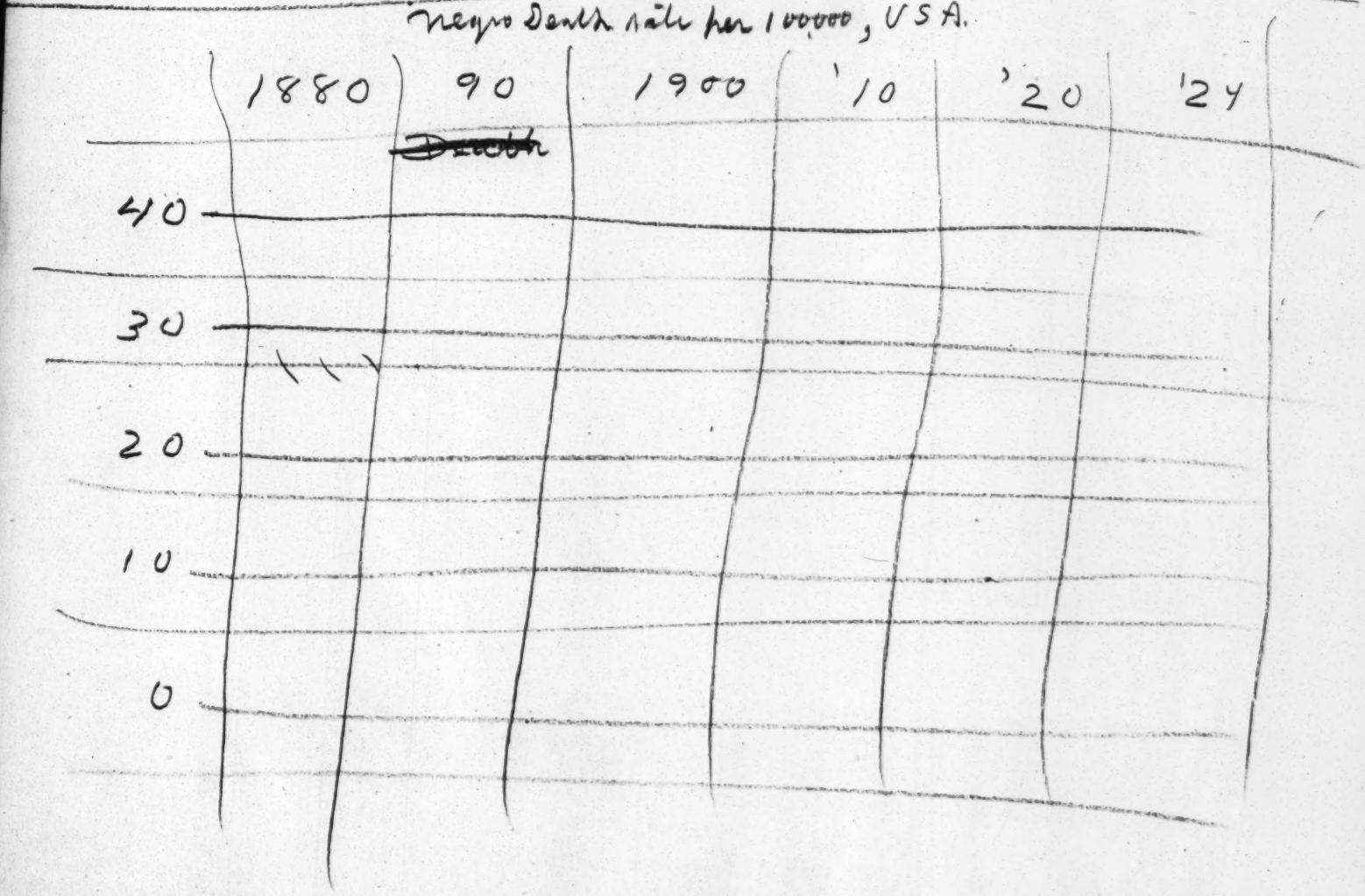
ANGOLA

MOZAMBIQUE

Negro Death rate

(Deaths per 100,000 living)

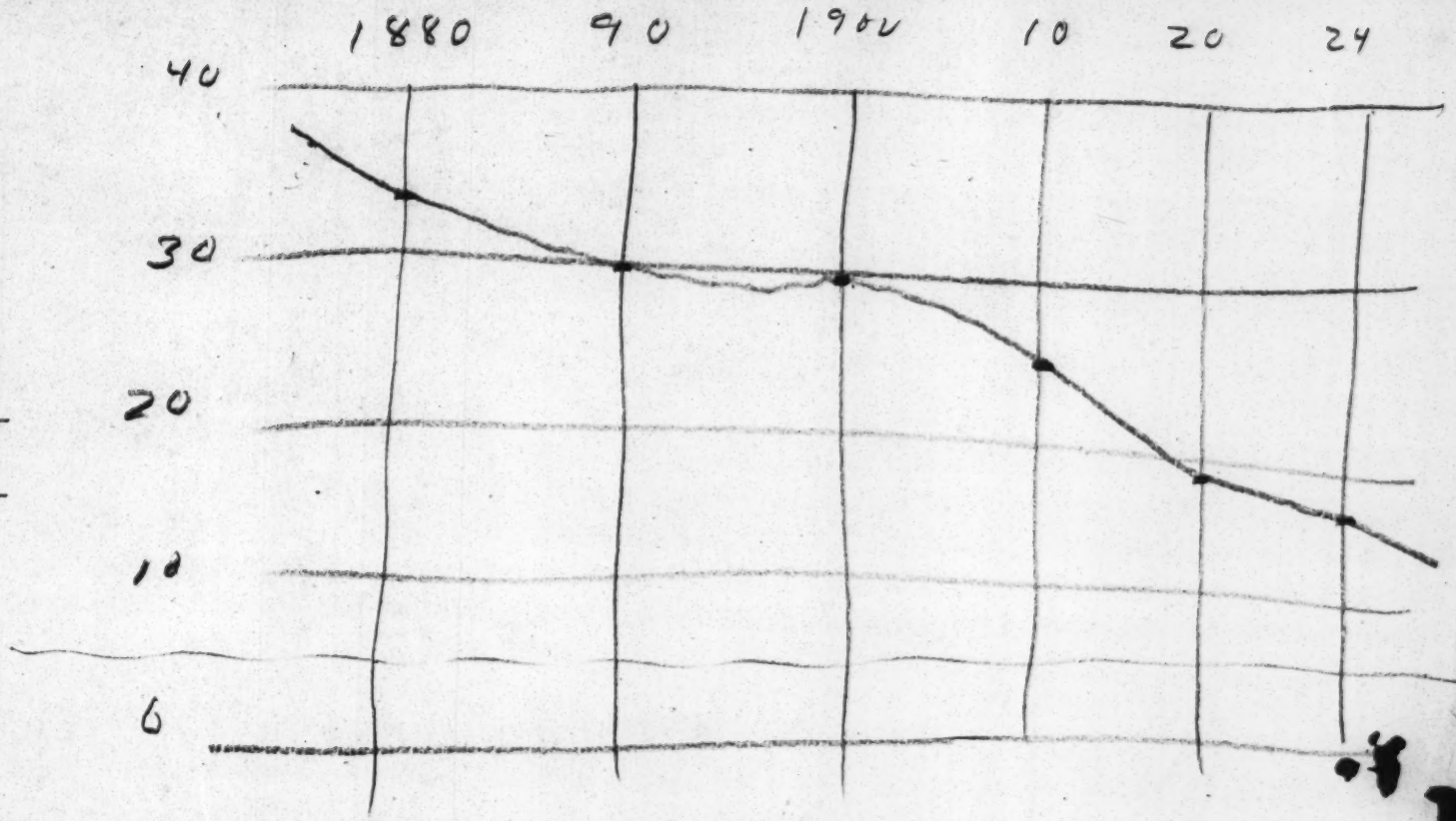
1880	36
1890	30
1900	29.4
1910	25.5.
1820	18
1924	17.8.



40/8/16

Maps of
Kenya
Uganda
Tugen

40/8/6/8


1880
90
1900
10
20
24
40
30
20
10
6

UNDER JAMAICA:

NAME	PLACE OF BIRTH	L. OR D.	BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.
COX. S. A. G.	JAMAICA	DEAD.	BARRISTER-AT-LAW POPULAR AGITATOR

HD/54/6

NAME	Place of Birth	Living or Dead	Biographical Notes.
Albergа. Geo. Alfred	Jamaica. B.W.I	Born 1892 Living	B.A. Professor of Civil Eng: Lecturer at U of McGill. Canada. Jamaica Scholarship winner. Served with Canadian officers Training Corps in World War. Now Inspector of Public Works. Jamaica-B.W.I.
Dr Anderson. Oswold	Jamaica	Dead	Physician. Politician. Deputy Mayor of Kingston; Jam-B.W.I.
Baines. J. Edmestone (Honourable)	Jamaica	Dead	C.E. M.E. F.R.G.S. Author - The Economy of Life. Laid down the boundary line between Venezuela and British Guiana. and between Liberia and adjacent British Territories in Africa
~~Henry~~ Brown. Henry. Isaac. Close	Jamaica	Dead	Scholar. One of the 3 Judges of the Supreme Court of Jamaica; B.W.I. Acted as Chief Justice of the Island.
—	—	—	—
Burke. Samuel. Constantine	Jamaica	Dead	Barrister. Champion of Popular Rights.
—	—	—	—
Clarke. B.M.	Jamaica	Living	Island Tennis Champion Played at Wimbledon. Sportsman → Athlete
—	—	—	—
Cockburn. Joshua (Col)	Jamaica	Living	Captain - Marine. Real Estate Operator; N.Y. U.S.A.
—	—	—	—
De Lisser. Herbert. Geo	Jamaica	Living	~~Historian~~ Journalist. Novelist Author.
—	—	—	—
Dixon. Alexander 40/59/7	Jamaica	Dead	Teacher, wit. Politician. First Negro to be elected to Island Legislature

NAME	Place of Birth	Living or Dead	BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.
Elliott. Robert Brown	Jamaica	Dead	Constitutional lawyer. Politician. Orator. Elected in 1876 to attorney General's office of the state of Mass. U.S.A. was twice elected Congressman from South Carolina
—	—	—	Special Agent for the U.S. Treasury
Fletcher. R. H.	Jamaica	Dead	Postmaster General of Jamaica
Foster-Davis. M. L.	Jamaica	Dead	General manager of Electric R.R. Tramway Co. Jamaica. B.W.I.
Gordon. Wm. J.	Jamaica	—	Soldier. was awarded the Victoria Cross.
Granville. Phillip	Jamaica	Dead?	Athlete. Represented Canada at the Olympic games. Champion track walker of Canada.
Hill. Richard	Jamaica	Dead	Author - "Home Slain of Liberia" Naturalist. (Source. Jamaica Handbook 1937)
Jackson. Tellis	Jamaica	Dead	Director and Organizer of Jamaica Choir which toured England and the Continent during the early part of the present century.
Miss James. Leila	Jamaica	living	B.A. Winner of Jamaica music Scholarship.
Johnston. C.E.	Jamaica 40/5a/8	Living	Capitalist. Planter. Merchant

Name	Place of Birth	L or D.	Biographical Notes.
Lazarus. Charles. P.	- Jamaica -	Dead -	Assisted Sir Charles Bright in the laying Cable between Gt. Britain and Jamaica (In 1870)
Nation. Henry.	Jamaica.	Dead.	Genius. musician. Before →
Rogers. J. A.	- Jamaica -	living -	Historian. Student of Research (before) Journalist.
Simpson. H. A. Laselve	- Jamaica -	Dead -	Lawyer. O.B.E. Politician. Deputy mayor of Kingston - before after →

NAME	PLACE of Birth	LIVING DEAD	BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.
KENNEDY. A. A.	Jamaica	Dead	B.A. of Durham University, England. Inspector of School. Jamaica. B.W.I.
—	—	—	—
LEON. SYLVESTER	JAMAICA	Dead	Shakespearean Actor. Played on the continent of Europe. (Private Source)
—	—	—	—
LOWE. ARTHUR B.	Jamaica	Dead	PHYSICIAN. Politician. Deputy mayor of Kingston
—	—	—	—
MACFARLANE. L.	Jamaica	Living	Poet. Author of "VOICES OF SUMMERLAND", an ANTHOLOGY of Jamaica Verse.
—	—	—	—
DR MOODY. L.M.	Jamaica	Dead	PHYSICIAN. Former Director of Bacteriology at university of London.
—	—	—	—
NETHERSOLE. SAMUEL	Jamaica	Dead	~~PHYSICIAN. Author of "Synopses of the Age"~~ ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL of JAMAICA. Churchman. Humanitarian
—	—	—	—
MAJOR PLANT. W. H	Jamaica	Dead	Educator.
—	—	—	—
RUSSWURM. JOHN	Jamaica	Dead	Publisher of Freedom's Journal in the U.S.A. (PUBLICATION) One of the founders of the Republic of Liberia. Was first NEGRO to graduate from an American college.
—	—	—	—
SEACOLE. MARY	Jamaica	Dead	Nurse. Assistant to Florence Nightingale in Crimean War. Served with distinction in Republic of PANAMA. WAS wounded with a mob
by the Government		40/5/49 ←	

NAME	Place of Birth	L. or D.	BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.
8			
STIMPSON. Robert.	Jamaica	Dead	M.D. Graduate of Bishop University, Canada. Served in the Spanish American war as Ass't Surgeon of the 33rd and 34th Michigan Regiments with military Rank of Captain. Member of F.R.G.S.
—	—	—	After Smith
WILSON. C. A.	—	Jamaica - Dead.	Author of "men of BACK BONE" Moderator of Presbyterian Church in Jamaica
—	—	—	before WINT

NAME	PLACE of Birth	LIVING or DEAD	BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.
SOMERS. T. GORDON	Jamaica	Dead	Called the black SPURGEON for his eloquence. ORATOR. WAS head of Baptist Church in the Island of Jamaica. Preached in St Pauls Cathedral, England.
Smith. J. A. G.	Jamaica	Dead	LAWYER. K.C. POLITICIAN. Champion of Race Rights.
VAZ. DAVID. CHARLES	Jamaica	Dead	Former MAYOR of Kingston. CAPITALIST.
WATSON. JAMES. S.	Jamaica	Living	MUNICIPAL JUDGE. N.Y. U.S.A. (was first of two Negroes to be elected to a Judgeship in the State of New York
WINT. D. Theo	Jamaica	Living	Educator. Legislator. Reformer.
CIPRIANI. MICHAEL	TRINIDAD	Dead	Soldier. Aviator. Sportsman.
CONSTANTINE Sr.	Trinidad	Dead	Famous International Cricketer
Constantine Jr. Learey.	Trinidad	Living	Famous International Cricketer
COMMA. NELSON	Trinidad	Dead	Educator. INSPECTOR of SCHOOLS.
CURRY. JOHN 40/Est/10	Trinidad	Dead	MAJOR of ARTILLERY IN LOCAL FORCES
DAVID. CYRUS. PRUDHOMME	Trinidad	Dead	BARRISTER. LEGISLATOR. Commissioner of Dist: Court.

Name	Place of Birth	L or D.	Biographical Notes.
HANNAYS. L.C.	Trinidad	living	LABOr LAWyer. Island Scholarship winner Before →

Name	Place of Birth	Living or Dead	Biographical Notes.
Dr Donawa A. Arnold	Trinidad	living	D.D.S. was first negro to hold office of Dean of Medicine college of Howard University. U.S.A.
Headley. George	Trinidad	living	Athlete. One of the three (3) leading Batsmen of the world.
John N. Phillip.	Trinidad	dead	Commercial Artist.
Lazare. Emanuel. Mazumbo	Trinidad	dead	Legislator. Lieutenant in Royal Artillery.
Dr Lawrence. Samuel	Trinidad	living	Dr of Public Health
Dr. Lasalle. J.	Trinidad	dead	acting Surgeon General of Island.
McShine. Hugh	Trinidad	living	Banker. Physician.
Nurse. Hubert	Trinidad	dead	Agriculturalist. Was the Inspector of agriculture of the Island.
Phillip. Maxwell	Trinidad	dead	(Mulatto). Author- Solicitor General of the Island
Richards. Alfred	Trinidad	living	Labor leader- legislator
Smith. Edgar. Marcese-	Trinidad	dead	Solicitor. Popular agitator.

40/54/11

NAME	PLACE of BIRTH	L or D.	BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

WALCOTT. JOE. — BARBADOS — Dead - Pugilist. was welterweight Champion of the would.

NAME	Place of Birth	Living or Dead	Biographical Notes.
Thomas. J. J.	Trinidad	Dead	Author. Polemist. Philologist.
Davis. James	Barbados	Dead	Eminent Physician. Was in the Service of Queen Victoria of England.
Rev Durant. Joseph. N.	Barbados	Dead	D.D. Linguist. Scholar
Sir Reeves. Conrad	Barbados	Dead	Island Scholarship winner. Was Chief Justice of the Island. Knighted by the Queen of England.
Rev Massiah. Joshua. B.	Barbados	Dead	M.A. Eminent Preacher and Theologian. Hebrew Scholar. Graduate of General Theological Seminary. U.S.A.
Hon. Latouche. F. P.	Dominica	Dead.	Distinguished Lawyer. Legislator. Was acting Chief Justice of the Island of St. Kitts.
Jackson. Peter	Santa Cruz	Dead	Famous Pugilist
Forsythe. Albert	Nassau	Living in the U.S.A.	Doctor. Aviator. Made good-will tours of the west Indies.
Smith. C. W. T.	Bermuda	Dead.	Eminent Physician. Graduate of Howard University. U.S.A.
Rev. Derrick. W. B.	Antigua	Dead	D.D. Bishop of A.M.E. Church. U.S.A. Lecturer.

40/50/12

NAMES	PLACE of BIRTH	DEATH or LIVING	BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.
DONAVAN. GALWAY	GRENADA	Dead	FAMOUS JOURNALIST AND LABOR LEADER
—	—	—	—
MARRYSHOW. T. ALBERT	GRENADA	LIVING.	FAMOUS JOURNALIST AND LABOR LEADER
—	—	—	—
CRITCHLOW. F. A.	BRITISH GUIANA	Dead	FAMOUS Labour leader and Organizer
—	—	—	—
DARGAN. PATRICK	BR. GUIANA	Dead	Distinguished member of the local Bar. legislator. Orator
—	—	—	—
DUKE. EDGAR. MORTIMER	BR. GUIANA	LIVING	BARSTOW Scholar, i.e. Winner of highest law Scholarship in British Empire. Barrister-at-law. Mathematician. Registrar of Br Guiana. GENIUS.
—	—	—	—
EDWARDS. PHIL	BR. GUIANA	Living	International Athlete
—	—	—	—
HUDSON. D. M.	BR. GUIANA	Dead.	FORMER PUISNE JUDGE of SUPREME COURT. LAWYER.
—	—	—	—
JOSEPHS. HECTOR	BR. GUIANA	Dead	~~Scholarship~~ Att'y General of the Colony. Dist. Lawyer
—	—	—	—

See next Page for more information re Br Guiana.

Name	Place of Birth	Living or Dead	Biographical Notes.
McGuire. Vincent	Antigua	Dead	Founder of African methodist Church. Orator.
Harrison. Hubert	Virgin Is. St Croix	Dead	Lecturer. Journalist. Popular agitator, in the united States.
Lafargue. Paul (mullato)	Cuba	Dead	Son-in-law of Karl Marx. Author
De Leon. Daniel	Curaco	Dead	Professor. Labor leader in America. Famous Socialist Theoretician
Clarke. James. T.	St. Lucia	~~Dead~~ Living	Linguist. Once Editor of the Crisis. Winner of French Prize awarded in the U.S. to Best Scholar of the French Language
Margetson. Edward	St. Kitts	Living	Composer. Pianist.
Cerutti. E. Burton	Bahamas	Dead	Lawyer. Dir of N.A.A.C.P (Los Angeles. U.S.A
Williams. Bert	Bahamas	Dead	Famous Comedian
Matzeliger. Jan	~~Bu~~ Dutch Guiana	Dead	Inventor. His Invention laid the Basis for the Prosperity of the Shoe Industry in the United States of America.

4d59/13

NAME	Place of Birth	Living or Dead	Biographical Notes
Dr. LONDON. J. S.	Br. Guiana	Dead	B.A. M.D. Pioneer in medicine.
LONDON. J.	Br. Guiana	Living	Famous athlete Olympic Runner.
Dr. Nurse. Godfrey	Br. Guiana	Living	Physician. Democratic Elector in the U.S.A.
Nurse. R. D.	Br. Guiana	Dead	Architect
Dr. SAVORY. PHILLIP. MAXWELL. HUGH	Br. Guiana	Living	M.D. of McGILL University, Canada. Insurance Executive. Publisher. Resides in the U.S.A
VAN Sertimer	Br. Guiana	Living	Solicitor General of The Colony. Distinguished lawyer.

Source: Year Book of Jamaica B.W.I. 1932

1.

BOYS AND GIRLS INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, STONY HILL.

The boys at Stony Hill are trained as tailors, carpenters, masons, blacksmiths and bakers. Thirty boys and fifteen apprentices were employed during the year 1930 in the corpenter's shop; they made articles of furniture of the value of £731 4s. 9d.; 26 boys and one apprentice were employed as masons and bricklayers; they did work valued at £227 19s. 8d. The work in the tailoring branch was performed by twelve boys; they made all clothing, cots and mattresses for the institution, valued at £581 12s. 10d. In the blacksmith's shop the value of work was £164 11s. 1d. Other boys worked in the bakery, garden and fields. By their steady application to labour the cultivation, which in 1878 was only half-an-acre, is now extended to 43 acres, comprising coffee, vegetables, provisions, guinea grass, bananas, corn, cocoa, oranges and grape-fruit.

The gross cost per head per annum for the 369 inmates who were in the institution during the year ending the 31st December, 1930, was £23 4s. 10d., and the average earnings per child for that period, £14 7s. 10d.

The girls are taught sewing, washing, hat-making, house-cleaning and some are taught cookery. During the year ending 31st December, 1930, the washing of clothes was valued at £271 13s. 5d. The girls made and mended clothing valued at £55 12s. 0d.

H10/5/14

IMPERIAL COLLEGE OF TROPICAL AGRICULTURE.

The Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture was incorporated in September, 1921, as the outcome of recommendations made by the Tropical Agricultural College Committee appointed by Viscount Milner in 1919 in their Report (Command Paper 562).

The object of the College is to promote the study of Tropical Agriculture in suitable surroundings and to create a body of British expert agriculturists well versed in the knowledge of the cultivation of land in the tropics, of chemists and of scientific advisers possessing an intimate knowledge of the means of combating pests and diseases and to conduct reasearch. The college buildings are at St. Augustine, near St. Joseph, Trinidad, on land granted to the College by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago. The funds of the College are derived from contributions from Colonies and industries participating in the movement and an imperial grant. The Imperial Department of Agriculture, founded in 1898, was amalgamated with the College on April 1st, 1922. The academic year extends from October 1st to June 30th. The following courses and facilities for study are available:-

1. A three years course leading to a Diploma. This is primarily intended to give instruction in West Indian Agriculture and admission to it is limited to students from the Caribbean area, save in exceptional circumstances.

2. A three years course leading to a Diploma followed by a fourth year is provided for students wishing to qualify as sugar Technologists.

3. Post Graduate Courses for Post Graduates of any British University, University College or other academic institution approved by the Governing Body.

4. Refresher Courses for officers of Agricultural Departments in the tropics.

The tuition fees for the Diploma Course are £50 per annum but a limited number of students from Contributing Colonies and Industries are admitted on nomination without payment of fees.

For the Post Graduate Course the fees are £75 per annum.

The fees for other than British subjects are £100 per annum for all courses.

KINGSTON TECHNICAL SCHOOL.

The School premises are situated at 82 Hanover Street, and the work is divided into the following branches:-

Day Continuation School--The object of this department is to enable pupils leaving the elementary schools to continue their general education up to the point where they can profitably enter on the specialised study of technical, commercial, and domestic economy subjects.

Day Technical Course (Boys)--Students who have satisfactorily completed the year's Continuation Course or who produce evidence of having reached a satisfactory standard of general education may proceed to take up in this department a two years' course of study embracing English, Spanish, geography, and in addition science, technical mathematics, technical drawing, workshop arithmetic, woodwork, and metalwork. The object of this department is to provide the kind of training which will develop the general intelligence and enable the boys to make rapid progress in whatever occupation they choose to take up after leaving the school. No attempt is made to instruct the boys in the methods and detailed processes of any particular industry or craft.

Day Commercial Course--Before being admitted to this course students must have attained a satisfactory standard of general education. A thorough training in the usual commercial subjects is given, but boys and girls in addition are required to continue their study of subjects of importance from the general educational standpoint, viz., English, Spanish, geography, history, and mathematics. The object of the training is not to provide intensive training in a narrow range of commercial subjects but to give instruction of the type given in secondary schools but with a less academic bias.

Day Technical Course (Girls)--Girls whose standard of general education is satisfactory are admitted to this course which provides instruction in English, arithmetic, drawing and in addition cookery, needlework, housecraft, laundry work. The object of the training given is to enable the students to enter the better class occupations open to girls and young women. The course is only incidentally a training for domestic service.

CARRON HALL CONTINUATION SCHOOL.

This School is in Saint Mary. Girls who have reached their fourteenth birthday or who have reached the necessary standard are received. Special attention is given to training in Domestic Economy, Sick-nursing and care of children. Students are also trained for the Pupil Teachers Examination and Junior Cambridge Examinations. Shorthand and Book-keeping are also taught and pupils are trained for the Examinations of the Associated Board of the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music.

The Government makes an annual grant towards the support of the school. The fees for Boarders are £30 per annum and for Day Scholars £5 per annum.

TRAINING COLLEGES.

The following means are employed by the Government for the college training of Elementary School Teachers.

1. 40 students are supported at the Mico Training College in Kingston who are being trained as schoolmasters. In addition to the number supported by the Government there are 16 students on the original foundation supported by the Mico Trustees in England.
2. A Training College is maintained at Shortwood, in St. Andrew, for women, in which 44 students are under training as teachers.
3. Provision is made for the payment of grants to the managers of certain voluntary Training Colleges for a specified number of resident students under training, and of an additional grant for every student, resident or non-resident, who passes the yearly examination. Under this provision 41 women students are trained at Bethlehem, a Moravian College in the Santa Cruz Mountains; 6 resident and 19 day students, women, at St. Joseph's (Roman Catholic) College in Kingston.

There are also regulations providing for an annual examination of students in Training Colleges and of teachers of Elementary Schools with a view to the granting of Certificates after a period of four years probationary work in school to those who are successful.

The number of Registered Teachers engaged is 1,479 and 967 of these have received a college training.

40/5 a/17

MICO TRAINING COLLEGE.

Institutions and Schools under the Lady Mico Charity were founded in the year 1834 by the late Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton. The idea was to afford the benefit of education and training to the black and coloured population of this and the other West India Islands, as well as to train out of this population Teachers for their own Schools and the Schools of all denominations of Christians.

Training institutions were established in Jamaica and Antigua; and schools in Trinidad, Demerara, Bahamas, St. Lucia, Mauritius, and the Seychelle Islands. Of these the Training College in Jamaica alone remains.

The origin of the Charity is as follows:-

Jane Mico, widow of Sir Samuel Mico, Knt., of London, a member of the Mercers Company who died in 1666, bequeathed the sum of £1,000 "to redeem poor slaves." This money was invested by direction of the Court of Chancery in certain London properties which were conveyed to Lady Mico's executors.

The original sum towards the middle of the 19th century increased to £120,000 and in 1834 Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton conceived that the interest of the money might be legitimately applied to the Christian instructions of the childred of West Indians, a purpose as charitable as that for which the money was originally left. A charter was obtained, and the British Government added a grant of £17,000 per annum for five years. The system adopted from the commencement was liberal, comprehensive and undenominational in schools and training colleges.

Students are admitted once a year, after a competitive examination, by a selection committee. They remain three years, go out as teachers in elementary schools on the completion of their college course and are under bond to teach for six years. During residence they receive free teaching, board, lodging and medical attendance. Each student pays an entrance fee; First year £10. Second year £7 10/. Third year £7 10/. There are now fifty-five students in residence, including two from Grand Cayman, and two from Bermuda.

SHORTWOOD TRAINING COLLEGE FOR WOMEN TEACHERS.

This College was established in September, 1885, to meet the want, long and pressingly felt, of a greater number of trained women teachers for the elementary schools of the island. Formerly under the management of a Board of Visitors consisting of ladies and gentlemen appointed by the Governor, it is now under a Board of Directors similarly constituted. The college is strictly undenominational; students are admitted after a competitive examination, by a selecting committee which, besides considering their position in this examination, takes into account (1) the report of the Medical Officer (2) position in the Pupil Teachers' Examination, (3) recommendation of responsible persons in the district to which they belong, (4) general bearing. A fee of six pounds for each year of residence is charged. Students are boarded and lodged during the period of their training, subject to an undertaking on their part to teach in Jamaica elementary schools for six years at least.

The ordinary College course occupies two or three years, during which the instruction is in accordance with the schedule attached to the Government Rules for Training Colleges. The course of training includes the study of subjects generally taught in the public Elementary Schools and in addition, History, Practice in Teaching and the management of a class and Domestic Economy, both theoretical and practical. In addition a limited number of students are received who undergo a course of training for domestic work only extending over a period of not less than four terms.

JAMAICA UNION OF TEACHERS.

The objects of the Union, which was founded in 1891; are to create local associations of primary school teachers in the island, and to unite and concentrate their interests and influence by affiliation with a central body; to obtain the benefit of the collective experience of teachers on practical educational questions; to promote improved legislation on the subject of popular education; to improve the qualifications and status of teachers, to help teachers in finding employment in schools, and managers in filling vacancies therein; to establish a provident fund for the benefit of teachers.

Two vacation courses for teachers were held by the Union of Teachers of Great Britain. There are at present 43 Associations and 7 Federations of teachers affiliated with the Union, with a membership of 633 regular members and 40 honorary members.

40/5a/16

RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS.

Under the Will of the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes, a Scholarship of £400 a year, tenable for three years at Oxford University, is awarded each year in respect of this colony.

The terms of the Will are given in the Handbook for 1909.

The Trustees of the Will of the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes issue from time to time a Memorandum for the information of educational authorities and intending candidates for Scholarships in Jamaica. Explanatory notes on the Memorandum are obtainable on application to the Secretary of the Jamaica Schools Commission who is also Secretary to the Committee of Selection for Jamaica. Copies of the Memorandum can also be obtained from the officer of the Trust. The Rhodes Trust, Seymour House, Waterloo Place, London, S. W. 1.

Candidates must have taken the examination prescribed for the Jamaica Scholarship (Boys) now the University of Cambridge Higher School Certificate Examination. A fee of one guinea must be paid.

The following are the conditions under which Candidates are eligible to compete:-

(a) Candidates must be British subjects and unmarried.

(b) A candidate must be a British subject who was himself born in Jamaica, or of whose parents (or guardian) either one has been domiciled and resident in Jamaica for at least five years immediately preceding January 1st in the year of his candidature or, in the event of both being dead, one had been domiciled and resident in Jamaica for at least five years immediately prior to his or her death.

(c) Candidates must have been educated in Jamaica for at least five years between the ages of nine and twenty.

(d) Candidates must have passed their nineteenth birthday but not have passed their twenty-fifth birthday, on October 1st of the year for which they are elected.

(e) Candidates, at the time of their election, must have passed the Responsions Examination of the University of Oxford or its equivalent. The Committee of Selection is free to apply to candidates, or to any selected number of them, such further intellectual tests as they may consider necessary.

40/5a/18

WOMEN'S SOCIAL SERVICE ASSOCIATION.

The objects of the Association, which was formed in 1918, are as follows:-

a. To co-operate as far as possible with the different agencies and societies already existing, endeavouring to enlarge their usefulness wherever possible. b. To improve the health of the Womanhood of the Island. c. To take all steps necessary for the enforcement or alteration of the present Laws governing Child Welfare. d. To spread information regarding the treatment of children and the cause and effect of many of the present prevalent methods of failure and mismanagement. e. Better housing for the poor.

The Association has a work room for girls at the old Public Works Building, Parade, Kingston, with the object of teaching girls who leave school at the age of 14 a trade and so fitting them for the battle of life and giving them a chance to remain decent and self-respecting. Many girls have been sent out equipped with knowledge to earn a living.

Any woman may become a member of the Association. Names are sent to the Secretary by some member of the Association, and presented at the next meeting for confirmation: the payment upon enrolment of a membership is a fee of half a guinea. No one shall be a member in good standing until she has paid her annual fee, such fee being due and payable to the Treasurer before the annual meeting in each year.

President--Mrs. Michael DeCordova; Vice-Presidents--Mrs. Hooke, Mrs. L. Ashenheim, Treasurer--Mrs. C. DeCordova. Secretary--Mrs; Latreille.

LADY MUSGRAVE WOMEN'S SELF-HELP SOCIETY.

The Women's Self-Help Society was founded by the late Lady Musgrave, and formally opened as a depository by Dr. Nuttall, (late Archbishop of the West Indies) on 1st November, 1879. During these years it has successfully carried out its objects, viz.: the development of some of the specially feminine industries of the island (thereby fostering self-help), and that of providing employment for poor needle-women.

KINGSTON GLEE SINGERS SOCIETY.

The Kingston Glee Singers Society was founded in September, 1909, its object being the study of unaccompanied vocal part music. The season is from October to June and the Society aims at giving at least one public concert each season. The subscription is eight shillings per annum.

Conductor--George D. Goode, Hope Gardens, Kingston; Secretary--S. M. Kitchin, 60 Duke Street, Kingston.

JAMAICA SILK GROWERS CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

The Jamaica Silk Growers CO-operative Society was formed in Mandeville in May, 1929.

The object of the Society is to promote, foster and encourage the production of raw silk in Jamaica, and generally to adopt all such methods as may be deemed desirable, from time to time, to give effect to that object. Any net profit which may accrue from the operations and transactions of the Society will be shared by the members pro rata. The annual subscription is 1/-.

WEST INDIES PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

The West Indies Parliamentary Committee consists of a number of Members of Parliament both of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, under the Chairmanship of the Right Hon. The Viscount Burnham, c. h., which was formed in England in 1923, on the suggestion of the Jamaica Imperial Association to watch over the interests of the British West Indies and to give special utterance to British West Indian affairs in Parliament.

Since its formation, this Committee has done valuable work for the West Indies in voicing West Indian interests.

The original Committee consisted of fourteen members which are being added to from time to time. The title to membership is a personal knowledge or association with the British Caribbean.

The Honorary Secretary of the Committee is Mr. Percy Hurd, m. p., House of Commons, London, England.

SALVATION ARMY DISCHARGED PRISONERS' AID DEPARTMENT.

The Salvation Army carries on the work among the ex-prisoners, on lines the same as those which were employed by the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, which ceased to operate in December, 1928.

The funds entrusted to the Salvation Army for this purpose, are dispersed in the following marrer: (1) To provide temporary food and shelter when necessary, for a day or two, so as to give the released man or woman an opportunity to seek employment. (2) To assist them, when possible, in seeking work. (3) To supply necessary tools with which to work. (4) To assist with railway or boat fares, when thought advisable. (5) To supply necessary articles of clothing. (6) All confidentials from the chaplains as formerly, will be dealt with.

There are now, Probation Officers in most of the parishes in the island.

The following officers form the department for aiding discharged prisoners; Colonel Mary Booth, C. B. E., Territorial Commander, Chairman; Brigadier John C. Martin, Vice-Chairman, Supervisor; Adjutant J. S. Austen, Secretary.

THE COLOR-LINE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1950

SECTION	NORTH & MIDDLE WEST	~~BORDER STATES~~ & SOUTHERN CITIES	SOUTHERN SMALL TOWNS & RURAL DISTRICTS
~~ESTIMATED~~ POPULATION Approximate Negro	4,250,000	5,250,000	5,500,000
TREATMENT OF NEGROES IN	Treatment of Negroes in		
HOME-BUYING	~~Allowed in segregated sections~~ difficult ~~elsewhere~~ except in Negro sections	only in Negro sections with few exceptions	Difficult anywhere ~~never in white neighborhoods~~
PUBLIC SCHOOLS	Some discrimination in schools & treatment	Mostly segregated schools with low appropriations	Segregated schools with small income or none
COURTS & POLICE	Some discrimination	~~Much~~ Discrimination and prejudice Few Juries	Tyrrany and mob law no Juries
1 WORK	Limited but growing opportunity; ~~lower wage~~, few promotions	Limited mostly to personal service and common labor with some change	Domestic service, common labor & ~~seldom~~ peonage
2 INCOME	~~8%~~ ~~24%~~ ~~Median $1700~~		Less than 5%
4 VOTING	All may vote; ~~some economic pressure and neglect of opportunity~~	50% ~~vote~~ Number ~~of voters~~ increasing	75% disfranchised
5 OFFICE-HOLDING	Many minor & some higher officials	Few officials	No Negro officials
3 STORES	Welcome to most ~~but discouraged in some~~	Admitted ~~Welcome~~ to most but ~~not welcome~~ ~~too many~~ unwelcome in some	Strict discrimination in most and denial in some
HOTELS	Admitted ~~generally~~ but not encouraged ~~in most~~	Not admitted ~~to white hotels~~ ~~even~~ in most cases	No hotels for Negroes
7 CHURCH	96% in Negro churches	100% segregated	100% segrated
8 HOSPITALS Vacation resorts	~~Some~~ Discrimination ~~in most~~	Admitted only to separate sections	No admission
9 Travel	Not much ~~Some~~ discrimination	Jim Crow R.R. cars, ~~with~~ exceptions; ~~usual~~ usual cases	Jim Crow
10 Vacations? resorts beach hotels	Excluded on unwelcome	Completely segregated	excluded
Public Eating Places	Often	Mostly segregated	Jim Crow - No admission

38-16-33

38-16-32

COLOR-LINE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1956
TREATMENT OF NEGROES WITH REGARD TO CERTAIN ACTIVITIES AND RIGHTS

SECTIONS & NEGRO POPULATION	NORTH AND MIDDLE WEST 4,450,000	SOUTHERN CITIES 5,250,000	SOUTHERN SMALL TOWNS & RURAL DISTRICTS 5,500,000
HOME-BUYING	DIFFICULTIES SAVE IN SEMI-SLUM DISTRICTS	ONLY IN NEGRO SECTIONS	DIFFICULT ANYWHERE
PUBLIC SCHOOLS	GENERAL EQUALITY WITH SOME DISCRIMINATION	MOSTLY SEGREGATION WITH UNEQUAL FUNDS	SEGREGATION WITH UNEQUAL FUNDS OR NONE AT ALL
PUBLIC LIBRARIES MUSEUMS	NO DISCRIMINATION	MOSTLY SEGREGATED	FEW LIBRARIES, NO NEGROES ADMITTED
WORK	LIMITED OPPORTUNITY BUT INCREASING	MOSTLY DOMESTIC SERVICE & COMMON LABOR, BUT SOME EXPANSION	DOMESTIC SERVICE, FARM LABOR & PEONAGE
ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME	10% $5000 AND UP 22% UNDER $1000 MEDIAN $2400	7 30 $5000 and up under $1,000 MEDIAN $900 2400	1% $5000 AND UP 77% UNDER $1000 MEDIAN 742
SERVICE IN STORES	WELCOME IN MOST SAKS	SERVED IN MOST, UNWELCOME IN SOME	DISCRIMINATION, EXCLUSION FROM MANY
VOTING	ALL MAY VOTE	50% VOTE. PERCENTAGE RISING	75% DISFRANCHISED
OFFICE-HOLDING	SOME MAJOR OFFICIALS; MANY MINOR	FEW OFFICIALS	NO NEGRO OFFICIALS
COURTS & POLICE	SOME DISCRIMINATION	WIDESPREAD DISCRIMINATION & PREJUDICE. FEW BLACK JURORS. BLACK POLICEMEN FOR BLACKS	NO JURORS, TYRANNY & MOB RULE
CHURCHES	90% SEGREGATED	100% SEGREGATED	100% SEGREGATED
HOSPITALS	MUCH DISCRIMINATION	SEGREGATION OR EXCLUSION	EXCLUDED
TRAVEL	NOT MUCH DISCRIMINATION	DISCRIMINATION ON RAILROADS, STREET CARS, BUSES, DEPOTS, RESTAURANTS	SEGREGATION AND EXCLUSION
HOTELS & RESTRURANTS	ADMITTED TO SOME, UNWELCOME IN MANY	NOT ADMITTED	NOT ADMITTED
VACATION RESORTS, BEACHES, MOTELS	NEGROES UNWELCOME OR EXCLUDED	COMPLETE SEGREGATION	COMPLETE EXCLUSION
SOCIAL INTERMINGLING, INTERMARRIAGE	LEGAL BUT UNPOPULAR FBI MAY INVESTIGATE	INTERMARRIAGE ILLEGAL POLICE MAY STOP MINGLING	ILLEGAL; MOB VIOLENCE TO BE EXPECTED

22-12-40

1850

AC. born

1890

E.C. born MM born Baldwin born

Scroggs born

□ Shiloh Univ

1900

grad univ of Southern Univ U of T

C. City S @ Lamar OS

1910

Joan b.

C Married MM grad + married – grade school

Lee Baldwin DM born

Baldwin Mayor

1915

Zoe born – A C to Ala BM "

'17 MM Drafted – Record SM " migration

M & gary? no school. from

1920

Baldwins gone

A.C. Pres A+M MM Pres A+M

at Labor College
Has first job at Tuskegee

1930

31 D to Northwestern – Joan

36 BM's trouble Depression

Joan + Bruce – The Golden Scepter half yr

37 – D to AM

38 – I Chicago to Univ

'39 D.M. Hanged

1940

A.C. back T.N.C. Zoe Marries DM to Leg to Univ World War DM in draft

Scroggs gone

Baldwin remains

— Joan's decision – the letter from Bruce the Scepter

473

DM's story + the Scepter

1876-1896

	N. Maynard	Walker	Dayle	US	Breckinridge / Baldwin Co	Pierce	Scruggs	Everts	Lester	Bruton	Tillman	Grady	Vah
7	6 Gov	20	9		B 56 Bk 31		18 94	Tilghman Caldwell 76		D'Hamels	65 in 76 22 H And	G'50	
7	8 2	24	11	77 + Hayes	B Lee 16 56	Walden 78 Jno Pierce 26		78 Cg Dick	77 R.R. Clerks		31		
8	6 4	24	13		Reed 55 John Calhoun			77 Zach Wms Dred Cabell	77 Stoughton 79 Congo 7 Sill	Cleveland	Walk-To de 37		
8	2 6	26	15	Garfield-Arthur cut & over	12½ 57	1 32	14	80 Bynum Mayfield Smallwood		81 And			
8	4 8	24	17		64 89	3 34	12	83 Hayes & Ry Gordon Burton Graham 84-5		Pamd			
8	6 10	30	19	85 Cleveland	86 81	5 36	14	Mahdi 81-5		Cleveland		"New South"	
8	8 12	32	21	89 Fauver Alliance	97 Harrison	7 38	14	85 Dem Wins 87		Sulzbury	Farmers Alliance 87		
9	0 14	34	Tenn Tobacco 23	Tariffs	65	9 40	16	Rhodes P. Nicholls			Nom for gov.	89 dies	Miss disqualified
9	2 16	36	Panic Wagonier 25 Alliance	91 W in Congress 97	67	11 42	20	92 Polk Wins 93 Lafayette	Hyperion Steel	Gladden	Nicholls Blanc		
9	4 18	38 Alliance Pop	27	98 Election	74 89	13 44	22	Sugar Wm Cowboy Song	Pelican Crisis 97 Move	Rowden	Senate 95 - N. dep		SC dep
9	6 20	40 Pop Wins Alliance	29 Panic 98	99	76 91	15 46	24	75 D-N 98 Gen Gordon Ret		Sloan			

67 - Blount

Africa

The two chief suppliers of the South African market are the United Kingdom and the United States. Before the war, Great Britain led by a large margin as the chief exporter to the Union, supplying between 42 and 45 per cent of total South African imports. The United States furnished somewhat less than half that amount, or around 20 per cent.

During the war, however, the British share declined while that of the United States increased. In 1946, the United States furnished about 27 per cent of the Union's total imports while the United Kingdom supplied about 35 per cent and Canada nearly 8 per cent, Argentina was in fourth place with a little less than 5 per cent. The four countries combined, thus, furnished three-fourths of total imports.

40-8P-2

In 1947, as goods became in freer supply here, Union imports from the United States exceeded imports from the United Kingdom, with this country furnishing a little more than one-third of South Africa's total imports. Last years, imports from each of the two countries are estimated to have been about equal, with each country supplying about one-third of the Union's total imports.

Africa

SLAVE TRADE

LAND MONOPOLY, TAXATION, NO VOTE, CASTE

(4)
- UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
- RHODESIAS
- [redacted]
- TANGANYIKA
- S.W. AFRICA

} war, revolt, strikes
little education

LAND CONTROL, LABOR CONTROL, NO VOTE

(2)
- BELGIAN CONGO
- PORTUGUESE AFRICA

} pressure, technique, bravery

INDIRECT RULE

40-80-4

(4)
- UGANDA
- FRENCH WEST AFRICA
- FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
- MADAGASCAR

} war
Revolt Strikes
divide & conquer
limited education

ECONOMIC FOREIGN CONTROL

(4)
- PROTECTORATES
- NORTH AFRICA
- SOMALILAND
- SUDAN

} war
agitation
revolts
limited education

POLITICAL RIGHTS & FOREIGN CONTROL

(1) (2)
- BRITISH WEST AFRICA
- [redacted]

} war, indirect rule by chiefs
capital, political pressure
[redacted] education

INDEPENDENCE WITH FOREIGN CAPITAL CONTROL

4 (3)
- LIBYA
- LIBERIA
- ETHIOPIA
- EGYPT

} investment, loans
Education

SOCIALISM

1825 K town
1853 Rhodes town
1833 L. town
1893 L Lees
1902 R Lees
1904 K

1809 Gladstone town

1825 K town
1833 L "
1853 R
1893 L Lees
1902 R "
1904 K "

40-8R-12

1868-74 — 9 towns R — 1880-85-1886-1892-1 1874-80 D'Israeli "Conf. of Berlin"

1895 Gladstone Lees

Gladstone 1809-98
Prime minister 1868-74
1880-85
1886
1892-94

Lucky was target Gladstone
Gordon overthrow town 1885

1875 D'Israeli buys Suez Canal
1878 C. of Berlin
1881 Beaconsfield dies
1884 Conference of Berlin

1870	1870	1870	1870
1923	1833	1853	1809
47	37	16	61

40-8R-14

1850
1825
Dutch to Cape 1652
British 1820
1820-21 M. Ali in Sudan

1825
1835
Kruger born
abol. of slavery 34, 28 Chaka dies
Kaffirs invade

1835
1850
Great Trek 35-7
Boers v Ben Ndeb
38 Dingaan
Dingaan
Blood River 43
48 Cape Federal
40 Dingaan dies
37 Victoria
49 California Gold Rush
44 Telegraph

1850
1860
great Kaffir War
S.A. Republics
Suicide of Kaffirs 1856
53 Rhodes dies
54 Crimean War
57 Indian Mutiny
56 Boosenver S.

1860
1870
61 US Civil War
05 Mohamad Ali - Egypt
67 Theodore
1867 Diamonds, Orange F
68 Moselikatse dies
69 Suez canal
70 Franco P. War
STANLEY
71 Livingstone dies

1870
1880
UK annex Diamond Country
77 S A Republic annexed
77- Pedi's Angola
71 Rhodes to K
73 " Oxford
72 Pondos dies
77-8 Kaffir War
79 Zulu War
76 Telephone — Anglo-French Egypt.
76-9 Chinese Gordon, Sudan
81 TUNIS
83-Cromer
81 Turks

1880
1890
Diamond organized 80
80-81 Boer revolt SA R independent
83 Kruger pres
84 Germans forge coast
Gt Brit Bechuanal - Boer
81 Rhodes AB
83 K. Pres
arabi
Lobengula
84 Cattleage dies
85 dies
86 Leigh Exhibition
89 Jo
88 Rhodes Awards
1893-5 Mahdi
1898 Khalifa
Menelik 88

1890
1900
89 Rhodes D.S. afric C
90 " P. minister C colony
93
99-1902 Boer War (Kitchener)
90 Rhodes P. minister
93 Lobengula dies
96 R. resigns — advice
94 gas engine
98 Sp. American War
1900 Boxers
07
98 86-8 Kitchener
99 Tashoda

1900
1910
02 Rhodes dies
04 Kruger "
Victoria dies 01
01 R. Jab. war
1909 U of SA
Sp. Morocco

1910
1920

1920
1930

1930
1938

1940
1950

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

40-88-2

1877-78 Kaffir War — Cape Colony
1877 Brit. annex Walfish Bay S. W. Africa
1879 Zulu War vs Cetywayo — Afrikander Bond
Battle Isandhl. — Zulu War Jan
Rorke's Drift @ Ulundi July
Peace Aug 1 C captured
1880-81 1st Boer War — Majuba Hill
Gladstone yields + grants independence
1880 Dreams gradually segregated
1882 Boers ryf. South West
1883 Kruger Pres. — Luderitz in S W Afr + Germ Flag
1884 Bechuanaland + Rhodes
Boers seek outlet on east coast
1885 Bechuanaland + C Protectorate
1886 Gold on S. Transvaal
1887 Zululand annexed
1888 Rhodes dreaming monopoly
" Treaty with Lobengula
1889 B.S.Africa Co by Rhodes
1890 Rhodes Prime M of C Colony
1891 Jameson absorbs BSA Territory
1893 Kruger re-elected
BSA defeats Lobengula — he dies 1894
1895 Rhodes
1895 Jameson Raid
1896 Matabele war
1898 K. re-elected
1899-2 Boer War
1909 Union of S Africa

10 C
13 D
15 LA
17

K. 1825 46

L 1833 38

R 1833 — 71 areas [illegible] 1871 — 18

1871
1833
38

1871
1825
16

1652 – Dutch at Cape
1814 Cape & Britain by T. of Paris
1820 British colonists
1834 Emancipation — Kaffir wars
1835-7 Great Trek
1838 – Massacre of Dingaan — 3. defeated
Diamonds Gold

Kafferlan annexed
1870 war
Langalibalele
2nd Boer war

1840 Dingaan defeated by Umtshanda who accepted rule of Boers
1842 War of Boers & British in Natal — N British
1 Boers go north 1833 Lobengula b.
1843 Moosa & Britain
1844 British claim land between Orange & Vaal
1850 great Kaffir War in east Cape Col
1853 → 1852 British recognise independence of Transvaal R boers
1854 British withdraw from North of Orange river
O. Free state recognised
1856 S Afr. R. (Transvaal organised
1886 Surrender of Kolobeng
1867 Diamonds on Orange River
1868 Bird. annexe Basutoland
1871 Kimberley
Diamond region annexed by British
1875 Confederation London
1877 S.A. Republic annexed by British

41-10A-14

9	21	Harrison
1870	22	Treaty - Dreyfus Affair, McKinley Law (Harvard AB)
1	23	(germany)
2	24	Gladstone, (Hawaii annexed,
3	25	Cleveland, Chicago exhib.
4	26	Rosebery - Berlin Conference, Dreyfus, Nicholas II of Russia, China-Jap war, (Wilhelm II)
5	27	Salisbury - Jamison raid (Ph.D)
6	28	Balfour of Burleigh - (marriage) (V. of P.) - (Sec of S. Trade)
7	29	Khartoum Captured, McKinley (Bryan) (A.V.) (Child)
8	30	Fashoda, Dreyfus Spanish War, Hawaii (3 A.V. Conf. in Paris)

41-10A-12

1868	0	Gladstone annexed Disraeli - Vote of Negroes - Negro, Republic
1869	1	Suez Canal opened - 15th amendment - Grant
1870	2	France - Prussian War - Sedan
1871	3	Peace of Frankfort - 3rd Republic of France - Commune
2	4	
3	5	
4	6	Disraeli
5	7	
6	8	Harper
7	9	

Hungarian Nobles and German underlords
V.S "Bolsheviks"
Land reform called "Communism"
Hungary victim of Hapsburg
counter-revolution
industrial workers disfranchised
Agric. Labor & small-landholders "
Hungary is Roman not German
Thru Hapsburg bond to Italy
H. has been an Eastern struggling up West
must become Western pioneer of East
Huns & Avars Chiefs Cook (Hungarian forerunner
Onogurs
Christian king Skythians cavalry hard workers 60's
Spoke Latin until 1830
Slavs spoke Magyar
Half the land belonged to King; other
half to 120 nobles + Catholic Ch
Second land is PUSZTAS & Vast Cattle
Large estates - Turkey & Rice
Work from 3 a.m — Hungary
Cursed & Beaten
Women work at wells

41-10A-16

2 5>
328
>28

Saturday Jan 12

Horses Accounts

Circulate 4/ mullen

Prog. reading

Tunes

Acadofan Burgen Wesley

41-10A-17

C/N the 15th century ~~wood of what is now~~

Harvey that was Kenneson and Remy 15

London the Rule of the Tudor

By the Mass of the South West Shore, Hawkins

and Ed

& so the 16th Century wood of what is now

Burgen Arcadia Thomas was Protestant

Reformation and the Counter Reformation

Shook the Catholic forces

I have a feeling this would grant

& would compliment the Tudor [illegible] Kenneson

Kenneson Chen

Kenneson [illegible] of the Burgen wood

Cost of Golden entertainment

the debauchery of Castle

to Cast & Celestine & offend

Us Truth

X History / Modern

1526

	Britain	France	USA	WINDIES	INDIA
1600	James I	1610-42 Louis XIII 30yrs War	1607 Jamestown 1609 Bermuda 1620 Pilgrims 1631 R. Wms	1606 Plymouth & Quebec 1625-64 Fr. and W.I. Guadeloupe Martinique St Lucia 1627 Cardinal 1st Minister — Richelieu 1699 Louisiana	1 Akbar 1605
1650	25 / 49 } Charles I Beheaded 49 / 60 / 65 } Commonwealth Cromwell Charles II restored Habeas Corpus James II	1643 Anne of Austria Mazarin — 1661 Louis XIV 67-8 15 War 72-8 20 " 88-97 9 "	1651-73 Navigation Laws 1677-83 Lasalle 1681 Penn 1689-97 K. William's War		Mogul Empire 1657 Amritsar
1700	1689 William Mary 1702 Anne 1714 Treaty of Utrecht 1727 George I 1760 " II 1740-48 War of Austrian Succession 55-63 7 yrs War 1760 1770 Watt George III 1820 75-83 R. War	1715 97. Treaty of Ryswick 1701-14 War of Spanish Succession Grand Alliance UTRECHT Wesley 1763 Treaty of Paris 74/5 1740-8 War of Austrian Succession 1752-63 7 yrs War 1769 Estates General Battle of St Simon 1825 Steam	1710 Mobile 1701 Detroit 1743-8 K. George's War 1755-63 French & Indian War 1763 Pontiac	1707 1715 Eng. E. India Co 1746-8 War of Austrian Succession 1748-50 Eng-French wars 1757 PLASSEY 65-7 Clive 1772-4 Hastings 1784 Pitt's India Act	
1800			1765 Stamp Act 1776 Boston Massacre 1774 Continental Congress 1775-83 Rev. War 1776 Dec. of Ind. 1777 Articles of Confed. 1780 — Rochambeau 1781 Cornwallis		
1850	1869 Suez Canal	1852 Govt 1791 Legislative Assembly 1792 National Assembly 1793 Louis XVI Guillotined			
1900					

1956

GERMANY	Russia	Holland	Spain	Italy
1618 / 1648 30 yrs War T. of Westphalen	1613 Romanov 1689	1603 D. Earl Flanders Co 1621 D War 1522-4 Frank Anglo Dutch war 1665-67 2nd A Dutch war -68 Triple Alliance	1690 Ty Ryswyck Spain cedes Haiti	1683 Siege of Vienna
1710-14 War of Spanish Succ 1730-41 Frd. Wm I army 1740 / 1786 Frd the Great 1780-90 Joseph II	1 / 1725 Peter the Great 1741-62 Elizabeth 1756-63 7 yrs War 1762-96 Catherine the Great 1772 1st Partition of Poland 1793 2nd " " 1795 3rd " "	1702-13 War of Spanish Succession	Empress Philip V 1746 1755 Lisbon earthquake	
	1801 / 25 Alex I	1806-10 Louis Napoleon	1805 Trafalgar 1806 Joseph Napoleon K. of Spain 1807-8 John flees to Brazil	

	WORLD	BRITAIN	USA	NEGROES	STRIKES	GA.		Baldwin
1880	81 MAHDI 83 84-7 ITALY VS. ETHIOPIA 86 GOLD, S AFRICA RHODES PM. CAPE COL '90 FRANCE IN DAHOMEY KHALIFA 93 LOBENGULA DIES 94. CHINA-JAP WAR 95	80 GLADSTONE 85 SALISBURY 86 GLADSTONE SALISBURY '92 GLADSTONE 94 95	87. 9 arthur-ARTHUR 95 CLEVELAND 89 HARRISON 93 CLEVELAND 94 CIVIL SER. REFORM 95 CROSS of GOLD	DISF-MISS 90-Negroes To Miss, Ala, W. Va DISF. S.C. TURNER & SEN. MORGAN	ave 750 92 HOMESTEAD 94 COAL, PULLMAN			
1900	96 ADUA - MATABELE 97 FASHODA 98 SPANISH-AMER. WAR '99 } BOER WAR BOXERS '01 } BOXERS 02	SALISBURY '02 BALFOUR	97 McKINLEY 98 "OPEN DOOR" 97 STANDARD OIL GOLD STANDARD 01 T. ROOSEVELT 01 - U.S. STEEL	98 DISF.-LA 99 OLK. OPENED - TILLMAN 01, DISF-NC, ALA 02 " VA.	97 COAL ANTHRACITE '00 AVE - 1800 02 ANTHRACITE	Crawford Terrell		
1905	04 - RUSSO-JAP. WAR. 07 FRANCE IN MOROCCO 08, U. of S. AFRICA.	BANNERMAN	03 DEPRESSION 03 - RR REGULATION 04 TRUSTS MERGE 07 gentlemans agree mad with Japan 08 RECLAMATION		04 } TYPOGRAPHERS 06 } 05-AVE 250	SMITH JOE BROWN		
10	11 RACES CONG. - ACADIR 12 CHINESE REV. ITALY IN BALCANS 13 - TITANIC	Asquith	09 TAFT 11 IRRIGATION SW 13 WILSON 14 - TRUSTS	09 DISF-GA " OKL. 11 - ALA - DEBT PEONAGE UNCON		Smith Slaton Harris	31	Mayor Legwell
1915	14 1ST WORLD WAR 17. RUSSIAN REV 16	16 LLoyd-GEORGE	17 LITERACY TEST IMMIGRANTS 1 — WAR LIBERTY LOANS 18 19 WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE 20 - STODDARD 20 - PROHIBITION	17 - HOUSTON RIOT Migration North 18 MISS. FLOODS 19 - RED YEAR 19 - MESSENGER etc. GARVEY	16 R.R. TRAINMEN 16 ave 3789 17 - 8 HR. LAW 17 - ave 4450	Dorsey 17-21 " Dorsey		WW Log
1920	21 MUSSOLINI RIFF 22 CHINA CIVIL WAR - IRISH FS. 24 LENIN DIES 25 SUN YAT SEN DIES	21 JAP ALLIANCE FALLS 22 } BONAR-LAW 23 } BALDWIN 24 } MACDONALD 24 BALDWIN	21 HARDING 21 IMMIGRATION LIMITED - 3% 1910 23 COOLIDGE 24 IMMIGRATION 2% 24 Jap "Gent" stopped	27 TEX WHITE PRIMARY UNCONST 27. MISS. FLOODS 29	21 - Ov. 2381 22 COAL MINERS VICTORY ave 1300	Hardman 21-23 Walker 23-5 Walker Hardman (27-31	WATSON, Sen 20-2	20-22 gov (39) '23 Semlon (31
1930	HAILE SELASSIE 31 - JAP. in MANCHURIA	29 } MACDONALD 31 MACDONALD	29 Hoover	36 - MISS.-OHIO	FLOODS ave 653	Russell 31-3		
1935	ITALY IN ETHIOPIA	BALDWIN 37 CHAMBERLAIN	33 F.D.R. NRA CCC AAA PWA TVA		36 } SIT DOWN 37 } AUTO	Talmadge 33-7 Rivers '37 -		35 (53)
1940	39 WORLD WAR II	39 CHURCHILL		41 - LA - WHITE PRIM. UNCONST				

					17-18 ROLL WRWIL 17 NY PROTEST PARADE 17 E. ST. LOUIS 17 HOUSTON	AD N 100 387	LYNCH 65	
						- 85-376	64	
						- 124-514	61	
						- 169-508	28	
						- 177-377		
							18	
						293-[illegible]	34	
						157-443	18	
						157-1277	10	
						270-1591	12	
						2C0-2077	23	
						FLOODS	11	
						2[illegible]-170	8	
							26	
							16	
							24	
							10	

41-2-117
SULTAN VERTICAL FILE FOLDER
A product of Wilson-Jones Co. U. S. A.
9½ x 11¾ 152 LB
Marshallfile

Historical Sketch - Du Bois

England	Dutch	Egypt Mohammed Ali Sudan conquest	Ethiopia	French Africa	Germans	B. W. Africa
1820						'24 1st Ashanti war
'23 Khartoum				'30 Algiers annexed		
30						
40						
50		'54 Suez Canal Concession	'55-68 Theodore			
55-9 Great Lakes	Livingston				'60 Germans on Cameroons	
60 '64 Baker & the Nile						
70		'69 Say opened				
'71-84 Stanley '71-'90 Cecil Rhodes		'74-79 Gordon in Sudan '76 Condominium	'72-89 Johannes			'73 2nd Ashanti War
80		'81 Mahdi '82 Alexandria Bombarded '83 Cromer + Defeat of Hicks by Mahdi		'81 Tunis annexed '83 Dahomey	'84 Togoland & Cameroons	
		'85 Mahdi takes Khartoum Khalifa	'89-1911 Menelek	'90 French Dahomey		
90		'96 Kitchener				'93 3rd Ashanti War
		'98 Battle of Omdurman				'95 4th Ashanti War
		'98 Fashoda	'96 Battle of Adua	'98 Crisis bet. French + British		'98 Crisis bet. French + British
		'99 Death of Khalifa	'98 Ethiopian force on the Nile	'99 Agreement of Ashoda		'99 Agreement of Ashoda
1900						00 Ashanti Rebellion
		'02 Aswan dam	'02 Menelek abandons Nile	'01 French in Morocco		01 Ashanti annexed
10						

27NOV. --THE TUSKEGEE MACHINE

1904 -- 15 CONSCIOUS & UNCONSCIOUS ORGANIZATION; DELIBERATE
FORCE OF CIRCUMSTANCES EMMET SCOTT

CASTE TO CLASS; IGNORANCE OF MARX

SOUTHERH APPOINTMENTS; T. ROOSEVELT? 1904: THE ALABAMA JUDGE
LUNCHEON
1906: BROWNSVILLE; ATLANTA RIOT

TAFT? I~~X~~X 1908: INAUGURAL; BILL LEWIS; JUDGE TERRELL
WILSON: 1908
LYNCHING: CLIMAX OF 1892

SEGREGATION: HOUSING; RAILROADS; PULLMANS

JOBS: POLITICAL; TEACHERS; HEADS OF COLLEGES (WILL BENSON)
KELLY MILLER; CRUM; CHARLES ANDERSON

INDUSTRY: JOBS: (HUNTINGTON) INDUSTRY & EDUCATION
AGRICULTURE & EDUCATION

NEGRO BUSINESS LEAGUE

PHILANTHROPY: CARNEGIE; WILLS

PUBLICITY: AGE; FREEMAN; GAZETTE; CONSERVATOR; GUARDIAN; CRISIS
NEW NEGRO

SCIENCE: ATLANTA CONFERENCES, 1896-1910

ORGANIZED OPPOSITION: NIAGARA MOVEMENT; NAACP.? AFRO-AMERICAN COUNCIL
COMMITTEE OF TWELVE

CASTE CHANGES TO CLASS

DEC. ~~X~~ 4, CASTE

II CLASS

I8 INTER-RACIAL

44-3-264

Psychology

Hungary — Royalty
Aristocracy - Esterhazy
Land Monopoly

Status × Privilege × Common consent
Income — Power — Slavery

The Black Flame

+ The Order of Manasseh
++ Mamed Manasseh College

The Bullet Passes
of a Child C.

30-6-16

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE.
Appropriations cut down
Wages lowered and poorer teachers preferred
Neglect in supervision
No voice in management
Double taxation for equipment and private schools
Not 50 of children 6 - 14 learning to read and write

ATLANTA AND NEW ORLEANS.

NUMBER OF NEGRO FARM OWNERS
has increased 81% in 20 years
and 17% in 10 years
Value in 10 years 140%
Own 15-2/3 acres of land or Bavaria or Portugal.

NEGRO FARMERS HAVE INCREASED 20%
and WHITE FARMERS 10%.

THE CRISIS
ASSUMPTIONS
DIVIDENDS
LABOR
RECONSTRUCTION
- Education
- Votes
- Land
- Social reform

THE DEMAND
THE GREAT SURRENDER
- The helpless
- The south
- Labor

THE EFFECT
- Lawlessness
- Caste
- Education
- Work
- Property

Votes
civil rights
Travel

SEGREGATION
THE FIGHT
THE SUPPRESSION
CONTAGION
THE WORLD
- The races congress
- Japan
- China
- The Indians
- Indians abroad
- South Africa
- West Africa
- North Africa
- Egypt
- West Indies
- America

POWER OF WHITE RACE
ALLIANCE OF LABOR
THE ALTERNATIVE
- Political power
- Industrial democracy
- Social respect

30-6-12

Alexander Pushkin
Dumas
Frederick Douglass
Coleridge Taylor
Booker T. Washington

The Negro population of the U.S.

South:	10.208,000
North Central	2,134,000
Northeastern	1,975,000
Western	576,000
	14893000

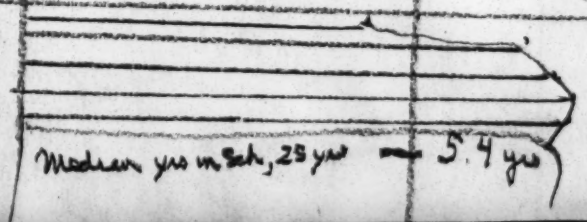
80-6-18

Occupations of Non-white

Kinds of occupations	Florida % of employed	Alabama STATE	Alabama FARM
Professional & technical	3.1	3,5	4.9
Farmers & managers	2.9	15.3	15.7
Managers & proprietors	1.6	1.1	0.3
Clerical	1.0	1.0	0.2
Sales	1.1	0.9	0.3
Craftsmen & foremen	3.8	4.1	0.1
Operators	14.1	17.6	1.6
Private household service	17.9	16.1	17.0
House service, except private	13.7	9.6	2.7
Unpaid family farm labor	1.1	7.3	43.9
Farm labor, except unpaid family	18.3	6.5	10.9
Laborers, except farm & mine	20.0	13.6	0.3
Not reported	1.3	1.5	2.6
Class of worker			
Private wage & salary	85.4	68.6	34.6
Government	6.6	6.3	5.1
Self employed	6.8	17.7	16.7
Unpaid farm labor	1.2	7.4	43.6
INCOME, annual Non-white families, [illegible]		253,465 reporting	
Less than $500		35.	56
$500 to 999		19.6	22.2
$1000- 1499		14.3	11.7
$1500- 2499		11.8	5.1
$2500 & over		9.6	2.7 ?
Median		$882.	ALA

Negroes in Alabama

1880 - 600,003
1900 - 900,282
1920 - 944,834
1940 - 983,290
1950 - 979,617



	1940	1950
urban	42	46
rural	58	54

Jefferson Deborah

Background of African Liberation Struggles

History

African World of Eastern

Nile valley

Sudan, West

" Sudan East

West Africa

French Africa

Spanish

Congo

Portugese

S.W. Africa

U of S.A.

Madagascar

Great Lakes

E. Africa

Mozambique

Transkei

Bechuanaland

Ethiopia

Egypt

✳ 1200–1850

BC 1000 Bantu SpA
O–Hollow Axe above Great Lakes N in West Africa Congo
AB 600–SOUTH

BC 1000 S&E

AD 500–ZY
1000–12

DATE	NILE	EUROPE	British Empire	BANTU	SOUTH AF
1200					
1300				INVADE ZAMBESI	
1400				KHOI-KOIN	
1500					1497 - DA GAMA P. Lourenço
1600					
1700					MONOMOTA P
1750				75 Herero + Damara in SWA GRICQUAS	
1800	05 M. ALI G of Egypt		↑ GLADSTONE		
	SUDAN Conquest 20	'15 Waterloo		KHAMA	
1825					
		46 U.S. War with Mexico	33 Abol. Slavery 37 VICTORIA		
1850	M. Ali dies	49 Cal. Gold rush	↑ LIVINGSTONE		
		54 Crimean War			

BA
MBABWE
ROAD
Gold

900 ZENDJI
900-BANTU in 3 groups

CENTRAL	XOSA KAFFIRS ZULU	MATABELE	BOERS	RHODES
ECHUANA	NGUNI			
KILWA				
	Zuida			
ZINBAS				
CABIRES				
			52 DUTCH @ GOOD HOPE	
PA	NGUNI in Natal		56 Hollentot wars	
	02 Xosa cross Kei			
TAO	83 Chaka born		Slavery	
	75 Xosa @ Fish		Hollentot Matabele to Orange	
	79 " drum across Fish		77 Xosa cross Fish	
	06 Dingiswayo		79-95 DUTCH-KAFFIR WARS	
			95 British win Cape	
			02 Cape & English	
			05 English seize Cape	
Bechuana	CHAKA (ZULUS)			
asutoes		20 MOSILIKATZE leave Tchaka	20-21 5000 Emig	
echuanas flee from MOSILEKATZE	24 dies		Kruger born	
		28 UMGEL, North "Path of Blood"	37 end Fight	
MOSHESH	DINGAAN ENG-KAFFIR 37-5 War 38-Blood Rivers £300,000	33 LOBENGULA BORN		
	40 dies	36 Defeated by BOERS under RHODESIA	GREAT TREK 37	43 British claim Orange & Vaal
	PANDA	96 War of Aix £1,500,000		53 BORN Rhodes
	56 SUICIDE			50-3 Build Kaffir wars

11 6 English Kaffir War
16
18

30/17-1 DEAED

[GOLD]

[HG - 690-

31-17-2

GOLD

610 BC - PHARAH NECHO - 690 -
AD -

800 - ARABS — INDIANS

930 - SOFALA

1000-1500 ZYMBABWE

1200 - KILWA

1000-1500 BANTU — 1150 GHANA

1300 IBN BATUTA

1400 - MONOMOTAPA

1500 PORTUGUESE - PRESTER JOHN

1602 DUTCH EAST INDIA Co 1652

1688 FRENCH

1500 HOTTENTOTS

1600 XOSA

1750 ORANGE RIVER

BUSHMEN

1814 T. of PARIS

25-50 — KAFFIR WARS

1820 BRITISH AT CAPE

25 KRUGER

1834 SLAVERY ABOLISHED

33 LOBENGULA

KAFFIRS IN EAST

1810-28 CHAKA

52 SAND RIVER

1835 - GREAT TREK

53 RHODES BORN

1828-34 DINGAAN

1956 - KAFFIR SUICIDE

70 LOBANGULA KILLED

1871 - LIVINGSTONE DIES — 67 DIAMONDS
71 KIMBERLY

1877 S. AFRICAN R. annexed

1879 CETEWAYO

1880-1 BOER WAR — INDEPENDENCE

1884-5 BECHUANALAND

1888 - MATABELE -

~~1889 B.S. AFRICA Co~~

I
83

1921 Second Pan-African Congress
1924 Third Pan-African Congress
1927 Fourth Pan-African Congress
1945 Fifth Pan-African Congress
1957 Sixth Pan-African Congress (All-Africa Congress)

African Independence 1950 -

Chronology of India

1500 B. C.	Hindus in the valley of Ganges Vedic literature, Brahmanism, caste
623-543 B. C.	Buddha
327 B. C.	Invasion of Alexander the Great
363-226 B. C.	Asoka Buddhism restored
78 B. C. - 470 A. D.	Invasion of Scythians and Guptas
480-722 A. D.	Valabhis
710-750	Mohammedan invasion begins
1000-1186	The Sultans of Ghasni
1024	The Turks
1186-1206	Afghans
1206-1388	Mohammedans and Monguls
1118-1565	Vijayanagar, Hindu kingdom in southern India
1348-1525	The Bahmani Sultans and other dynasties
1498	Vasco da Gama at Calcutta
1505	First Portuguese governor
1526-1761	Mogul Empire Akbar the Great (1556-1605) Hindu Empire and Mohammedan kingdoms
1500-1600	Portuguese monopolize trade
1600	Dutch, English and French appear
1660	English East Indian Company incorporated
1658-1707	Aurangzeb, Mogul Emperor The Mahrattas

1665	The English in Bombay
1719-1795	Muhammad Shah
1748-1755	Ahmad Shah Invasions of Afghans
1764-1759	Mahrattas capture Delhi and overthrow Moguls
1751-1754	War of English and French in India
1756-1763	Seven Years War in Europe
1756	The Black Hole of Calcutta
1756	Battle of Plassy and Clive
1760	Defeat of French
1771	Famine
1772-1785	Warren Hastings
1786	English viceroys
1817-1818	Last Mahratta war
1839	Afghan war
1857	Mutiny and end of Mogul Empire
1873	Victoria, Empress of India
1909	The Indian Councils Act
1914	World War
1917	The Motagu Declaration
1918	War Conference at Delhi
1919	The Rowlett Acts The Slaughter at Amritsar
1920	Gandhi and non-cooperation
1923	Swaraj or Home Rule
1928	The Simon Commission
1935	The New Constitution

40-8K-2

Asiatic Culture

Japan

40-8K-3

Buddhism

Emperor Tenji

Nara

Kyoto

Fujiwara Family

Flower viewing

Kamakura Shogunate

Ashikaga Amarchy

The Great Triumvirate

Tokugawa Shogunate

Commodore Perry

Emperor Meiji

1894-Sino-Japanese War

Liaotung Peninsula

Russo-Japanese War

Emperor Taisho

Emperor Hirohito

Manchurian Incident

Second Sino-Japanese War

30-17-3
1862 - MTE

30-17-3

1862 - MTESA → MWANGA - HANNINCTON '85

1868 - SUEZ CANAL

1870 - SEDAN — 1886 - GOLD (83)

1888 - DIAMOND MONOPOLY — MATABELE'

1890 - RHODES PRIME MINISTER

'85 BRITISH S.A Co

1893 - MATABELE WAR (93)

1895 - RHODESA

1883-99 - MAHDI

1896 - MATABELE REBELLION

1895-6 — JAMESON RAID

1899-02 - BOER WAR (98)

02 RHODES dies

1908 - U.S AFRICA (09 KRUGER dies)

1516	Fifteen Negroes assist Balboa
1522	Three hundred Negroes accompany Cortez in his conquest of Mexico
1526	Negroes accompany Vasques D'Ayllon in his attempt to settle Carolina and revolt
1538	Steven Dorantes (Estevanico) a Negro discovers Arizona and New Mexico
1619	First Negroes landed at Jamestown
1704	The Neau school in New York for Negroes and Indians
1712	Negro plot in New York
1740	South Carolina insurrection of Cato at Stono
1743	Toussaint L'Ouverture born
1750	George Leile, missionary born
1750	Benezet school in Philadelphia for Negroes and Indians
1767	James Derham, first Negro American physician born
1770	Crispus Attucks dies as first Martyr of the Revolution
1784	African Lodge of Masons set up
1785	First colored church organized, Williamsburg, Va.
1786	New York Free African School
1787	Allen and Jones withdraw from the Methodists in Philadelphia
1791	Hayti revolts
1796	Varick forms the A. M. E. Zion church in New York
1800	Revolt of Gabriel in Virginia
1807	Slave trade prohibited
1807	Bell, Franklin and Liverpool reect a Colored school in District of Columbia
1808	Prince Hall Colored Grand Lodge, F. and A. M., founded
1810	Ira Aldridge born

41-9-326

1810	Thomy Lafon, colored Catholic Philanthropist born in New Orleans
1816	First Conference of the A. M. E. Church in Philadelphia
1817	Frederick Douglas born
1818	St. Phillips P. E. Church, N. Y. founded
1818	Alexander Crummell born
1821	First Conference of the A. M. E. Zion, New York
1822	Revolt of Denmark Vesey in South Carolina
1827	FREEDOM'S JOURNAL, First American Negro newspaper issued
1829	Mexico abolishes slavery
1831	Nat Turner's revolt of slaves in Virginia
1837	Pennsylvania Institute for Colored youths now Cheney Institute, established
1839	Mutiny of the slaves on the "Amistad" slave ship
1841	A. M. E. Church Magazine, founded
1843	Peter Ogden founds the Colored Odd Fellows in New York
1844	Methodists separate on account of slavery
1846	"Knights of Liberty" founded by Negroes
1846	American Missionary Association, organized
1847	Frederick Douglas established a newspaper, "The North Star"
1851	Uncle Tom's Cabin published
1852	John E. Matzeliger, inventor of shoes basting by machinery, born
1853	First colored Y. M. C. A. at Washington, D. C.
1856	Wilberforce founded
1857	Dred Scott decision
1858	Booker T. Washington born
1859	John Brown's Raid

41-9-327

1861	Mary S. Peake, a colored teacher, founds Hampton
1862	Slavery abolished in the District of Columbia
1862	First colored troops of the Civil War enlisted in South Carolina
1863	Fort Wagner stormed by Negro troops
1863	Emancipation Proclamation
1864	Knights of Pythians founded in District of Columbia
1864	Assault on Petersburg by Negro troops
1864	54th Mass. regiment of Negro troops formed
1864	Free public schools open to Negroes established in the District of Columbia and Louisiana
1864	Stephen Smith founds Home for Aged and Inform Colored people in Philadelphia
1865	Freedmen's Bureau established
1865	Thirteenth Amendment passed
1866	First Civil Rights bill passed
1868	W. S. Braithwaithe born
1868	Fourteenth Amendment passed
1868	W. E. B. DuBois born
1870	Fifteenth Amendment passed
1870	H. R. Revels elected to United States Senate from Mississippi
1870	Colored M. E. Church founded at Jackson, Tenn.
1872	Paul Lawrence Dunbar born
1873	Emmett J. Scott born
1875	Second Civil Rights Bill passed
1875	B. K. Bruce elected to U. S. Senate from Mississippi
1882	Slater fund of $1,000,000 for Negro education established

41-9-328

1888	Daniel Hand fund of $1,500,000 for Negro education established
1890	Mississippi disfranchises Negroes
1896	South Carolina disfranchises Negroes
1898	Louisiana disfranchises Negroes
1900	National Negro Business League organized
1901	Alabama disfranchises Negroes
1901	Virginia disfranchises Negroes
1902	P. McKee, a colored man gives $1,000,000 for education
1907	Jeanes Fund established
1908	Georgia disfranchises Negroes
1909	R. E. Peary and M. A. Henson, a Negro, discover the North Pole
1909	N. A. A. C. P. founded
1910	CRISIS first issued
1910	Oklahoma disfranchises Negro
1914	Black troops enter the Great War
1917	First Black American troops appear on the Western Front
1917	Seven hundred Negro Officers commissioned
1918	Negro Soldiers in France decorated for bravery

41-9-329

NATIONAL PARTY PLATFORMS

Kirk H. Porter

RECON.

1872. Labor Reform Platform

No mention of the Negro; but a protest against Chinese Labor.

1888. Union Labor Platform. No mention of the Negro.

Exclusion of Chinese demanded.

1892. Socialist Labor Party.

LYNCHING

Universal suffrage without regard to color.

1996. Socialist Labor Platform.

Universal suffrage without regard to color.

POPULISM

1900. Social Democratic Platform.

Wage workers without distinction of color urged to join.

1900. Socialist Labor Platform.

No Mention of the Negro.

1904. Socialist Platform.

No mention of the Negro.

1904. Socialist Labor Platform.

No mention of the Negro.

1908. Socialist Platform.

No mention of the Negro.

1908. Socialist Labor Platform.

No mention of the Negro.

SEGREGATION

ST LOUIS

1912. Socialist Platform.

No mention of the Negro.

ROOSEVELT

1912. Socialist Labor Platform.

No mention of the Negro.

WACO SEGREGATION

1916. Socialist Platform.

No mention of the Negro.

1916. Socialist Labor Platform

No mention of the Negro.

1920. Socialist Platform.

Congress should enforce the provisions of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments with reference to the Negroes and effective federal legislation should be enacted to secure to the negroes full civil, political, industrial and educational rights.

1924. La Follette's Platform.

No mention of the Negro.

1924. Socialist Labor Platform.

No mention of the Negro.

* 1928 — DISFRANCHISEMENT *

SUPREME CT.

PHILANTHROPY

BOURGEOIS

BLACK LABOR WORLD

ENGLISH LABOR

FRENCH "

MY SOCIALISM

DOAK

46-1-4

STUPIDITY

NEGRO THREAD

COTTON - SUGAR - TOBACCO
RICE

REVOLT - EMANCIPATION

WHITE LABOR (A)

LYNCHING 4000 - 255 - 1893

SEGREGATION 1912 - 16

CASTE

A.F.L. — SOCIALISTS.

1920

1928

SUPREME COURT

14th AM. — SCHOOLS

8-1-46

STUPID

NEGRO THREAD

COTTON - SUGAR - TO.

EMANCIPATION

LYNCHING -
EDUCATION
GHETTO
CASTE

DISFRANCHISEMENT

WHITE LABOR - A. B

A.F. of L.

SOCIALISTS.

World

DATE	ENTRY
1894	Nicholas II
1894-5	Sino-Japanese War
1894-6	Armenian Massacres
1896	Victoria's 60th Jubilee
1896	Adua
1896-99	Turkish-Greek War
1898-99 (1893)	Dreyfus Case
1898	Khartoun Fashoda
1899-1902	South African War
1900	Boxers
1901	Edward VII
1904	Second International at Amsterdam
1906	Algeciras
1907	Triple Entente
1911	Agadair
1911-12	Italian-Turkish War
1914	World War

32-12-2

DATE	ENTRY
1894	Nicholas II
1894-5	Sino-Japanese War
1894-6	Armenian Massacres
1896	Victoria's 60th Jubilee
1896	Adua
1896-99	Turkish-Greek War
1898-99 (1893)	Dreyfus Case
1898	Khartoun Fashoda
1899-1902	South African War
1900	Boxers
1901	Edward VII
1904	Second International at Amsterdam
1906	Algeciras
1907	Triple Entente
1911	Agadair
1911-12	Italian-Turkish War
1914	World War

32-12-3

AMERICA, 1894-1944

DATE	ENTRY
1894	Cleveland's second term Silver had been demonetized Wilson-Gorman Tariff (August) Coxey's Army (May '93) Pullman Strike Election; overwhelming Republican victory Morgan Bond-Purchase
1895	Income Tax unconstitutional
1895-99	Venezuela
1896	Election Free Silver McKinley against Bryan Hanna seven million slush fund
1897	Dingley Tariff Trusts
1898	Hawaii Annexed
1898	Spanish American War
1899	Phillipines
1899	Hague Conference Open-door in China Boxers
1900	Election McKinley and Roosevelt against Bryan Imperialism
1901	T. Roosevelt President Trusts
1902	Platt Amendment, Cuba
1902	Conservation
1902	Miners Strike, John Mitchell "Square Deal"
1903	Northern securities
1904	Roosevelt elected
1904-5	Russo-Japanese War
1904-7	"Big Stick"

DATE	ENTRY
1904-11	"Muck-rakers"
1904-14	Panama Canal
1906	Hepburn Bill and Railroads
1907	Second Hague Conference Gentleman's agreement with Japan
1908	Election of Taft
1908-10	Roosevelt tours the world Progressives La Follette Woman Suffrage Municipal reform Socialism
1909	Payne-Aldridge Tariff
1910	Democrats control House Progressives and La Follette
1910-20	Automobiles, airplanes, submarines and wireless
1912	Bull Moose Woodrow Wilson elected Democrats in full power
1913	Underwood Tariff (958 reductions) "Watchful waiting" Income Tax Federal Reserve
1914	Clayton anti-trust bill Smith-Lever Reaction in elections Vera Cruz
1914-18	World War
1915	Lusitania (May) Ford's Peace Ship (December)
1916	Wilson re-elected Threat of railway strike
1916	Villa
1916-22	San Domingo, Haiti and Virgin Islands

32-12-5

DATE	ENTRY
1917	Russian Revolution (March) United States enters war (April 6) Draft (May 28) United States takes Railways (December)
1918	The 14 points Immigration drops from a million to one hundred thousand.
1919	Wilson in Europe League of Nations Treaty rejected
1919	Strikes coal strike
1920	Lusk Laws
1920	Harding elected
1920	Inflation
1920	Prohibition
1921	Immigration limited Coal strike Washington's Conference, Naval holiday European debts
1922	Fordney-McComber high tariff
1923	Harding dies
1924	Coolidge elected
1924-28	Prosperity Farmers in distress
1927-8	Veto of Farm Bills Mexico and Nicaraugua
1927-9	The Briand-Kellog Peace Pact
1928	Sixth Pan American Congress
1928	Election Smith against Hoover Hoover elected Solid South revolts
1929	Farm Loan
1929	Market Breaks (Oct.)

32-12-6

1930	London Naval treaty
1930	Hawley-Smoot high tariff
1930-32	Crisis grows worse
1932	Reconstruction Finance Coperation Treasure deficit
1932	Election of F.D. Roosevelt Banks fail Ten million unemployed Farms foreclosed
1933	Prohibition ends Emergency Banking Bill Economy Bill New Deal Emergency A. A.A. T. V. A. Gold reduced 50 per cent Relief N. I. R. A. Business codes Protection of Unions Brain Trust Russia recognized
1936	Roosevelt re-elected
1939	Second World War

32-12-7

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

1894-1944

1890-1910	Disfranchisement
1895	Washington at Atlanta
1895	Caste Laws
1896-1905	Dunbar and Chestnut
1898	Segregation in cities
1898	Coleridge-Taylor
1903-1933	Music Hayes Dett Still
1899	Business League
1905	Niagara Movement
1906	Brownsville
1909	N.A.A.C.P
1911	Race Congress Rosenwald Y.M.C.A.
1915-18	Negro Migration Riots
1915-28	Renaissance
1917	Draft
1926	Van Vechten
1916-36	Drama
1925-35	Painting and sculpture
1938	Gaines decision
1944	White Primary decision

82-12-4

1894 - 1914

32 - 10 - 10

The World

Labor — Russia, 2nd Italy
Imperialism — Fashoda — Reims
Asia — Russo Japan
Africa — S Africa
Race — Boxers — Dreyfus
World War — Balkans — Edw VII
Agadir

America

Wealth & Labor
Imperialism
Square deal
Muckraker

Japan
Gentlemen
Caribbean
war
Wilson

Race & Feud
War
Industrial
depression

The Negro

Disfranchised
Caste
Afro-American
League

Exclusion
War
Africa

My self

Lynchings

1889 94 99 04 09 14 19 24 29 34 39

125
100
75
50
25
0

~~Lynchings of Negroes~~

1890 Disfranchisement movs.
1895 - SC
1898 - La
1900 N.C.
1901 - Va - Ala
1907 Ga
1910 Okla

1895 13 TW & Atlanta
1899 Buffalo League
1905 NM
1909 NAACP
1915-18 - 50000 Negroes migrate
Rich & St L. - 1916
Chicago
D.C.

1896 Dunbar.
1887 - 1905 Chesnutt
1898 Coleridge-Taylor
Dunbar
Cook
Johnson

1898 Segregation in cities

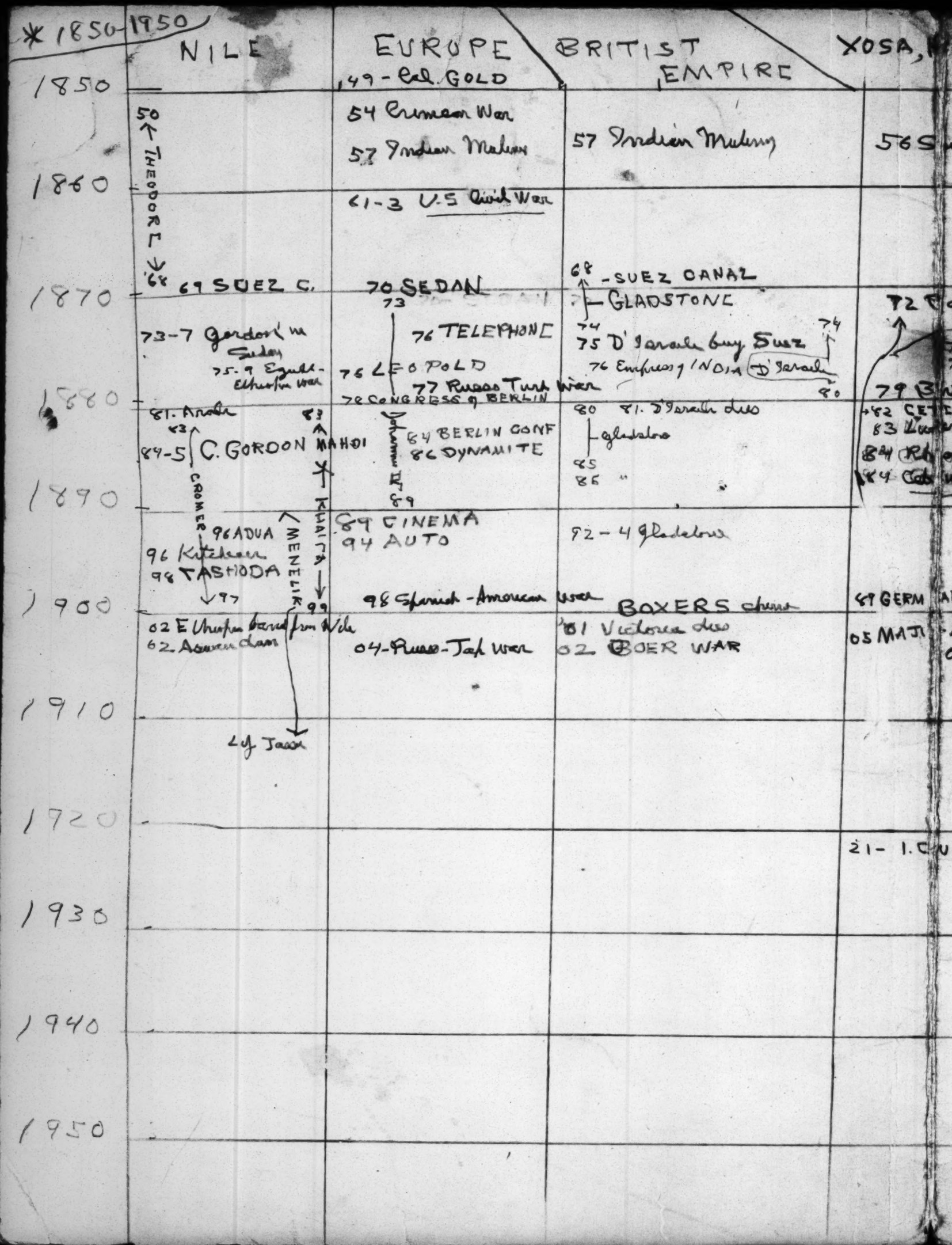
1895 -
Jim Crow travels,
1906 Brownsville
1911 Race Congress
1911 Kenwood & M.C.A.
Ascends in 3 T.W.
8th Ill.
Negro Read

1938 games over

~~58~~
40
4132
75
116.32

4369
4132
237

32-10-11


* 1850-1950
NILE
EUROPE
BRITIST EMPIRE
XOSA,
1850
1860
1870
1880
1890
1900
1910
1920
1930
1940
1950
49 - Cal. GOLD
54 Crimean War
57 Indian Mutiny
61-3 U.S Civil War
50 THEODORE
68
69 SUEZ C.
70 SEDAN
68 - SUEZ CANAL
GLADSTONE
73-7 Gordon in Sudan
75-9 Egypt-Ethiopian War
73
76 TELEPHONE
75 D'Israeli buy Suez
76 Empress of INDIA
D'Israeli
74
76 LEOPOLD
77 Russo Turk War
78 CONGRESS of BERLIN
80
81. Arabi
83
84-5
C. GORDON
MAHDI
Johannes IV
64 BERLIN CONF
80 81. D'Israeli dies
Gladstone
85
86
CROMER
KHALIFA
89 CINEMA
94 AUTO
96 ADUA
96 Kitchener
98 FASHODA
97
99
92 - 4 Gladstone
98 Spanish-American war
BOXERS
WENELIK
02 Ethiopia defeat from Italy
02 American dam
04 Russo-Jap war
01 Victoria dies
02 BOER WAR
69 GERM
05 MAJI
21 - I.C.U
Lg Jaffa

KAFFIRS ZULU,	MATABELI	BOERS	RHODES
SUICIDE		22 Sand River Convention	53 BORN
62 MTESA		65 Basuto War 67 DIAMONDS - Griqualand	65 Indaba STAR of AFRICA - $125,000
Flanda dies Catewayo 77 ULUNDI 77 B. of W. Africa boy	66 DIES LOBENGULA annexes UMSHLIGWATSI attacks North	Burleigh claims Kimberley 77 Kruger VP SA Republic annexed by Britain	(71 Livingstone dies) at KIMBERLY $100 week 73 OXFORD
Ritual - Zulu War	Z. Britain Pro	80=1 BOER WAR 83 Kruger Pres SA Independence	80 Diamond industry organized 81 Degree @ Oxford
CETEWAYO Cetewayo dies, Dinizulu succeeds Umbandine dies	84 Gun War 84 Basutoland Prot. 88 RUDD CONCESSION 89 B.S. Afrca Co	86 GOLD	88 Diamond Monopoly PRIME MINISTER
	93 Lobengula dies 95 RHODESIA 96 M. Rebellion 95-6 Jameson Raid	93 K. reelected fights Machona 98 K. reelected K leases S Africa 1900 99 02 BOER WAR 04 K. dies	96 resigns 02 - DIES
MAN C.M MAGI 06 Zulu rebellion	99 NWANCA defeated	06 BOTHA Boer rebellion	
CU			

1870
1883
37

Grady

1850 born

1868 grad. U of G - 18

1879 grad of C. Hill - 29

1884 N Y sheet - 34

1889 Died

39

Watson

26-82-3 Legislature

35-7 91-3 Congress

V A. Purcell

'78 - 28 yrs old

80 — 30 ~ . Mamie

32-12-38

32-12-41

Inventions

Air-brake	I869
Air-plane	I903
Auto	I896
Internal engine	I877
Movies	I895
Phonograph	I877-87
Radio	I895
Telephone	I878

Operas

Aida	I871
L'Africaine	I865
Carmen	I875, N.Y. I879
Faust	I859, N.Y. I863

Floods

I927	Miss.	20,000 sq. mi.
I937	Miss.	900 killed
I938	New England	$500,000

per cent did not vote. Order No. 5,039 dated January 3 was shipped today. Traim No. 509 arrived at 185th Street at 10.40 p. m.

Our records show that the freight about which you ask in your letter of Fe Feb ruary 20. was billed to Messrs. H Jones and Smith, 1050 West 20th Street

To Christopher Lathan Sholes, who was born on Columbia County, Pe Pennsylvanian on February 14, 1819, foes the honor of being the central figure in the invention oa the dirst practical typewriter. The naming of the typewriter had been quote as long a job as the evolution os the machine itself. Shiles may not have expected to revolutionize weiting, yet h knea that the correct naming of hes inve inventuin was imporyant. He called it a Atype-writer.

31-2-2

THE TINE: the winter of the year 1866 -67.

THE PKEACE: JUST A LITTLE NACHINE shop in the quietly outskirts of the city of Milwaukee,

THE SCENE: three middle aged man, each quietly working on hes pet invention but ex pecting little nore then a small measure of fame or fortune.

THE TIMEP the winter of the year 1yyyyyyy66 1866-67.
THE PLACE: JUST A LOTTLE just a little machine shap in the outskirts of the city of Milwautee.

[illegible] landed me at the Cooper reunion
Du Bois family
fff ddd jjj kkk fff ddd jjj kkk fff ddd jjj kkk fff ddd jjj kkk fff ddd jjj kk
fff ddd jjj kkk fff ddd jjj kkk fff ddd jjj kkk fff ddd jjj kkk fff ddd jj
fff ddd jjj kkk fff ddd jjj kkk fff ddd jjj kkk f dddd kkk ddd sss jjj kkk
ffff dddd jjj kkk fff ddd jjj kkk fff fddd jjj kkk fff dddd jjjj kkk fff ddd jjj
fffff ddd jjjj kkk f ff dddd jjjj kkk f ddddjjjj kkkkk fffff ddd j
fffff

Sir Boas

This merry bit of entrail to you. Three hundred years ago Stayed at New Paltz N.Y. (Esopus) visited Dec 9 June 1770 from N.Y. City there? century homes built by the Huguenots; this house has the identical "Berghead Du Bois" and I also met a widowed woman a Mrs Du Bois

Table 20- Children of each sex, 10–17 years of age engaged in each selected occupation, classified by years of age, for cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more: 1920

City and Occupation	Both sexes	Males						Female					
		Total	10–13 years	14 years	15 years	16 years	17 years	Total	10–13 years	14 years	15 years	16 years	17 years
ATLANTA, GA.													
All occupations	6,278	3,915	426	528	713	1046	1,202	2363	122	178	397	783	883
Agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry (all ages)	31	26	1	3	5	8	9	5	2	----	1	-----	2
Extracting of minerals (all ages)	2	2	---	---	---	1	1	---	---	---	---	-----	-----
Manufacturing & mech. ind.	1,771	1,231	49	109	238	392	443	540	16	50	105	188	181
Apprentice (bldg & hand trades)													
machine apprentices													
Other apprentices (hand)													
Apprentices, other													
Laborers (make otherwise spec.):													
Building, general, not spec.													
Iron & steel industries													
other industries													
Painters, glaziers, varnishers etc.													
Semiskilled operatives, not spec.:													
Candy factories													
Cotton mills													
Iron & steel ind.													
printing and publishing													
other industries													
All other occupations:													
Transportation	592	428	36	53	59	132	148	164	1	3	21	66	73
Chauffeurs													
Firemen, (steam), Express.													
Laborers (transportation)													
Telegraph messengers													
Telegraph operators													
Telephone operators													
all other occupations													
Trade	843	641	108	80	108	152	193	202	7	9	42	68	76
Clerks in stores													
Delivery men													
Laborers, porters and helpers in stores													
Newsboys													
Salesmen & saleswomen (stores)													
All other occupations													
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	71	66	2	9	14	19	22	5	----	----	1	-----	4
Laborers (public service)													
All other occupations:													
Professional service (all ages)	72	37	1	9	8	10	9	35	1	2	4	9	19
Domestic & personal service	1,233	371	38	66	70	96	101	862	85	94	162	251	270
Boot blacks													
Elevator tenders													
Janitors & sextons													
Launderers & laundresses (not in laundry)													
Laundry operatives													
Porters (except in stores)													

Servants:													
Cooks													
Nurse													
Other servants													
Waiters													
All other occupations													
Clerical occupations	1,663	1,113	191	199	211	236	276	580	10	20	61	201	258
Bookkeepers and Cashiers													
Clerks (Except Store Clerks)													
Messenger, Bundle, & Off. Boys + Girls)													
Stenographers + Typists													
All other occupations													

Debits To individual accounts

No 272 (Extract) · Note - all Feigures in millions of dollars

	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932
ATLanta, Georgia	1,669	1,905	1,961	1,886	2,026	2,553	1,917	1,625	1,283

No. 212 - (extract)

1931 Revenue Receipts, Governmental - cost payments,

Note. - Amts. except per capita, in thousand $s.

no. in order of size	City	Total Revenue Receipts	Total governmental cost payments	For operation maintenance and interest				outlays for permanent improvements	net debt
				Total	General departments	Public service enterprises.	Interest		
31		10,716	10,407	9,769	8,395	497	877	638	14661

From - Statistical Abstract of the United States - 1933, - 55th no.

32-12-16

Table 9. Gainful Workers 10 years old and over by Age, Color, Nativity and Sex, For Atlanta: 1930

Area & Age	All Classes			Native White			Foreign Born White			Negro			Other		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Atlanta	130,182	83,028	47,124	76,822	54,349	22,473	2,684	2,321	363	50617	26,332	24,285	29	26	3
10 To 13 years	309	238	91	64	59	5	- - -	- - -	- - -	245	179	66	- - -	- - -	- - -
14 "	475	345	130	145	120	25	- - -	- - -	- - -	329	224	105	-	1	- - -
15 "	865	562	303	339	238	101	- - -	- - -	- - -	525	323	202	1	1	- - -
16 "	1,595	900	695	816	479	337	4	2	2	775	419	356	- - -	- - -	- - -
17 "	2,172	1207	965	1,167	675	492	1	1	- - -	1,002	530	472	2	1	1
18 and 19 years	6,538	3,321	3,213	3,752	1,962	1,790	32	14	18	2,750	1,345	1,405	- - -	- - -	- - -
20 to 24 "	22,348	12,261	10,087	13,891	8,160	5,731	150	92	58	8,307	4,009	4,298	- - -	- - -	- - -
25 " 29 "	20,914	12,763	8,151	12,315	8,450	3,865	243	183	60	8,356	4,129	4,226	1	1	- - -
30 " 34 "	17,027	11,066	5,961	10,266	7,554	2,712	289	246	43	6,471	3,266	3,205	1	- - -	1
35 " 39 "	16,503	10,860	5,643	9,466	7,088	2,383	374	334	40	6,656	3,437	3,219	7	6	1
40 to 44 "	12,170	8,171	3,999	6,998	5,320	1,678	363	323	40	4,805	2,524	2,281	4	4	- - -
45 " 49 "	10,215	7,025	3,190	5,926	4,627	1,299	359	326	33	3,927	2,069	1,858	3	3	- - -
50 " 54 "	8,013	5,860	2,153	4783	3793	990	310	285	25	2,921	1,779	1,188	3	3	- - -
55 " 59 "	4,763	3661	1,102	3127	2595	532	220	196	24	1,414	868	546	2	2	- - -
60 " 64 "	3,252	2,525	727	2,054	1,756	298	172	162	10	1,023	604	419	3	3	- - -
65 " 69 "	1,679	1,276	400	1,000	848	152	100	92	8	576	336	240	- - -	- - -	- - -
70 " 74 "	779	605	174	476	401	75	47	45	2	255	158	97	1	1	- - -
75 and over	413	310	103	210	181	29	19	19	- -	184	110	74	- - -	- - -	- - -
Unknown	129	72	57	77	48	29	1	1	- -	51	23	28	- - -	- - -	- - -

32-12-17

Table 3. - Gainful Workers 10 years old and over, By General Divisions of occupations and sex, For State and For Atlanta -: 1930

Extract

Area and general Division of occupations	Number			Per cent Distribution			Per cent of total	
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Male	Female
The State	1,162,158	850,219	311,939	100.0	100.0	100.0	73.2	26.8
Atlanta	130,152	83,028	47,124	100.0	100.0	100.0	63.8	36.2
Agriculture	674	652	22	0.5	0.8	----	96.7	3.3
Forestry & Fishing	9	9	----	----	----	----	----	----
Extraction of minerals	28	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Manufacturing & Mechanical Indr	32,105	26,959	5,146	24.7	32.5	10.9	84.0	16.0
Transportation and Communication	11,027	9,831	1,196	8.5	11.8	2.5	89.2	10.8
Trade	26,694	19,450	3,244	17.4	23.4	6.9	85.7	14.3
Public Service	2,370	2,328	42	1.8	2.8	0.1	98.2	1.8
Professional Service	8,885	4,949	3,936	6.8	6.0	8.4	55.7	44.3
Clerical Occupations	19,126	9,803	9,323	14.7	11.8	19.8	51.2	48.8
Domestic and Personal Service	33,224	9,019	24,205	25.5	10.9	51.4	27.1	72.9

From Fifteenth Census of United States: 1930
Occupational Statistics
Georgia

32-13-18

Table 12.- Males and Females 10 years old and over in selected occupations, by color, nativity, and age, for Atlanta: 1930

Sex and occupation	total	Color and Nativity				age								
		Native White	Foreign Born White	Negro	Other Races	10 to 17 years	18 and 19	20 to 24 years	25 to 34 years	35 to 44 years	45 to 54 years	55 to 64 years	65 to 74 years	75 years and over	Unknown
Males	83,028	54,349	2,321	26,332	26	3,252	3,321	12,261	23,529	19,031	12,885	6,186	1,581	310	72
Agriculture	652	266	13	373	—	23	17	66	96	187	143	109	45	16	—
Farmers (Owners, Tenants)	166	119	7	40	—	—	2	13	20	27	45	40	11	8	—
Farm Laborers (wage workers)	469	130	6	333	—	20	15	52	74	103	97	66	24	8	—
all other occupations	17	17	—	—	—	3	—	1	2	7	1	3	—	—	—
Forestry and fishing	9	9	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	4	—	1	—	1	—
Extraction of Minerals	28	17	—	11	—	2	—	3	5	10	6	1	1	—	—
Manuf. & Mech. Inds.	26,989	17,119	566	9,272	2	767	1,135	3,865	7,587	6,335	4,579	2,057	618	79	27
Bakers															
Blacksmiths															
Boiler makers															
Brick & stone Mason etc.															
Builders & building Contractors															
Cabinet makers															
Carpenters															
Compositors, Linotypers, etc															
Electricians															
Engineers (Stationary)															
Firemen (not locomotive and Fire dept)															
Foremen (Overseers) mfg.															
Machinists															
Managers & officials, mfg															
Manufacturers															
Mechanics (not otherwise specified)															
Automobiles etc.															
All other industries															
Molders, Founders, Casters															
Painters, glaziers, Varnish (Builder)															
Painters, " , Varnish, Factory															
Plasterers & Cement Finishers															
Plumbers & gas & steam Fitt.															
Press men & Photo Printers															
Shoe making — not in Factory															
Tailors															
Tinsmiths & sheet metal —															
Upholsterers															
Others (not otherwise spec. Automobiles Factories other iron & steel Ind. Cotton Mills Food & allied inds. Lumber & Furniture Ind. other Inds.															
Laborers (not otherwise spec.):															
Chemical & allied ind.															
Food & " " specified.															
general & not specified.															
Iron & Steel — mach. Veh.															
Labor & helpers — Bldg.															
Lumber & Furniture and other Industries.															
All other occupations															
Transportation & Communication	9,831	5,223	42	4,565	1	292	347	1,329	3,040	2,472	1,523	687	164	13	4
Brakemen Steam Rlwy.															
Chauffeurs & Tk. drivers															
Conductors, Steam Rlwy.															
Draymen, Teamsters, Carriers															
Farmers & overseers, Rlwy.															
Garage owners, mgrs, off.															
Inspectors, Steam Rlwy.															

32-12-19

Table 12. - (cont.)

32-12-80

Sex and Occupation	Total	Color + Nativity				Age									
		native White	Foreign Born White	Negro	other Races	10 To 17 years	18 and 19 years	20 To 24 years	25 To 34 years	35 To 44 years	45 To 54 years	55 To 64 years	65 To 74 years	75 years + over	Unknown
Males (cont)															
Laborers, Road & Street Laborers, Steam Railway. Locomotive Engineers Locomotive Firemen Mail Carriers Motormen, Str. Railway. Officials & Supt. Steam R. owners & mgrs., Tel. Tel. Cab. Co. Propr., mgrs. off. Tel. Tg. Railway Mail Clerks. Switchmen & Flagmen, Steam R. Telephone managers Telegraph operators all other occupations															
Trade ----	19450	14734	1,012	3,702	2	1,229	682	2420	5,374	4,519	3104	1,586	436	78	22
Advertising agents Bankers & Brokers, Money Bankers & Bank officials Commercial Brokers & Chem. Loan Brokers & pawnbr. Stock Brokers Brokers not specified "Clerks" in Stores Commercial Travelers Delivery men, Bakers, Stores Insurance agents, Mgrs. off. Laborers (Salesmen, Lumber yd. Laborers, packing store helpers Newsboys Real estate agents & off. Retail Dealers Salesmen Wholesale dealers, importers all other occupations															
Public Service (not elsewhere classified)	2,328	1,781	25	522	---	20	22	134	518	625	520	343	140	21	5
Firemen, Fire Dept. Guards, Watchmen, Doorkeepers Laborers, Public Service Marshalls, Sheriffs, Constables Officials & Inspectors (City, County) Officials " " State & U.S. Policemen all other occupations															
Professional Service	4,949	3991	209	741	8	137	96	578	1436	1,171	845	479	174	32	1
Actors & Showmen Architects Artists, Sculptors, teachers Authors, Editors, Reporters Chemists, Assayers, Metallurgists Clergymen College Presidents & Profs. Dentists Draftsmen Lawyers, Judges, Justices Musicians & teachers. Photographers Physicians & Surgeons															

Table 12 –

Sex and Occupation	Total	Color & Nativity				Age									
		Native White	Foreign Born White	Negro	Other Races	10 To 17 Years	18 and 19 years	20 To 24 Years	25 To 34 years	35 To 44 Years	45 To 54 Years	55 To 64 years	65 To 74 years	75 Years & over	Unknown
Males (Cont)															
Teachers (school)															
Technical engineers															
Civil engineers															
Electrical Engineers															
Mechanical "															
All other occupations															
Domestic & Personal Service	9,019	1,886	307	6,813	13	404	466	1444	2,563	2,067	1,307	544	164	51	9
Barbers, Hairdressers & Cleaners, dyeing, pressing															
Hotel keepers & Mgrs.															
Janitors & Sextons															
Laborers, domestic & pr.															
Laundry operatives															
Porters (except in Store)															
" Domestic & personal															
" Steam Railway															
All other porters															
Restaurant, Cafes, Lunch															
Servants															
Waiters															
All other occupations															
Clerical Occup.	9,803	9,323	147	333	---	378	556	2,421	3,238	1,691	938	419	139	19	4
Accountants & auditors															
Agents, Coll., & Credit															
Book Keepers & Cashiers															
Clerks (except store)															
Messenger, Errand, and office															
Stenographers & Typists															
Females	47,124	22,48[illegible]	363	2428[illegible]	3	2,164	3,213	10,087	14112	9,642	5343	1,829	594	103	57
Agriculture	22	9	---	13	---	1	2	3	4	4	3	3	2	----	------
Mfg & Mech. Ind's	5,146	4010	25	1,111	---	359	349	797	1,361	1,204	727	252	84	8	5
Dressmaking & Semptress (not factory)															
Mfgrs & officials, Mfg.															
Milliners & dealers															
Operatives (not otherwise cl'd)															
Candy factories															
Other food & allied Ind															
Cotton mills															
Other Textile mills															
Paper, printing &															
Tanning, curing & dressing leather															
Other Clothing Ind.															
Other Industries															
Labor (not otherwise cl'd)															
All other occupations															
Transportation & Communication	1,196	1,174	9	13	----	120	195	412	345	86	28	9	----	-----	1
Telegraph operators															
Telephone operators															
All other occupations															
Trade															
"Clerks" in Stores															
Insurance agents, Mgrs. &															
Retail Dealers															
Saleswomen															
All other occupations															
Public Service (not elsewhere Cl'd)															

Professional Service	3,936	3060	77	799	—	29	176	949	1,223	823	467	200	58	6	5
Artists, Sculptors, Makers of Statuary															
College Pres. & Profs.															
Librarians															
Musicians & Teachers															
Social & Welfare workers															
Teachers (School)															
Trained Nurses															
All other occupations															
Domestic & personal service	28,205	2,289	46	21,869	1	1,222	1,393	4,100	7,219	5480					
Barbers, Hairdressers & Manicurists															
Boarding and Lodging Keepers															
Housekeepers & Stewards															
Laundresses (not in Laundry)															
Laundry operatives															
Nurses (not Trained)															
Restaurant, Cafe, Keepers															
Servants - - - -															
Waitresses - - - -															
All other occupations															
Clerical Occupations	9,333	9060	92	180	1	243	853	3,204	3,108	1,312	479	105	15	1	12
Accountants & Auditors															
Book Keepers & Cashiers															
Clerks, (except Store)															
Stenographers & Typists															
All other occupations															

THE CIVIL WAR
MAPS AND DATES, NUMBERS AND LOSSES

Negro History

PRELIMINARY
Fort Sumpter, Missouri, Kentucky and West Virginia

ON TO RICHMOND

Bull Run
Blockade

Monitor and Merrimac

Port Royal
New Orleans

The River Campaign

Fort Henry and Donaldson
Shiloh and Corrinth
McClellan in Virginia

Peninsular Campaign

Jackson's Raid
Bull Run
Antietam
Fredericksburg
Chancellorsville
Vicksburg and Port Hudson
Chickamauga and Chattanooga
Gettysburg
The Alabama

Grant in Virginia

Wilderness and Cold Harbor
Kenesaw
Atlanta
Petersburg

22-8-28

1501 Negroes in West Indies.

1513 Negroes assist Balboa.

1525 Negro insurrection near Jamestown.

1530 Negro insurrection in Mexico.

1527 Estevanico.

1441 Gonzales on the African coast.

1444 Slave trade to Europe.

1562 First voyage of John Hawkins.

1619 Slaves to Jamestown.

1641 Slavery in Massachusetts.

1688 Pennsylvania memoral against slavery.

1720 12,000 slaves in South Carolina and 9,000 whites.

1713 England gets assiento contract.

1740 Cato insurrection in South Carolina.

1749 Slavery allowed in Georgia.

1610 Increase in rents and price of food in England, wages stationary.

1675-1700 Decline of white serfdom.

1712 Negro plot in New York.

1741 Negro plot in New York.

1723 Free Negroes disfranchised in Virginia.

1772 Lord mansfield's decision.

1776 First motion against slave trade in House of Commons.

1807 English slave trade abolished.

1774 First American Anti-Slavery Society.

1775 Lord Dunmore's offer of Freedom to slaves.

1775 Revolutionary War, 3000 Negro soldiers.

1638-1664 Moral objection to slave trade.

1664-1760 Various prohibitive duties on slave trade.

1760-1787 Efforts to regulate or prohibit slave trade.

1784 American association against slave trade.

1778 Virginia prohibits slave trade. 32-8-32

1780	Pennsylvania slaves hereafter born free.
1783	Emancipation in Massachusetts.
1787	No slavery in northwest territory.
1768	Arkwright spinning frame.
1764	spinning jenny.
1779	spinning mule.
1793	Fugitive Slave Law.
1799	Gradual abolition in New York, gradual abolition in New Jersey.
1800	Attempts at gradual abolition in Kentucky and Maryland.
1787	South Carolina prohibits slave trade.
1803	Slave trade reopened in South Carolina.
1700	Price of slaves $125 to $200.
1792	Price of slaves $300.
1800	Price of slaves $450.
1850	Price of slaves $1000 to $1800.
1693	Beginning of rice cultivation South Carolina.
1740	Rice crop worth one million dollars a year.
1832	Virginia raises 6000 slaves annually for sale.
1850-60	Southern south imports 25,000 slaves a year from northern south.
1740	Killing of slaves cost £350 to £700 in South Carolina.
1820	Mississippi killing of slave was murder.
1850	Georgia mastered her absolute power over slave.
1800-50	Migration from south to west on ground of slavery.
1820	Missouri Compromise.
1845	Annexation of Texas.
1850	Fugitive Slave Law.
1854	Kansas-Nebraska Bill.
1857	Dred Scott decision.
1831	The Liberator established.
1833	American Anti-Slavery Society established.

32-8-33

1840	The Liberty Party.
1848	The Free Soil Party.
1854	The Republican Party.
1837	Lovejoy killed.
1833	Child's appeal.
1828	Walker's appeal.
1829-32	Abolition efforts in Virginia.
1835	Abolition efforts in North Carolina.
1850-60	Underground Railroad.
1820-40	Decline of the slave trade.
1850-60	Increase of the slave trade.
1854	Anthony Burn's case.
1852	"Uncle Tom's Cabin".
1856	Assault on Charles Sumner.
1859	John Brown's Raid.
1835	Second Seminole War.
1687	Virginia Conspiracy of slaves.
1710	Surry County, Virginia slave plot.
1740	Cato South Carolina.
1800	Gabriel's insurrection, Richmond.
1800	Denmark Vesey, South Carolina.
1831	Nat Turner insurrection.
1839	L'amistad.
1836-55	Free Negroes own $2,500,000 worth of property in New Orleans and 620 slaves.
1704	Negro school in New York.
1770	Negro school in Philadelphia.
1798	Negro school in Boston.
1800	John Chavis.
1854	Lincoln University.
1856	Wilberforce.

32-8-34

1834 Negroes admitted to Oberlin.

1817 Frederick Douglass born.

1862 September 22, preliminary Emancipation Proclamation.

1863 January 1, Emancipation Proclamation.

1861 May, Contraband of War.

1861 August 30, Fremont's emancipation.

1862 May 9, Hunter's Emancipation.

1863 July 18, Shaw killed.

1865 May 29 Johnson's proclamation of amnesty.

1865 Southern conventions.

1865 December, Johnson says all states except Texas reconstructed.

1865 Black Codes.

1865 December 18, 13th Amendment.

1866 March, first civil rights bill.

1866 December, attempts to impeach Johnson.

1866 Negro suffrage District of Columbia and territories.

1866 Five military districts in the south.

1868 February, conventions in southern states.

1868 July 28, 14th Amendment.

1869 Virginia, Mississippi, Texas and Georgia still out of union.

1870 March 30, Fifteenth Amendment.

1870 July 15, Georgia admitted.

1870-75 Carpet Bag Government and Ku Klux Klan.

1875 Second civil rights act.

1876 Federal troops withdrawn.

1865 March 3, Freedmen's Bureau created.

1866 July 16, Freedmen's Bureau enlarged.

1869 January 1, Freedmen's Bureau chief work ended.

1870 Freedmen's Bureau ceases.

1879 Negro exodus.

1879 May, national convention.

32-8-35

1865-76	First education efforts, Army Mission School, etc.
1876-85	Beginning of complete school systems with normal schools and colleges
1885-95	Beginning of industrial schools.
1895-1905	Emphasis of the industrial school.
1882	Founding of the Slater Fund.
1792	Negroes disfranchised in Delaware.
1814	Negroes disfranchised in Connecticut.
1887	Negroes vote in all states except South Carolina and Georgia.
1870-80	intimidation and suppression of Negro vote.
1886	Grady's speech on the new south.
1871-73	Eleven Negroes a year lynched in the south.
1890	Disfranchisement in Mississippi.
1895	Disfranchisement in South Carolina ,
1898	Disfranchisement in Louisiana.
1900	Disfranchisement in North Carolina.
1901	Disfranchisement in Georgia.
1910	Disfranchisement in Oklahama.
1915-18	Migration of 500,000 negroes.
1919	Pan-African Congress.
1770	Boston Massacre.
1863	July 8, Fort Hudson.
1898	El Caney.
1906	Brownsville.
1916	Carrizal.
1880	First general conference A. M. C. Church.
1820	A. M. E. Zion.
1844	White Methodists split.
1870	C. M. E. Church.
1910	22 4/10 per cent of Negro homes in south owned.

32-8-36

1792-1806 Banneker's Almanac.

1761 Phillis Wheatly brought to America.

1872 Dunbar born.

1807-10 Ira Aldridge born.

1865 Edmonial Lewis' bust of Shaw.

1851 Elizabeth Greenfield, "The Black Swan".

32-8-39

Negro History

Negroes were in the army at Cambridge.

Negroes were in the regiments at Roxbury.

1777, October-Negroes in abundance in every regiment.

1777, July 9-The Negro Prince captures Major General Preston at Newport.

1777- Negro regiment in Rhode Island.

1777, October-Negro enlistments in Connecticut.

1778-In Rhode Island, two battalions.

1778, August 29-Black regiment under Colonel Green repels the British.

1781, January 5-Black regiment in Rhode Island.

1781, May 14-Black regiment cut to pieces near Points Bridge, New York, defending Green.

1781, June 5-Maryland plans to raise 750 Negro troops.

1781, March 20-New York musters Negro troops.

1779, March-Laurens proposes slave regiment in South Carolina.

1780, March-General Lincoln from Charlestown asks for black troops.

1780, November-Madison suggests freeing and arming the Negroes.

1782-Laurens repeats his plan.

1781-Armistead, a slave acts as spy for Lafayette. He is freed by the Assembly in 1786.

Negroes in the South build fortifications particularly at Fort Moultrie.

50,000 Northern Negroes furnish 5,000 troops in the Revolutionary War.

Hill, a Connecticut Negro fought at Saratoga and saw the surrender of Burgoyne.

32-8-38

Negro History

Prince Whipple was body guard to General Whipple, one of Washington's aids. He was with Washington when Washington crossed the Deleware.

Negroes fought at the storming of Fort Griswold against Major Montgomery.

Overtin, a Negro fought at the Battle of Yorktown.

Winter of 1777 at Valley Forge.

1781, May 13-Negroes fight at Red Bank, Rhode Island.

1779, May-Charlestown captured by the British.

1780, March 13-Laurens writes to Rutledge.

22-8-39

Negro - Healey

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32-8-30

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32-8-31

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d. Equipment

1. Whites
2. Negroes

e. Supplies, Libraries, Janitors,

Fuel, Insurance and other expenses

1. Whites
2. Negroes

f. Transportation

1. Whites
2. Negroes

g. State agricultural High Schools for whites maintained in each of the Congressional districts. No equivalent for Negroes.

48-13-21

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f. Columbus
g. LaGrange
h. Macon
i. Rome
j. Savannah
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48-3-20

THE NEGRO IN FOLK SONG IN AMERICA.

1. THE AFRICAN BACKGROUND
   Do bana coba
   You may bury me in the East

2. SLAVERY.

   Mammy's massas gwine to sell us to-morrow

   Nobody knows the trouble

3. PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

My way's cloudy	(Indecision)
Wrestlin Jacob	(Struggle)
Steal Away	(Flight and resignation)
Swing Low	(Translation)
The Rocks and the Mountains	(Hiding)
Roll Jordan Roll	(Physical phenomena)
O,Freedom	(Fight)

4. THE INFLUENCE OF THE OUTER WORLD: (Environment)

   Cheer the weary traveller

   Dust, Dust and ashes

   I hope my mother will be there

5. INFLUENCE ON THE OUTER WORLD: (Negro in America)

   Old Black Joe; Nellie was a lady; Nellie Grey, Swanee river

6. LATEST DEVELOPMENT

   Cook: Exhortation

   Johnson: Lil Gal

   Coleridge-Taylor: Corn Song

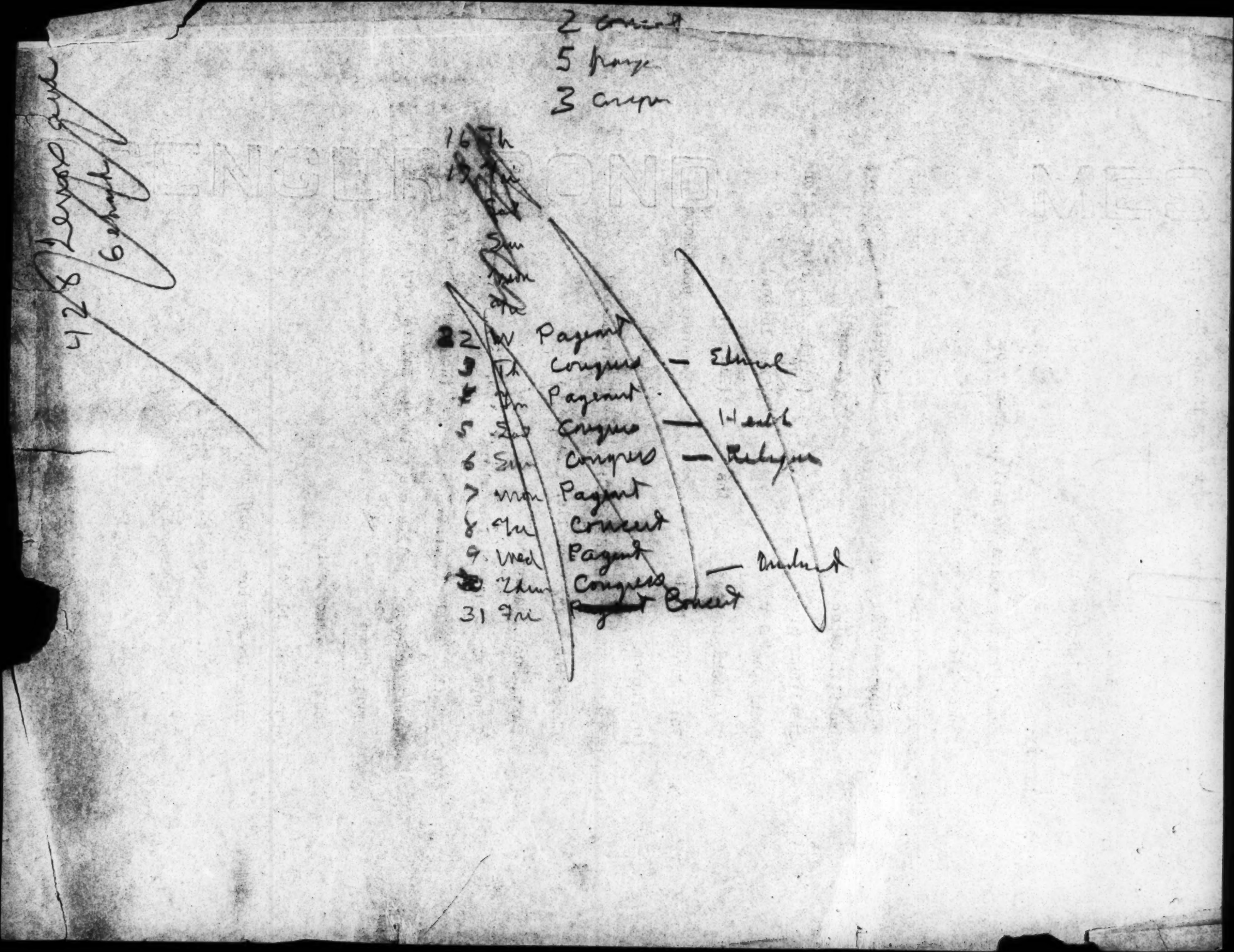
   Burleigh: Why Adam Sinned.

   " Swing Low sweet chariot

~~Week~~

Two — Deep river

30-27-66


2 Concert
5 Pageant
3 Congress
16 Th
19 Fri
Sat
Sun
Mon
Tue
22 W Pageant
Congress — Ethical
Th
Fri Pageant
Sat Congress — Health
Sun Congress — Religious
Mon Pageant
Tue Concert
Wed Pageant — Industrial
Thu Congress
Fri Concert
31
12 & 6 Pageant
6 Concert

THE NEGRO IN FOLK SONG IN AMERICA.

1. THE AFRICAN BACK-GROUND

* Do bana coba

You may bury me in the East

2. SLAVERY

Mammy's massa qwine to sell us to-morrow

* Nobody knows the trouble

Sometimes I feel like a Motherless child

3. PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

* My way's cliudy (indecision)

Wrestling Jacob (struggle)

* Steal away (flight and resignation)

My Lord's a writing down time

Swing Low (translation)

The Rocks and the Mountains (hiding)

* Roll Jordan Roll (physical phenomena)

* O, Freedom (fight)

31-3-3

4. THE INFLUENCE OF THE OUTER WORLD.

* Cheer the weary traveller (environment)

* Dust, dust and ashes

I hope my Mother will be there

5. INFLUENCE ON THE OUTER WORLD.

* Old Black Joe, Nellie was a Lady, Nellie Grey, Swanne River

6. LATEST DEVELOPEMENT

Cook - Exhortation

* Johnson - Lil Gal

Coleridge Taylor - Corn Song

31-3-4

Burleigh - Why Adam Sinned - Swing Low Sweet Chariot

Trio - Deep River.

UNITED NATIONS • NATIONS UNIES

49-53 – Taylor-Fibuch – Whig
53-7 Pierce - Whig
57-61 Buchanan - Dem
61-5 Lincoln - Refud

54 Refud
Know nothing

Holy Alliance
Era of good Feeling
Last two Federalist

32-12-27

Publicity & Research

Work of Colleges by photographs &c.
Stories of Alumni, work of alumni

Negro College Council.
Federating Negro effort
Public Meetings
Tracts
Plate matter
Periodical – Monthly with quarterly edition.
African Museum
Historical research
Committee of Correspondence
Readers
Workers
Young workers
Atlanta Conference of Social Research
Nashville Conference of Colleges.
Hampton Conference of Social Reform
Tuskegee Conference of Rural uplift
National Conference of Conferences
Local conferences
Tractarians: no letter without a tract.
Our Correspondence and list.

38-2-138

The whole voter is ~~[illegible]~~ d Council for next

getting out the vote

The black vote has the vote ~~today~~ later

away & is funneled for Rocky &

~~Delegates~~ Delegates in committee

32-12-25

Earlier t ird parties started and spent their chief energies on local officials and congressmen but tended to neglect the highest office The Progressive Party must not make the opposite er or but keep the party a alive for the presidency while also striving especially in this election for Progressive Congressmen. Marcantonio must go back to Washington; Adam Powell has a lien on progressive xx support for the votes he has cast but fault is that he has been absen from his seat more often than any of the 24 New York congressmen. Out of 100 chances to vote he has only voted 44 times a shameful neglect of duty

52-12-26

3rd Parties

1860	Breck Dem	845,000	(Douglas)
	R	1,866,000	
	D [illegible]	1 375 000	
1892	Cleveland	5,554,000	
	Harrison	5 190 000	
	Weaver	1,027,000	
1912	Roosevelt	4,216 000	
1920	Debs	919,000	
1924	La Follette	4,822,000	
1948	Progressive	1,157,000	
	Dixiecrats	1,169 000	

32-12-28

Population, I950,	I50,697,36I	97,000,000 voters	
Negro	I4,894,000	8,600,000	

I940 all voters 84,000,000 total population I3I,000,000 64%

Negro 7,400,000 or 8.8 % of total population 58% of total population

I940 Negroes in North 2,790,000
South 9,904,000
West I70,000

I947 Non-white

North	4,595,000	2,750,000 voters
South	9,530,000	5,7I8,000
West	892000	535,000

Vote, 1940 – 50 million voted a 59½ % voters

4 50 % 1950 vote = 50,000,000

1948 4/8½ million voted

93-12-23

The rise in the number of people over 20 from 1910 to 1920 was from 53 million in 1910 to 63 million in 1920. (I have counted less than half a million as the next lower figure and more than half a million as the next higher figure.)

This gives the approximate population of voting age. The figures are not given for over 21, because they are grouped in bunches of 5 years. Over 20 is the best we can do.

The number of voters voting for president and vice-president on the two major parties was 15 million in 1912 (the nearest presidential year to 1910) and 27 million in 1920.
Thus the population over 20 rose by 10 million in this period, but the number of voters by 22 million. This was undoubtedly due chiefly to the woman suffrage amendment.

The effect would have been even bigger but for some special considerations, such as the poll tax. The operation of the poll tax among lower-income families (the majority) is such that if there is money for one vote only, the adult male in the family votes. Only if there is money for more poll taxes do the women of the family also vote. There were many more poll tax states in 1920 than today.

All figures from the Statistical Abstract of the United States.

32-12-24

ARTICLE/SPEECH NOTES ??

DEMOCRACY 1875

INFERIOR

MISSIONS - SCIENCE - BUSINESS

WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

GROUND SWELL ~~1860~~ 1885

CONTRADICTION

SELF CONSCIOUS { JAPAN, BOXERS, INDIA, AFRICA } IMPERIAL INDUSTRY

TOPPLING 1914

DEMOCRACY RACE { PROFIT, CONTROL, WAR, DICTATORS }

FUTURE

LOGIC of DEM

No DEM. on OLIGARCHY

CAPITAL - LABOR

MASSES

ABILITY

30 - IN - 37

DEMOCRACY

INFERIOR 1884

Missions - Science - Business

WHITE MAN's BURDEN

GROUND SWELL 1900

SELF CONSCIOUS

- JAPAN
- BOXERS
- INDIA
- AFRICA

} IMPERIAL

TOPPLING

DEMOCRACY RACE

- RIVALRY
- CONTROL
- WAR
- DICTATORS

FUTURE - LOGIC - DEMOCRACY

No D. on OLIGARCHY

No BALANCE - CAPITAL = LABOR

MASSES = ABILITY

WORDSWORTH

Lachine Falls

THERE'S NOT A BREATHING of the
COMMON WIND
THAT WILL FORGET THEE; THOU
HAST GREAT ALLIES
THY FRIENDS ARE EXULTATIONS
AGONIES,
AND LOVE, and MAN'S UNCONQUERABLE
MIND

WORDSWORTH

LA - OKL. - KAN - NEB. - Iowa -
Wy - MONT, - N.D - S.D. - COL -
MINN. - WASH. - ORE.

30-IV-38

RACE & CULTURE

WORDS

HUMAN DIFFERENCES

- IN - OUT GROUPS
- STRANGERS
- BARBARIANS — ENEMIES

NATIONALISM

- OTHELLO - MARCO POLO

SCIENCE

SLAVERY

RACE

- 3-20 GROUPS
- SPECIES
- PURITY

BIOLOGY — EVOLUTION

- HISTORY - FITNESS
- PHYSIQUE
- BRAINS - HEADS
- PSYCHOLOGY

HEREDITY

- COLLAPSE of RACIALISM

INTENSIFICATION

66-71-29

OUR PLIGHT

NO FURTHER RACE PROBLEMS
RACE ∞ CLASS
RACE ∞ YOU?!!

THE PERSISTING PROBLEM
WORK CASTE SEGREGATION
SCHOOL VOTE

RACE ∞ CULTURE GROUP
OUR GROUP

---

7 PARADOXES

1 DuBois + COLOR
2 SCHOOL - HARLEM - WESTCHESTER
INDIANAPOLIS - CHICAGO
3 @ MONTGOMERY - AT CAMBRIDGE
HARVARD @ ATLANTA
CHENEY
4 HOME - NORTH-SOUTH. — HOUSING
5. THE HIGH SCHOOL BALL - CASTE
6 CAREERS
7 IDEAL - BLACK WORLD
WHITE WORLD

CULTURAL APPROACH
PLANNED SOCIETY

DANGERS

TOUSSAINT

NEGRO + COMMUNISM

NEGRO

RACE - CULTURE - AFRICA

COMMUNISM

COMMUNITY of GOODS
MARXIAN COMMUNISM
RUSSIA.

ECONOMIC HISTORY

CAPITALISM
TECHNIK
EXPLOITATION - SLAVES

18th CENTURY
FREEDOM
DEMOCRACY
POVERTY

ST FRANCIS - SACRIFICE
ST. SIMON - FOURIER - SOCIALISM
ROBERT OWEN - PROFIT-SHARING
COOPERATION
PHILANTHROPY

STATE CAPITALISM
LABOR LEGISLATION

28-14-20

KARL MARX

GRADUALISM ~ PHILANTHRORY

1. SURPLUS VALUE
2. DICTATORSHIP of PROLETARIAT
3 ~~REV~~ CLASS STRUGGLE
4 THE REVOLUTION
5 THE STATE & the MASSES

CHARTISM

THE COMMUNE

RUSSIA

VIOLENT REVOLUTION

EXPLOITATION

1906 - 1921 - 15 years.

MODIFIED MARXISM

LAND
CAPITAL
TECKNIK
GOODS
THREATS

RECOGNITION
CORDON SANITAIRE
LIES

TROTZYISM

AMERICAN NEGRO

Negro after Reconstruction

(1)

PRESENT CONDITIONS

GROUP CAUSES

No 40 ACRES

DISFRANCHISED

SOCIAL CONTACT

POVERTY

CRIME - DISEASE

SCHOOLS - HOMES

LABOR - UNIONS

DEPRESSION

CAUSES

AFRICAN SLAVE-T.

SALE of LABOR

CAPITAL

FREEDOM

DEMOCRACY

WORLD INDUS. DEMOC.

30-IX-63

OLIGARCHY
? PRODUCERS

SCARCITY
ABUNDANCE

25 CRISES
WAR

GENERAL REMEDIES
CONSUMER
PLANNING
INTELLIGENCE
CHARACTER

OUR REMEDIES
CONSUMER
GROUP PLANNING
DEMOCRACY

30-IX-62

The American Negro after the Depression

SLAVE TRADE
CAPITALISM
REVOLUTION
DEMOCRACY
EMPIRE

VILLAGE
TOUSSAINT
MIGRATION
THE VOTE

DISASTER

WAR for PROFIT
OVER-PRODUCTION — TECKNIK
UNDER-CONSUMPTION
10,000,000 UNEMPLOYED

OUR PLIGHT
HOMES & FARMS - CAPITAL - LABOR
PANACEAS

FACTS.
POVERTY
TAXES
GOVERNMENT

30-IV-26

WORLD REMEDY

PLANNED PRODUCTION

PRODUCTION FOR USE

CONSUMPTION by NEED

GOVERNMENT

RELIEF

EMPLOYMENT - MACHINES

CAPITAL

1931-7-Homes { ENG - ~~$00000~~ 30000
US.

TAXATION

NEW CITIZEN

EDUCATION -

VOTE {
- KNOWLEDGE
- TALENT
- UNSELFIST
- THE SPENDING DOLLAR

(2)

COLONIAL IMPERIALISM

FALL of DEMOCRACY - 1876 - 1936

LABOR
MONOPOLY
CRISES
WORLD WAR
DEPRESSION

RECOVERY

INTELLIGENCE
ABILITY
CHARACTER

RACE

TECKNIK

PLANNING

30-IN-71

Democracy + Darker Races

(1)

COMMON WEAL
ABILITY — CHARACTER

TYRANT
ELDERS
ARISTOCRACY

FREEDOM
THOUGHT
TAXES
LABOR
PROFIT

AMERICA
FRANCE
1787-1804

DEMOCRACY
1830
1848
1861
1869

30-14-72

DEMOCRACY

RE-EXAMINE

OLD LOGIC
- EQUALITY
- CONSENT of GOVERNED
- INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

FACTS
- INEQUALITY - GIFT - WEALTH - PRIVILEGE
- FIELD of GOVERNMENT
- INCOME

HISTORY
- AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE
- CAPITALISM
- INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION
- FRENCH REVOLUTION
- & THERMIDOR - 18 BRUMAIRE
- INDUSTRIAL OLIGARCHY - KINGS

(1/2)

DISASTER - RE-EXAMINATION
- COLONIES - PROFIT - WAR
- HESITATION
- CROW COLONIES
- RECONSTRUCTION
- FASCISM

31-14-22

RECONSTRUCTION

DEMOCRACY IN INDUSTRY

NEW DEAL

EQUALIZATION

ABILITY

WEALTH

FREEDOM

INTELLIGENCE — CHARACTER

~~Knowledge + ABILITY~~

The American Negro of the Future

CHANGE

SLAVE-TRADE
TO EMPIRE

VILLAGE-TOUSSAINT-FUGITIVE
VOTE

DISASTER
WAR
PRODUCTION
10,000,000 UNEMPLOYED

THE NEGRO
FARM-HOME-CAPITAL-LABOR
TO-DAY
PANACEA

FACTS
POVERTY
GOVERNMENT
TAXES

30-14-74

ALL LANDS.

RELIEF

EMPLOYMENT (MACHINES)

CAPITAL

1931-7 – Emp 500,000 – U.S. 3,000,000 HOMES

ROADS - SHIPS - FARMS

TAXATION

PLANNED ECONOMY

(Production) P. for USE

(Consumption) C for NEED

NEW CITIZEN

EDUCATION

VOTE { KNOWLEDGE / TALENT

SELFLESS

SPENDING

The Consumer

(1)

WORLD PLIGHT

AMERICAN NEGRO

Freedom - Vote - Work - Discrimination

DEPRESSION

FORWARD: WHITHER - HOW

LIVING & LIFE

SAINT	ROMANTIC
KNIGHT	BUSINESS
GENTLEMAN	MAN

ABUNDANCE
SCARCITY

SLAVES - PRODUCERS
FREEMEN as CONSUMERS

CHURCH of SLAVES

WORK as PUNISHMENT

PROTESTANTS - WORK AS SERVICE

50-14-25

(2)

MANOR
PRODUCER TOWNS
CUSTOM MADE

COMMERCE
READY-MADE
MOORS - CRUSADES

AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE
CAPITALISM

FREEDOM ? PRODUCTION
NEW RICH
INDUSTRIAL
REVOLUTION

MODERN CITY
SALE ? LABOR
LABOR REBELS

30-IV-76

Analytic Studies on the Overall Problems of the American Negro

47-87

1. W.W. BROWN 1847-61

x 2 F.L. OLMSTEAD 1856-61

xx 3 G.W. WILLIAMS 1882

x 4. KU KLUX KLAN REPORT
BLAIR SENATE COMMITTEE R. } 1874-85

x 5. SIMMONS' MEN OF MARK 1887

30-6-61

x 6. { HOFFMAN: RACE TRAITS &c 1896
HOLMES: NEGRO's STRUGGLE for Survival 1937
LEWIS: BIOLOGY of NEGRO 1942

96-1901

xx 7. { ATLANTA U. STUDIES — 1896-1914
LAND GRANT C. " 1944-5
ENCYCLOPAEDIA - 1944
PHILAD'A NEGRO 1899

x 8 - U.S. CENSUS. 1900, 1910-40
LABOR BUREAU STUDIES — 1896—

9. THOMAS: AMERICAN NEGRO. 1901

xx 10 { SPERO-HARRIS } BLACK ~~NEGRO~~ WORKER - 1931-9
CAYTON-MITCHEL
WESLEY: NEGRO LABOR 1927

27-45

x 11. YALE STUDIES (DAVIS, DOLLARD, WARNER 1937-41 GARDNER, POWDERMAKER

12 { BOND: NEGRO Ed. in ALABAMA 1934
GALLAGHER: AMERICAN CASTE + N.C. 1938

x 13 FRAZIER: NEGRO FAMILY 1939

xx 21 MYRDAL: AMER. DILEMMA 1944

xx 22 DRAKE + CAYTON: BLACK METROPOLIS 1945
(N. in Va., N in La., N. in NY (OTTLEY)

P.W.A

945

~~COLORED AND DEMOCRACY~~
~~COLONIES AND PEACE~~

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
69 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL RESEARCH
W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS
DIRECTOR
ELLEN IRENE DIGGS
RESEARCH ASSISTANT

Economic Revolution in South

THE REVOLUTION

OUT of WORK

CAREERS { PROFESSIONS
BUSINESS
ARTISANS
FARMERS

INCOMES

MIGRATION

VOTE
WAGE
EDUCATION } FREEDOM } INCOME
RENT
COST

SOUTH.

MY JOURNEY

INDUSTRY under SLAVERY

POLITICS + RELIGION

RECONSTRUCTION

SCHOOLS + RAILROADS

DEMOCRACY

ARISTOCRACY

30-27-62

7 : 5300 :: x − 800

7 : 53 :: x : 8 00

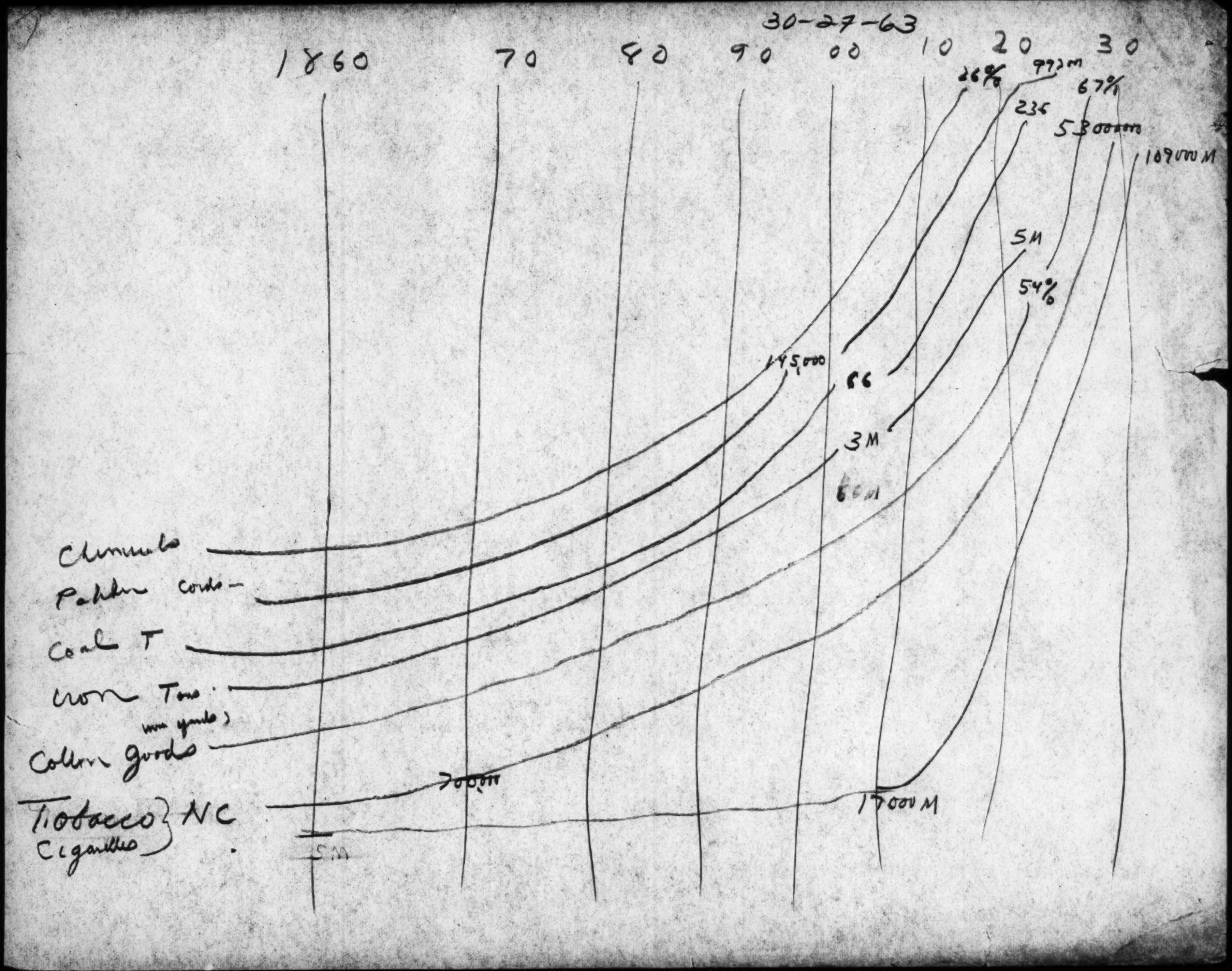
7 : 530 : x = 8 0000

$$53 \overline{)\,5\,80000\,} \quad 7$$

10510

300
315

30-27-63


1860
70
80
90
00
10
20
30
26%
99.2M
67%
23%
5 300 000
109 000 M
5M
54%
145,000
66
3M
6 M
Chewing
Pocket cords
Coal T
Iron Tons
Cotton goods (mm yards)
Tobacco } NC
Cigarettes
700,000
17 000 M
5 M

1794-28

JEHUDI ASHMUN

AFRICA

CLIMATE

DISEASE

COLONIZATION

-LOT CAREY 1780-1827

ELIJAH JOHNSON

178- -1849

JOSEPH J ROBERTS

1809-185-

20-24-69

JULY 26- 1847 (36)

TERRITORY

MANO-HARRIS '60-85

CAVALLO- 91-92

C of BERLIN- 1878

43000 Sq M

INDUSTRY

RAW MATERIAL

TRANSPORT

CAPITAL

INCOME

SERVANTS

MONEY

SLAVERY

FUTURE

NEW BLOOD

									A.M.	A.M.	P.M.
6.50	8.48	7.45	10.08	Lv.	PHILADELPHIA (Mkt. St. Whf.)	Lv.	6.50	7.45	8.40	10.00	2.05
6.58	8.48	7.53	10.08	"	.....CAMDEN.....	"	6.58	7.53	8.48	10.08	2.13
....	8.51	....	10.11	"	.....BROADWAY	"	....	....	8.51	10.11	....

RETURNING

July 11 to Sept. 5					First Sunday Trip July 5. Will run July 4	July 4, Sept. 7 only			June 28 to Sept. 7		First Sunday Trip July 5. Will run July 4	
P. M.	P. M.	P. M.			P. M.	P. M.	P. M.	P. M.	P. M.	P. M.	P. M.	P. M.
4.25	6.22	9.02	Lv.	Wildwood Crest	Lv. 3.38	4.25	5.12	6.02	7.27	8.22	9.02	
4.28	6.25	9.05	"	Andrews Avenue	" 3.41	4.28	5.15	6.05	7.30	8.25	9.05	
4.33	6.30	9.10	"	....Wildwood....	" 3.45	4.33	5.20	6.10	7.35	8.30	9.10	
4.35	6.32	9.12	"	North Wildwood	" 3.47	4.35	5.22	6.12	7.37	8.32	9.12	
4.38	6.36	9.16	"	....Anglesea	" 3.50	4.38	5.25	6.15	7.40	8.35	9.16	
.....	f6.39	f9.19	"	Beach Creek	"	....	....	f6.18	....	....	f9.19	
f4.42	f6.42	f9.21	"	Grassy Sound	"	f 4.42	f5.29	f6.20	....	....	f9.21	
4.50	6.50	.....	"	Wildwood Junction	"	4.50	5.36	....	....	....	.....	

FISHERMEN'S SPECIAL

To Cold Spring Harbor Dock

Only stop Wildwood Crest

WEEK-DAYS except July 4 and Sept. 7 and including Saturdays, Sept. 19 and 26 Stops Wildwood					SUNDAYS and July 4 and September 7	
6.40	A. M.	Lv.	PHILADELPHIA (Market Street Wharf)	Lv.	6.00	A. M.
6.48	"	"	CAMDEN	"	6.08	"

RETURNING

4.43	P. M.	Lv.	Cold Spring Harbor Dock	Lv.	4.50	P. M.
4.50	"	"	Wildwood Crest	"	4.57	"
4.55	"	"	Wildwood	"	....	
4.59	"	"	Anglesea	"	5.04	"

CAPE MAY

—SUNDAYS and July 4 and September 7—

WEEK-DAYS except July 4 and September 7									First trip June 28	
6.50	A. M.	8.40	A. M.	Lv.	PHILA. (Market Street Wharf)	Lv.	7.05	A. M.	8.40	A. M.	2.05	P. M.
6.58	"	8.48	"	"	.....CAMDEN.....	"	7.13	"	8.48	"	2.13	"

RETURNING

									First trip June 28	
6.25	P. M.	Lv.	Cape May	Lv.	5.15	P. M.	6.20	P. M.	8.55	P. M.
f6.42	"	"	Rio Grande	"	f5.26	"	6.29	"	....	
6.55	"	"	† Cape May Court House	"	5.41	"	6.39	"	....	

† Station for Reed's Beach and Miami Beach—Delaware Bay Fishing

OCEAN CITY

WEEK-DAYS except July 4 and September 7								SUNDAYS and July 4 and September 7		
6.50	A. M.	8.40	A. M.	Lv.	PHILA. (Market St. Wharf)	Lv.	7.10	A. M.	8.40	A. M.
6.58	"	8.48	"	"	.....CAMDEN.....	"	7.18	"	8.48	"

RETURNING

July 4, Sept. 7 only

								First trip June 28
P. M.	P. M.			P. M.	P. M.	P. M.	P. M.	P. M.
4.27	6.20	Lv.	Ocean City (8th Street)	Lv.	4.27	5.10	6.35	8.40
f 4.29	f 6.22	"	(14th Street)	"	f 4.29	f 5.12	f 6.38	f 8.42
.....	f 6.26	"	" " (30th Street)	"	.....	.....	f 6.42	.....
f 4.33	f 6.27	"	" " (34th Street)	"	f 4.33	f 5.16	f 6.43	f 8.46
f 4.37	f 6.34	"	" " (55th Street)	"	f 4.37	f 5.20	f 6.47	f 8.50
f 4.42	6.41	"	.....Strathmere.....	"	f 4.42	f 5.26	6.53	f 8.55
f 4.45	f 6.44	"	.....Central Avenue.....	"	f 4.45	f 5.29	f 6.56	f 8.58
....	f 6.47	"	.....Prospect Street.....	"	....	....	f 6.59	....
4.52	6.54	"	.....Sea Isle City.....	"	4.52	5.37	7.04	9.06
f 4.58	f 7.00	"	.....Ocean View.....	"	f 4.58	f 5.43	f 7.10	f 9.12

STONE HARBOR

WEEK-DAYS except July 4 and September 7								SUNDAYS and July 4 and September 7		
6.50	A. M.	8.40	A. M.	Lv.	PHILA. (Market St. Wharf)	Lv.	7.20	A. M.	8.40	A. M.
6.58	"	8.48	"	"	.....CAMDEN.....	"	7.28	"	8.48	"

RETURNING

July 4, Sept. 7 only

								First Trip June 28
P. M.	P. M.			P. M.	P. M.	P. M.	P. M.	P. M.
4.24	6.23	Lv.	Stone Harbor (96th Street)	Lv.	4.24	5.07	6.20	8.37
4.26	6.25	"	" " (87th Street)	"	4.26	5.09	6.22	8.39
4.32	6.31	"	.....Peermont.....	"	4.32	5.15	6.28	8.45
4.34	6.37	"	.....Avalon.....	"	4.34	5.17	6.31	8.47
4.36	6.39	"	.....11th Street (Avalon)...	"	4.36	5.19	6.33	8.49
f 4.41	f 6.44	"	.....Townsend Inlet.....	"	f 4.41	f 5.24	f 6.38	f 8.54
f 4.46	f 6.49	"	.....Loretto Avenue.....	"	f 4.46	f 5.29	f 6.42	f 8.59

$1.25 Delaware River Bridge $1.25

ALL-RAIL ROUTE

WILDWOOD BRANCH

WEEK-DAYS except July 4 and Sept. 7							SUNDAYS and July 4 and Sept. 7	
9.30	A. M.	Lv.	PHILADELPHIA (Broad St. Station)	...	Lv.	7.25	A. M.	9.30 A. M.
9.34	"	"	(30th St. Station)	....	"	7.29	"	9.34 "
9.44	"	"	.....NORTH PHILADELPHIA.....		"	7.39	"	9.44 "
9.49	"	"	.....FRANKFORD JUNCTION.....		"	7.45	"	9.49 "

RETURNING

Last trip Sept. 13

June 28 to Aug. 30, and Sept. 7

4.08	P. M.	7.50	P. M.	Lv.	Wildwood Crest	Lv.	4.08	P. M.	7.58	P. M.	10.07	P. M.
4.11	"	7.53	"	"	Andrews Avenue	"	4.11	"	8.01	"	10.10	"
4.15	"	7.57	"	"	.....Wildwood.....	"	4.15	"	8.05	"	10.15	"
4.17	"	7.59	"	"	North Wildwood	"	4.17	"	8.07	"	10.17	"
4.20	"	8.02	"	"	.....Anglesea.....	"	4.20	"	8.11	"	10.20	"
4.32	"	....		"	Wildwood Junction	"	4.32	"	8.22	"	....	

CAPE MAY

WEEK-DAYS except July 4 and Sept. 7					SUNDAYS and July 4 and Sept. 7	
9.30	A. M.	Lv.	PHILADELPHIA (Broad Street Station)	Lv.	9.30	A. M.
9.34	"	"	(30th Street Station)	"	9.34	"
9.44	"	"	.....NORTH PHILADELPHIA.....	"	9.44	"
9.49	"	"	.....FRANKFORD JUNCTION.....	"	9.49	"

RETURNING

Last trip Sept. 13

4.12	P. M.	Lv.	Cape May	Lv.	4.12	P. M.	8.05 P. M.

OCEAN CITY

WEEK-DAYS except July 4 and Sept. 7					SUNDAYS and July 4 and Sept. 7	
9.30	A. M.	Lv.	PHILADELPHIA (Broad Street Station)	Lv.	9.30	A. M.
9.34	"	"	(30th Street Station)	"	9.34	"
9.44	"	"	.....NORTH PHILADELPHIA.....	"	9.44	"
9.49	"	"	.....FRANKFORD JUNCTION.....	"	9.49	"

RETURNING

Last trip Sept. 13

4.12	P. M.	Lv.	Ocean City (8th Street)	Lv.	4.12	P. M.	8.00	P. M.
4.14	"	"	" " (14th Street)	"	4.14	"	f8.02	"
4.18	"	"	" " (34th Street)	"	4.18	"	f8.06	"
f4.22	"	"	" " (55th Street)	"	4.22	"	f8.10	"
f4.27	"	"	.....Strathmere.....	"	f4.27	"	f8.16	"
4.34	"	"	.....Sea Isle City.....	"	4.34	"	8.25	"

STONE HARBOR

WEEK-DAYS except July 4 and Sept. 7					SUNDAYS and July 4 and Sept. 7	
9.30	A. M.	Lv.	PHILADELPHIA (Broad Street Station)	Lv.	9.30	A. M.
9.34	"	"	(30th Street Station)	"	9.34	"
9.44	"	"	.....NORTH PHILADELPHIA.....	"	9.44	"
9.49	"	"	.....FRANKFORD JUNCTION.....	"	9.49	"

RETURNING

Last trip Sept. 13

4.05	P. M.	Lv.	Stone Harbor (96th Street)	Lv.	4.05	P. M.	7.55	P. M.
4.07	"	"	" " (87th Street)	"	4.07	"	7.57	"
4.13	"	"	.....Peermont.....	"	4.13	"	8.03	"
4.15	"	"	.....Avalon.....	"	4.15	"	8.05	"
4.17	"	"	.....11th Street (Avalon).....	"	4.17	"	8.07	"
f4.22	"	"	.....Townsend Inlet.....	"	f4.22	"	f8.12	"
f4.27	"	"	.....Loretto Avenue.....	"	f4.27	"	8.17	"

Excursion tickets sold to resorts Ocean City-Cape May, inclusive, will be honored returning from any seashore resort north of that to which the ticket was originally sold

Example: A one-day excursion ticket to Cape May will be accepted returning from any seashore point Wildwood to Atlantic City, inclusive

"f" Stops only on signal or notice to Agent or Conductor

Broadway Stop—Train leaving Philadelphia (Market Street Wharf) 8.40 A. M. will stop at Broadway 8.51 A. M., daily

Tickets good in coaches only. No baggage checked

CHILDREN 5 YEARS OF AGE AND UNDER 12, HALF FARE

For Excursions to Atlantic City and North Jersey Coast and other points
SEE SEPARATE FLYERS

For additional information apply to Ticket Agents or D. M. BECKER, Division Passenger Agent, 1613 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

F. W. CONNER
Passenger Traffic Manager

W. E. BLACHLEY
General Passenger Agent

Broad Street Station, Philadelphia, Pa.

6-16-1931 1800 ALLEN, LANE & SCOTT, PRINTERS, PHILADELPHIA. Printed in U. S. A.

Modern Problems of Race + Color

JEWS - Germany, Students, Cleveland
SLAVS - Cronstadt - Religion
LATINS - Immigration -
INDIA - Conquest
CHINA - U. of Moscow
JAPAN - 3 WARS
NEGRO - S. AFRICA - KENYA - NIGERIA
LIBERIA - JAMAICA - BRAZIL
UNITED STATES

30-27-65

COLOR + PHISIQUE
Theory of RACE

CULTURE
EVOLUTION
PHYSIQUE
PSYCHOL

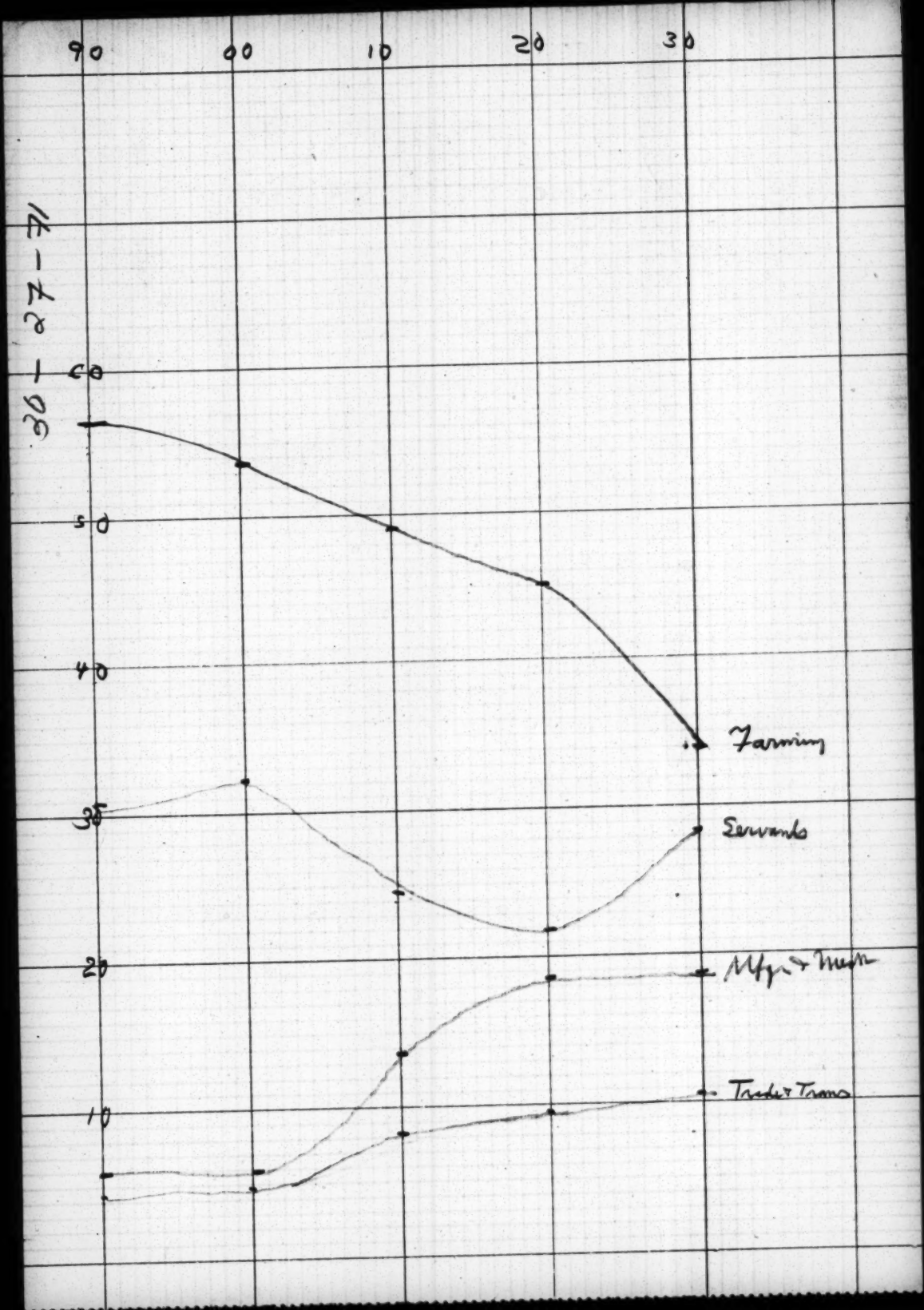
RELIGION - JEW - MOHAMMEDAN -
CATHOLIC

CLAN - ENGLAND - NEW ENG - ARISTOCRACY

EMPIRE - EGYPT - AMERICA

LABOR - SUGAR - COFFEE - OIL
COTTON - COCOA

INCOME + DEMOCRACY


90
00
10
20
30
30 - 27 - 71
60
50
40
30
20
10
Farming
Servants
Mfg + Mech
Trade + Trans

The Negro in America

(3) 1. Egypt, 3000 B.C. tropical out door

(3) 2. Obeah 1500 A.D. " " "

(5) 3. Stephen Dorantes discovering the Southwest, 1539 T.O.D.

(10) 4. "1619" — the landing of the Twenty. (Sea)

~~5. Phillis Wheatley, 1770~~

(7) 5. The Boston Massacre, 1775 — Crispus Attucks (City) & Phillis Wheatley

10 6 The Revolution in Hayti, 1790 — Toussaint L'ouverture (T.O.D.)

5 7 The African Church 1787 - Its revolt in Philadelphia (inside)

10 8 The Battle of New Orleans 1814. T.O.D.

10 9. The First Convention ~~of Negroes~~ 1831 (inside)

10 10 Nat Turner 1831 (Mountains)

10 11 Fort Wagner - The "54th" 1865 (Sea)

5 12 Emancipation 1863 Cabin

10 13 San Juan Hill 1898 T.O.D.

10 14. The Future. T.O.D.

Aug 21 1931

Tropical out doors
Cabin interior
Sea
Church interior
~~Mountain outdoors~~

St Paul
Minneapolis
Chicago
Cleveland
St Louis
Kansas city Kan
" " Mo
Columbus
Cinti
Indianapolis
Pittsburg
N.Y.
Boston
Phil
Wash
Balt
N. Haven
Wilmington
Newport

Scenery & banners

31-3-20

145
25
50
30
25
25

Negro Occupations

Kinds of occupations
Qualifications necessary
Income to be expected
Chances for promotion
Examples of persons who
have succeeded

33-2-76

Business:
Capital needed
Where
What
Starting time
Women's work.

Place of work
Domestic service

		men	women.
1	Outdoor Country life + with weather + time change	Farmer	Farmer
2	Technique processes — (indoor)	Engineer	Baker, laundry-manager stenographer
3	Combining + fashion (Making + fitting together things) — ingenuity, with changes in taste, transportation + foreknowledge (indoor) capital	manufacturer	Dressmaker milliner
4	Enterprises — Trade — CAPITAL changes in demand. (indoor)	Contractor merchant Real Estate	merchants
5	Money + Credit changes CAPITAL in business death + honesty (sedentary)	Banking Insurance Real Estate	Banking Ins! real estate
6	Public Service (uncertain tenure) + Taste demand.	Civil service Welfare + Restaurant agents, clerks Lawyer	Hotels + Restaurant keeper agents - clerks Stenographer Housework
7	Creation changes in income)	Authors, artists Photographers	Authors, artists Photographers musicians
8	Social uplift (income)	Clergymen Teachers	Teachers Settlement workers
9	Health work Sickness; death Personally	Undertaker, Dentists Physicians	Undertakers, Dentists Physicians, Nurses
10	Litigation (indoor)	Lawyer	

33-2-71

1. Farmers —

2. Engineers
mines, electricity
mechanics, auto

3. Manufactures
clothing, cigars, food
textiles, shoes, furniture
notions

4. Contractors
building, finishing
general

5 Bankers

6. Insurance

7. Undertakers

8 Merchants
wholesale
retail: autos, groceries, shoes
Books, dry goods, clothing

9. Civil Service

10. Authors

11 Clergymen

12 Teachers

13 Dentists

14 Lawyers

15. Photographers

16 Physicians

17 Hotel Keepers

18. Barbers

19 Laundry men.

20 Real Estate

1. Dressmakers

2. Cooks & Bakers

3. Merchants

4 Undertakers

5 Civil Service

6 Authors

7. Teachers

8 Photographers

9 Physicians

10 Trained Nurses

11. Stenographers

33-2-72

1. Farmer
2. Engineer
3 Manufacturer
4 Contractor.
5 Banking & Insurance
6 Undertaker
7. Merchant
8 Civil Service
9. Authors & artists
10 Clergymen.
11 Teachers
12 Dentists
13 Lawyer & Real estate
14 Photographer
15 Physicians
16

33-2-73

1. Dressmakers
2. Cooks.
3. Laundry managers.
4 Merchants
5. Stenographers.
6 Authors & artists
7 Musicians
8 Teachers
9 Photographers
10 Physicians
11. Trained nurses
12 Hotel & restaurant keepers
13 Banking & Insurance
14 agents & clerks.
15 Housewife

Men | Women

1. Out doors — Weather + time — Farmer. gardener Dairy
(Brain + body)

2 Technique — Change — Artisan Engineer — Cook launderess
(Body)

3 Economy + Fashion — Taste — manufacturer — Dressmaker milliner merchant
(Office)

4 Trade — Time + place — CAPITOL — Contractor
(Office)

5 Money + Credit — Honor Accident + Death — Banking insurance + real estate
(Office)

6 Public Service — Tenure + Personality — Civil service Hotel + restaurant agents clerks + stenographers Lawyer housewife
(Sedentary - body)

33-2-74

7 Creative work — Income — ART — author artists musicians + Photographers
(Freedom)

8 Social welfare — Income — Teacher Clergyman Settlement worker
(Confined)

9 Health work — Personality — Physician dentists undertaker Trained nurse
(Confined)

Riverside Court
Mass. ave
Cambridge
Mass.

Culture Color & Income

Ch. I Culture

Changes in meanings of words
Culture as "good manners" & as manners
men follow manners & customs more than laws
Culture folders = pictures of a good soul
We used to think our C. right – others wrong or wrong
Man by chance experiment, imitation, learned to do
things – handed the learning down &
built a culture
The study of culture is the study of men
– Ruth Benedict – test by social success

30-31-5

Ch. I Continued

Why do we do so
inheritance
learning
invention
change & reform
Freezing the past & some of – Religion
The possibility of change
physical world
Possibility of planning – Ethics

Chapter 2.

Color

The Negroland of the Arabs by W. D. Cooley
London 1841

30-1-43

Original Kings of Ghanah (q. called of King as well) ruled as far
North as Audaghost — Black ruby White
Berbers; afterward relocated South the Negro
King settles at Aukar

1054 the Morabites destroyed Audaghost
the richest King the rule of unbelievers

Aukar had 2 towns: Mohammedan
with 12 mosques & Ghadah where King &
his Blacks resided

The Rule of the Blacks — land covered many days
Wandigoes from S.W

Their conquests must have been completed
by the Arabs & merchants penetrated to inland.
They found no nation of blacks so powerful
as Ghanah, dominion of extended
West as far as ocean. Ghana was conquered
by Morabites & but was virtually independent
& converted to Islam. Then the
Black Susu invaded & absorbed Ghana.
Mali conquered Susu & Ghana. under Edris

AMERICANIZATION

INTELLIGENCE

INCOMING IDEAS MEET IDEALS = AMERICANIZATION

THEORY of IDEAL	PRACTICE
TREASURE	LAND
REFUGE	RESTRICTION
FREEDOM	SLAVERY
DEMOCRACY	GUIDED VOTE
WEALTH	POVERTY

Worth of Peoples

IDEAS INCOMING.

30-14-546

PAUPERS + CRIMINALS

INTELLIGENCE

Guilty God

1 Servants + Maids — Atlanta
2 Laborers + Bosses — Chicago
3 Landholders + Investors — Los Angeles
4 Corporations
5 Finance
6 World Finance

Gambling, Speculation, Money Interest

1. Industrial Ins
2. Union + Cooperation
3 Real Estate + Trust

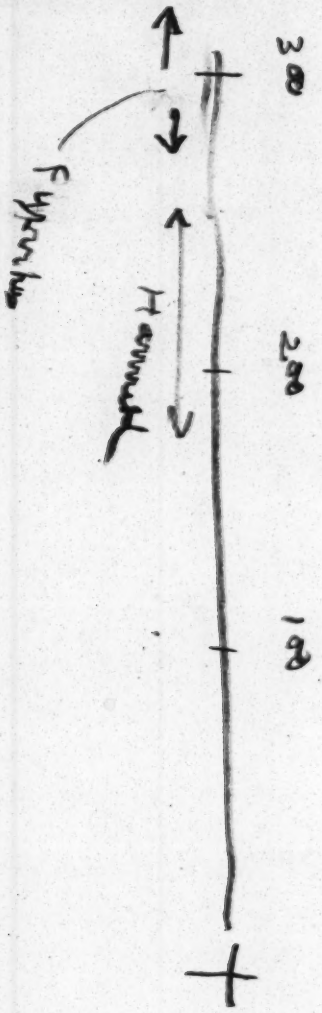
80-3-9

Hannibal

Pyrrhus

247–183 BC.

318–272 BC.



30-15-7

Revue Numismatique
3rd Ser. Vol 14
Paris, 1896
E. Babelon: L'éléphant
d'Annibal
pp 1-13

Hannibal

PLACE UNCERTAIN

30-15-9

11-14. Kircher Museum. Head of a Moor with a ring in his ear facing right. An Asiatic elephant with a little bell hanging from its neck, facing left. The bronzes bearing these types differ among themselves by having four different letters of the alphabet, which are here seen in reverse and are: : three of these: are often also repeated in their proper form.

15. In the Strozzi Collection. This coin has the above-mentioned figures and, as a distinctive letter, an M in its proper form and in reverse; but in its proper form, there are two other letters by the side of the M. Gamurrini asserts that the letters in their proper form are Latin and mean: ; I, on the other hand, realizing how hard it is to ascertain, must however say that such a reading seems impossible to me. I take it to mean: , and I see this third letter M divided in two in the reverse letter which Gamurrini has read as an . The letter M is marked on the coin as well as on the reverse side. The seems to me to denote two-and-half. Bronzes with these figures are usually found in Val di Chiana and their weight runs from 2.40 to 2.80 grams.

The image of the elephant does not place it in the sixth century as if it were of African stock, since we know that at the time of the Punic War such elephants were seen in Italy; but these elephants, on the contrary, are the Asiatic ones of King Pyrrhus shown at Rome by Sulpicius Saverrio the Censor after the Battle of Ascoli. Nor does the picture depicted here of the

30 - 15 - 9

Moor guarding the animal serve to belie this: for these Moors were also in Asia, and the Indians as well as the Africans were distinguished by their outstanding expertness in training elephants; so that Lelio, discussing them, correctly brackets together the Indians and Africans he saw in Africa during the time that he was an envoy of Scipio (Cicero: De Repub. II, 40): Non et tibi (Scipioni) cum essem legatus (bello punico tertio) saepe vidi. Ergo ille indus aut poenus unam coercet belluam et eam docilem et humanis moribus adsuetam. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Frags. LXIX c. 14 p. 134, med. ed.), Pyrrhus used Indians who had been sent to him by his father-in-law, Ptolemy of Egypt, and he had also made use of them to recapture Epirus.

SLAVE TRADE

AFRICAN CULTURE

EUROPE (DUTCH - ENGLISH -

LAND - CAPITAL - TECHNIK

LABOR - 10 MILLION

THE WEST INDIES

SUGAR - 1650

TOBACCO - 1700

COTTON - 1800

HAITI ~~AN~~

OVANDO

CODE NOIR 1685

1750 - 172,000 NEGROES - 10,000 Plantations

1791 - 200 Mill invested
127 " lbs Sugar a year
30,000 Slaves " "

MULATTOES — PETITS BLANCS

FRENCH REVOLUTION

1779 - 800 HAITIANS @ SAVANNAH

1789-90 - OGÉ

1791 - CITIZENS

40000 WHITES
28000 FREE NEGROES

22 AUG - 450000 SLAVES

1400 Plantations - 3 weeks of NIGHT

(2)

TOUSSAINT

(WASHINGTON, PLATO, BUDDHA, CHARLEMAGNE)

VOODOO

COMISSIONERS – THE KING – SPAIN

1794 – EMANCIPATION

1796 – 15000 BRITISH – { MOLE / St NICHOLAS

1798 – THE KING's SILVER

1800 – CONSTITUTION

NAPOLEON – 21,000 TROOPS – 80 ships – 40 generals

WAR

PEACE – BETRAYAL

REVOLT = YELLOW FEVER

DEATH – 40000 SOLDIERS

LOUISIANA *

COLORED !!

JAMAICA – MAROONS (1655 – 1795)

SUGAR 1673

1700-86 – 600,000 Slaves

1800 – #200 MILL

COLLAPSE

ANTI – SLAVERY

1865 – GEORGE WILLIAM GORDON

500 killed

ST VINCENT – ST LUCIA

CUBA – { OSTEND MANIFESTO / 10 years WAR – 1866-78 / Revolt 1895 – MACEO / U.S.A.

30-14-84

(3)

SOUTH AMERICA

GUIANA

BRAZIL

ECUADOR & C- PANAMA

NEW RACE & CULTURE

20 MILLION

Begumpet
Phisicaltley & Palem
Palem
Indrasam

5000

~~3000~~
~~2000~~
~~1000~~

3000 BC – 0
1000 B.C. – 1000 A.D
0 – 2000 A.D

36 – 14 – P3

Negro in U.S.A.

PARADOX
NEGRO GROUP
- 1700 - 50,000
- 1800 - 1 mil
- 1850 - 4 "
- 1900 - 9 "
- 1950 - 15 "

BIOLOGICAL — W.S. — S.AMER. — U.S.A
One-third pure

COLONIES
HAITI — LA
- OKL., KAN., NEB., Iowa, Wy.
- Mont., N.D., S.D., Col., Minn,
- Wash., ORE

SLAVE TRADE
ENGLAND
COLONIAL REVOLT
ABOLITION

REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1776-1820
D. of INDEPENDENCE
ANTI-SLAVERY
COLONIZATION - FUGITIVES

COTTON
1800 -
1820 - 650,000
1850 - 2½ Mil - 1860 - 4 mil - 1900 - 10 - 1930 - 15

1820-50
CODES - REVOLTS - ~~LAND~~ FUGITIVES
PHILOSOPHY - ~~POLITICS~~ - EXPANSION
FARM - FACTORY

30-14-82

POLITICS - WAR
NEGRO - WORKER
SOLDIER

DEMOCRACY
IMPERIAL INDUSTRY
PARTITION of ASIA + AFRICA

LABOR MOVEMENT
CASTE + DICTATORS

NEGROES
DICTATORSHIP + CASTE
INFILTRATION — GROUP

WORLD WAR
ASIA
AFRICA
AMERICA

NEGRO GROUP
RACE
REALITIES
ORGANIZED PRESSURE
ECONOMIC REFORM

RACE + DEMOCRACY

AFRICA.

PRE-HISTORY

GREAT LAKES & RACES

NILE

ETHIOPIA

EGYPT (Middle 3000; New 1700 BC)

ASIA

TAHARKA (Ca. 750-500)

Assyrians + Persians

GREEK 300 BC

ROMANS

MOSLEM 640 AD

SUEZ — MAHDI 1881-1898

NIGER

ARABS 718

GHANA 1000

MELLE 1235-1335

SONGÄY 1335-1591

TURKS - MOORS

HAUSSA — BORNU - KANEM

CONGO

GUINEA - DAHOMEY - ASHANTI

LIBERIA

SLAVE TRADE – 10 MIL.

CULTURE

CAPE

ZIMBABWE

MONOMOTAPA

COAST

UGANDA

BUSHMEN – BANTU

DUTCH 1652

ENGLISH 1805

CHAKA

GREAT TREK 1837

GOLD 1886

BOER WAR 1899

CASTE (White 2 mil.
Bantu 6½
Col 1 mil

PARTITION 1885

30-141-P1

NEGRO ECONOMIC CRISIS

HISTORY

ECONOMIC PROBLEM, 1863-1935

LAND + EDUCATION - 1860-70

VOTE { RESTORATION
EDUCATION
LAND
WORK

1867-1876

30-5-8

LAND MONOPOLY + LABOR COMPETITION + CAPITAL INVESTMENT

LABOR MOVEMENT 1876-

WASHINGTON - 1896-1914

LABOR-LAND-CAPITAL

By SKILL + SCAB

MASS PRODUCTION

WAR - MIGRATION

RIOTS

DEPRESSION

2,000,000	FARMERS
1,500,000	SERVANTS
1,000,000	IN INDUSTRY
400 000	TRANSPORT
200 000	Business PROFESSIONS
150 000	MINERS
75 000	FORESTRY & FISHING
50 000	Public SERVICE
50 000	
5425000	
5 500000	

LABOR MOVEMENT
CAPITALISM
COOPERATION

David P Barrows: Berbers + Blacks Century Co. 1927

The Sudan p 8-10 Arab p. 21

Slave soldiers p 180 ff Dongola p 229

Slave raids 233 ff

Africa by E. Lewin Oxford 1927

(an English geography) 223 pp.)

Africa + Anthropology by J. Thomas

London 1923 244 pp

(Bell's Extension geographies)

A History of South Africa by E. A. Walker

London 1928 623 pp.

Chap I

30-2-1

36-10-141

U.S.

Defense
Foreign Affairs
Commerce
Citizens
Council
Defendants
Executive
State
Treasury
Att. General
Post office
Interior
Agriculture
Commerce
Labor
Foreign Aid
Treasury
Gold
Immigration
Reclamation
Merchant Marine
P Debt
P Lands
Mutuality
Indians
Forests
TVA
Communities
Banks
Elections
Rivers harbors
Judges
Weather

State

Bonds
Welfare
Education
Elections
Farms
Taxes
Foods
Elections
Housing
Industries
Inland water
Interest
Treasury
Railroad
Lumber
Treasury & debt
Crime
Highways
Schools
Lands
Roads

Cities
Buildings
Parks
Streets
Prisons
Slums
Municipalities
Areas
Tidelands

Eisenhower cabinet

Nature Cures

36-10-146

The moral ascent of Corporations
is the freedom it gives individuals
from moral responsibility — in reality
& in theory

TEDDY:

I AM NOT GETTING ENOUGH HEAT

WHERE ARE THR FUSES?

DU BOIS

Equality

Equality is not possible by force nor bleeding

Force is unreasonable & unjust as impossible

& bleeding is the death of all self respect

What then to do

appeal & reason, then, with dignity from & unwearying resilience & more yarn Segregated world

The best possible

37-9-90

Egyptian

1 No unnecessary separation by race

37-9-91

2 No lowering of standards in race understandings

Under he Auspices of the American
Baptist Home Mission Society

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

25
35
17
16

190
100
290

No attempt to change anyone belief

But a determination to make us think

not just actual slogans

"No segregation" means nothing in our present

unsaved. So is the yelling "an end"

"Segregation is an evil" is eternally true

but how do we attain end to this evil in

Montgomery

But what to do next. End is the greatest

Can we simply yell No Evil!

37-9-92

17
15
34

37-9-93

We assemblies of the anti segregation campaign have been all wrong. This is not our fault. It is our misfortune. When I went to AU in 1897 & slowly the Negro problem, & read comparatively few books on ignorance: once Negroes knew calculus & whites knew Negroes & the problem is solved. The proposition is true but the solution finding among those who should demand. Negroes are child ignorant. But the happy & assertive thing is that white people are just as ashamed & Negroes of abnormal & curious as of any other kind - teachers more so. Not all writers of course but the overwhelming majority. Our main material fellow plant. We also advisers & members. We auditors are tired & afraid. We agitate & get angry. We face the blank fact: Negroes are dead uncertain — neither as scholars, nor dreamers men, neither as clerks nor artisans, neither as artists nor writers. What can we do? We cannot vote free. We cannot control laws even if we get it or the schools books. So long as human conscience & goodness & defenseless color segregation we are helpless & weakened remedy. We can only train our auxiliaries — & the school children — & your tools & record!

Bentkamiana

The assumption that
that settles your problem
& is for your ease comfort
& satisfaction is for the best
interests of the Negro race

37-9-94

The harmonies

Your sent your check
Eleanor Calhoun & let Hanlon
schools go & hell

We are dappled of all nationalities
of independence
We have no originality
We are afraid of ourselves

37-9-95

The art of Slacking
These truly are the brave!

A Programme that always
involves a humiliating self sacrifice
scramble & crawl somewhere, where
you're not wanted, when you cannot
use a trained dog —

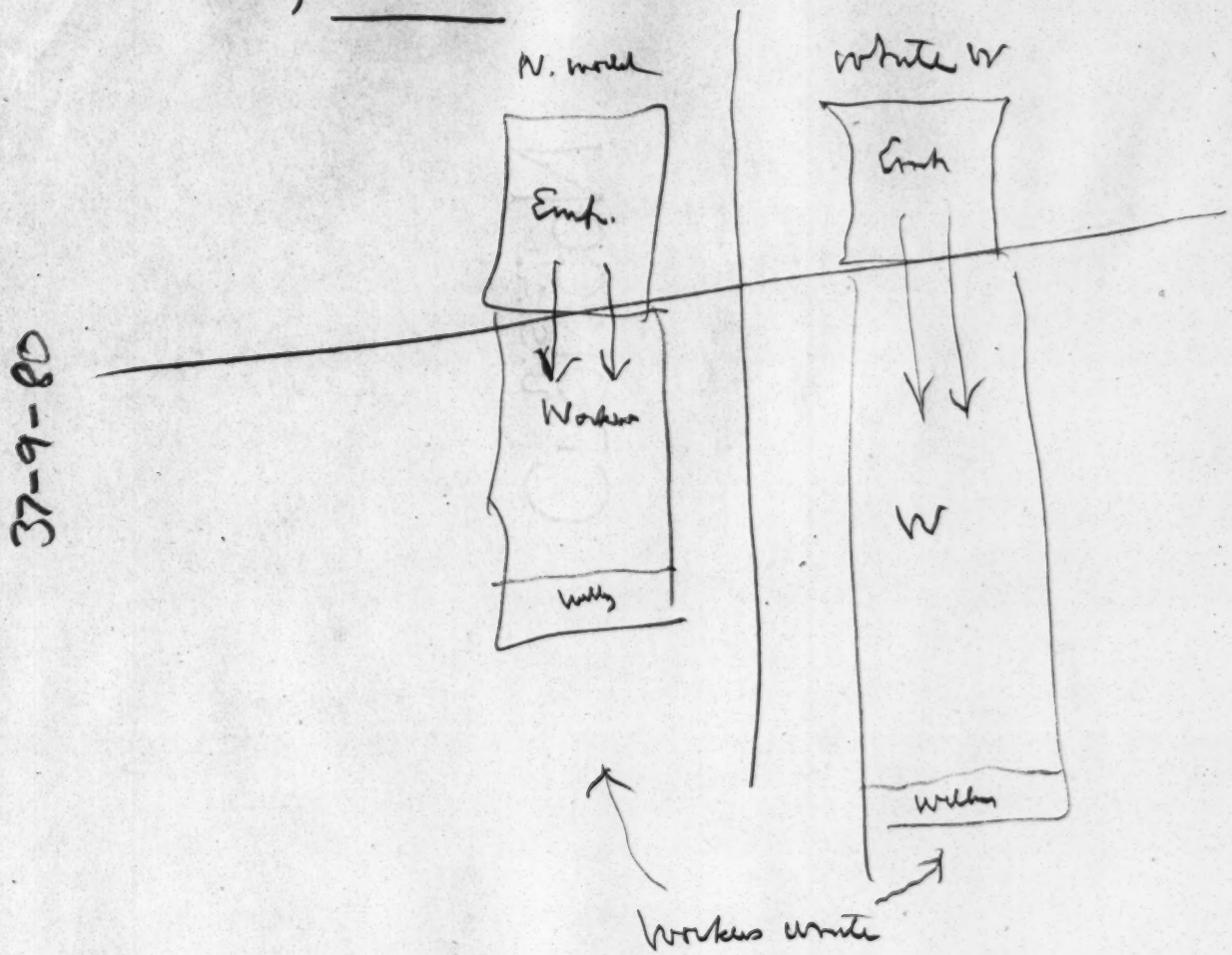
37-9-96

Or even a Programme you cannot
finish or understand

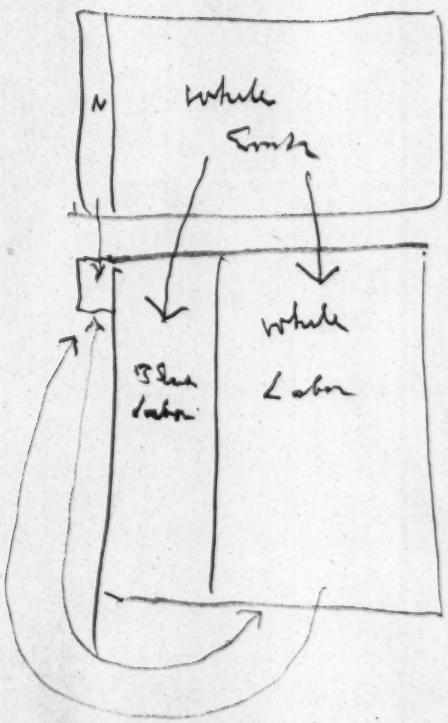
We Cry God: should ever in a multitude
of Tell the whole crowd to get to hell rather than
lick boots in a trance

37-9-79

Negro Bourgeoisie



37-9-80



There was a gehörig Lunge — 30 years had rested. Yes — he was in the war with the land-storm in Prussia under Hindenburg.

We were war — we — and then we were conquered we were angehungert and now I want to go also to my above relies (graves relies are his cultural!) + now 5+ 6 months!

36-3-62

The Rhein

They have travelled to Lorelei and the deathless beauty of the Rhine is there rocks blossoming and castles: the towns of the Rheinfels — the great cruise by Guntrannen Ehrenbreitstein + the walls of old towns

Lec. Mss.

undated

In the law of Moses woman had no right of divorce, cound inherit only in the absence of sons. In India woman had only limited rights of inheritance and were disqualified as witnesses. Under Roman law woman was completely dependent. She could have no property, was under a perpetual guardianship of her father and after his death of her agnates. The wife was the purchased property of her husband. No woman could hold any public office. She could not be witness or surety, could not make a will.

In the later empire, however, women gained considerable independence, except in capacity to make a will or contract or be a witness.

Christianity introduced some alleviations and on the other hand brought in various bars. Women were not allowed to hold any office in the church or approach the altar or administer baptism.

In the Germanic tribes there was some difference, but often women could not inherit and were under perpetual tutelage.

Under English law women had only limited rights of making wills and being witnesses. They were strictly limited as to the kind of dress they could wear.

38-13-302

The gaining of civil rights of women has proceeded as follows: as late as 1910 a husband in England could obtain a divorce for adultery but a wife only for adultery coupled with some other cause, such as cruelty. In modern women have secured the right to hold property in their own names even if married. The systematic education of women did not begin until near the middle of the nineteenth century. They have gradually been admitted to the professions. In France in 1900 they were admitted as barristers. They are not admitted to the English Bar yet. The first woman physician was placed on the English medical register in 1859 and the first woman apothecary in 1865. In 1908 the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons admitted women. The Woman Suffrage Movement began in England in 1847.

Lecture notes

CHRONOLOGY OF RECONSTRUCTION

FOUR THREADS: moral, economic, political, racial

1861-1864, United States borrowed three billion dollars
1863, Draft Riots
1862-1865, Lincoln's plan of migration
1862, Sumner's state suicide theory
1862, Lincoln admits Louisiana
1863, Lincoln's plan: states still exist; one-tenth of the voters can act; Negroes free
1864, Syracuse Convention
1864, Louisiana election; Lincoln suggests limited Negro suffrage
1864, Wade-Davis plan; the South as territory; white suffrage, majority vote, Negroes free
1864, Lincoln vetoes Wade-Davis plan and is reelected
1865, Stevens suggests free land for Negroes
1865, Louisiana excluded by Congress; Lincoln defends Louisiana
1865, Johnson, President
1865-1866 , Black Codes
1865, 14,000 pardons in nine months
1865, Johnson's plan of provisional governors
1865, May to December, South reconstructed with white suffrage and no slavery
1864, April to December, Congress not in session
1860, August, Johnson suggests suffrage to Mississippi
1865, December, 39th Congress, first session; Confederates apply for admission; vice-President, four general, five colonels, six cabinet members, fifty-eight congressmen
1865, December, Committee of Fifteen
1865, December, Johnson's message; United States has no power over suffrage
1865, March, Freedmen's Bureau Bill passed and vetoed; Johnson's speech; Congress refuses admission of South
1865, March, Civil Rights Bill vetoed
1866, January, Congress defeats first 14th Amendment
1866, May, second Freedmen's Bureau Bill vetoed and passed
1866, June, 14th Amendment passed
1866, July and August, General Amnesty to South and Johnson's campaign
1866, November, Republican success; South rejects 14 Amendment
1867, March, Reconstruction Bill, 5 military divisions, manhood suffrage, conventions; passed over veto
1867, April, appeal to Supreme Court
1868, Election
1869, Impeachment

91-44-16

Lecture Notes

CHRONOLOGY OF RECONSTRUCTION

FOUR THREADS: moral, economic, political, racial

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1867, April, appeal to Supreme Court
1868, Election
1869, Impeachment

30-44-85

SOUTHERN CONVENTIONS 1867 to 1868

Members	black	white
South Carolina	76	48
Louisiana	49	49
Florida	18	27
Virginia	25	80
Georgia	33	137
Mississippi	17	83
Alabama	18	90
Arkansas	8	58
North Carolina	15	118
Texas	9	81
	268	771

Taxes

Debt

Railroads

Officials

Schools

Social legislation

30-14-86

Econ. ✱

Economics of American Slavery

Lecture notes

1800 - 1863

TRADE - ENGLAND - 1700-1800

PLANTING & SHIPPING

LA. — NAPOLEON — 3/5

MFGR

1810 — $121,000,000
1850 — 1,000,000,000
1860 — 2,000,000,000
1870 — 3,000,000,000

TARIF

1816 — 7-30%
1824-8 — increase
1832 — lower
33 — 9 years of protection
1842 — 20%
46 Revenue
57 Free trade
62 — 37%
64 — 47%

SLAVES

1790 — $200
1815 — 250
1840 — 500
1850 — 1000
1860 — 1400-2000

RR

1840 — 3000 miles
50 — 7,000
60 — 30,000

CRISES

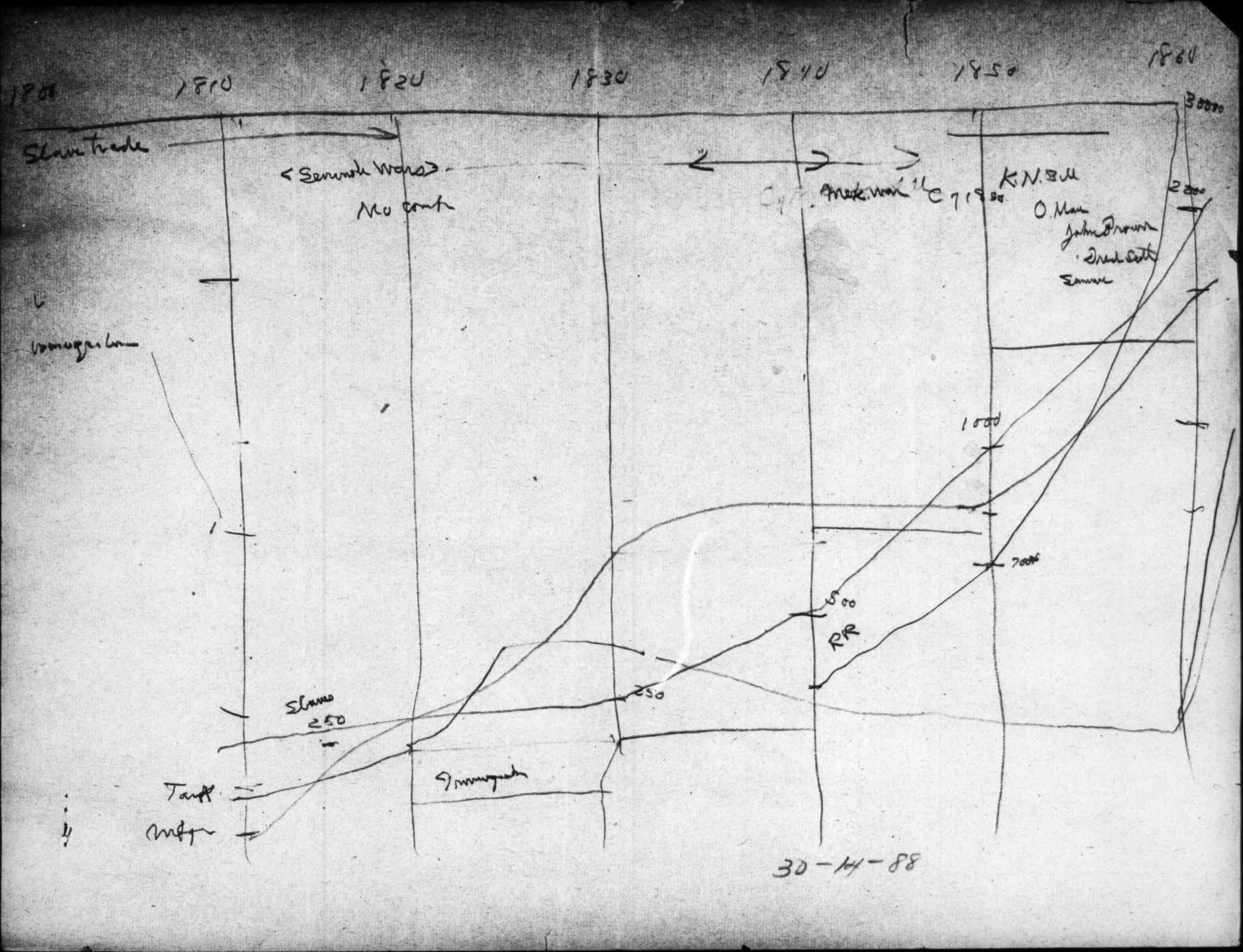
1819
1837
1857
1873

30-14-87

IMMIGRATION

1820-30 — 150 000
30-40 — 600 000
40-50 — 1,700,000
50-60 2,600,000
60-70 2 300 000
70-80 2,800,000

Politics — Slave Trade, 1808, 1820
Seminol
~~MEXICAN~~ WARS, 1816-18, 1836-41
Mo. Compromise 1820
Nullification — 1833
C. of 1850 —
Ostend M, 1854
Kan.-Neb bill, 1854
John Brown 1856
Sumner
Dred Scott 1857


1800
1810
1820
1830
1840
1850
1860
Slave trade
< Seminole Wars >
No comb
K.N.B.M
O. Mass
John Brown
Dred Scott
Seminole
1000
7000
500
RR
250
Slaves
250
Tariff
30-11-88

Lecture Notes

Negro + Indian in S. America

Mexico: 20,000,000; Indian 30%; mestizo 60%; white 10%; budget $88,000,000
Budget $88,000,000; illiteracy, 60%.

Nicaragua: 1,000,000; Indian and mestizo 4,000,000; illiteracy 60%; budget $4,000,000

Guatamala: Indian; 75% illiteracy; 3,000,000 inhabitants; $16,000,000 budget

Honduras: 1,000,000 inhabitants, Indian and mestizo, high illiteracy; budget $5,000,000

Costa Rica: 600,000; 20% illiteracy, largely white; budget $6,000,000

Panama, 500,000, mixed, $11,000,000 budget, high illiteracy except Canal Zone, budget $11,000,000

Colombia, 9,000,000; 3,500,000 mestizos, 500,000 Negroes, 3,000,000 mulattoes, 10% white, 85% illiteracy, budget $51,000,000

Venezuela: 3,500,000; 45% white, 45% Indian; 10% Negro, Negro mixture larger on the coast; illiteracy 90%, budget $100,000,000

Ecuador: 3,000,000 inhabitants, 51% mestizo and mullatoes, 38% Indian, 10% white, illiteracy 75%; budget $8,000,000

Dutch Guiana 175,000; one-half Negroes; rest Indian, East Indian and a few whites

British Guiana: 300,000: Negro and mullato 125,000; Indians, East Indian and whites; budget $500,000

French Guiana: 30,000: 25,000 Negroes

Peru: 7,000,000; Indian 50%; mestizo 35%; white 10%; rest Negro and mullato; illiteracy 75%; budget $28,000,000

Brazil: 24,000,000; 50% white; 22% mulatto; 14% Negro ; 13% mestizo; illiteracy 65%; budget $220,000,000

Bolivia 3,500,000; 90% Indian and mestizo; illiteracy 75%; budget $14,500,000

Paraguay: 1,000,000; Indian and mestizo; 80% illiteracy, $2,000,000 budget

Argentina: 13,000,000; mostly white, some mestizo; illiteracy 21%; budget $200,000,000

Uraguay: 2,000,000; white, low illiteracy; budget $33,000,000

Chile: 4,500,000; white and mestizo, 50% illiterate; $95,000,000 budget

Cuba: 4,000,000; 30% white; 40% mulatto; 30% Negro; $67,000,000 budget, illiteracy 35%

Haiti: 3,000,000; Negro and ulatto, high illiteracy; budget $6,000,000

Dominica Republic: 1,500,000; Negro and mulatto, high illiteracy; $12,000,000 budget

Jamaica: 850,000; blacks 660,000, mulatto 157,000, white 15,000, few East Indians and Chinese; budget $10,000,000

Porto Rico: 1,500,000; 50 to 60% white; 30 to 40% mulatto and black

In Latin America including Mexico and the West India Islands: white 25,000,000; Negro 15,000,000; Indian 17,000,000; mulatto and zambos 25000,000; mestizos 38,000,000.

Speaking English 131,000,000; Spanish 53,000,000; Portuguese 44,000,000, French 6,000,000

Chronology of Babylonia, Assyria and Turkey

4000 B. C. Old Babylonian Empire
Sumerians
3800 B. C. Sargon of Akkad
2300 B. C. Supremacy of Elam
2000 B. C. Hammurabi
Babylonia Independent
1900 B. C. Assyria settled from Babylonia
Assyrian Empire
1500 B. C. Wars between Assyria and Babylonia
1300 B. C. Hitites
1200 B. C. Phrygians
1194 B. C. Fall of Troy
1115-1105 B. C. Tiglath Pileser I
930 B. C. Brillant epoch of Assyrian history
Semiramis
745-727 Tiglath Pileser II
Conquered Babylonia
722-705 Sargon
705-681 Sennacherib attacks Egypt and Juda
681-668 Esarhaddon
Assyria at the heighth of her power
632 B. C. Scythians
608 Fall of Assyria
608-538 New Empire of Babylon
Nebuchadnezzar
538 Cyrus captured Babylon
1058 A. D. Seljuk Turks
1300 A. D. Ottoman Turks
1326 A. D. Janisaries Orkhan
1401 A. D. Defeated by Timur
1512-1520 Selim the Grim
1529 Siege of Vienna
1520-1566 Soliman the Magnificent
17th Century Six Sultans
1603-1648 Turmoil
1648-1849 Eight Sultans
Wars with Poland and Russia
1774 Eastern Question
1821 Revolt of Greece
1854 Crimean War
1876-1908 Abdul Hamid II
Russo-Turkish War
Turko-Greek War
Berlin to Bagdad
Young Turks
Italian and Balkan War
1914-1920 World War
Mustafa Kemal Pasha

40/8K

Arabia includes Arabia proper (one-third the size of the United States with seven million people), Iraq which was formerly a part of Turkey, Trans-Jordan and Palestine.

Arabia proper is a plateau sloping eastward from highlands bordering the Red Sea. The northern part of it is the Hejaz; the lower Yemen; inland are the three deserts: the Syrian, the Nafud and the Nejd. South along the Arabian Sea is Hadramaut.

Explorers:

Niebuhr - 1761

Burkhardt - 1814

Burton - 1854

Doughty - 1875

The inhabitants are Arabs, Negroes, Mulattoes and Jews

The chief historical topics are:

900 B. C. The Sabaean and Minaean Kingdoms

115 B. C. The Himyarites

525 A. D. Conquest by the Abyssinians

575 Conquest by the Persians

300-600 The Hira

500 Jafnids

569-632 Mohammed

632 Abu Bekr

634 Omar

644 Othman

40/8K/2

656 Ali

The Omayyads

The Abbasids

880 The Carmatheans

1517 The Turks

1750 The Wahhabis

1872 Ibn Raschid

1900 Ibn Saud

The World War

Lawrence

Iraq

Trans-Jordan

Syria

Palestine

Islam

Koran

Great Arabians

Avicenna

Ghazali

Avempace

Averroes

The Arabic Language

Antar - The Thousand and One Nights

40/8K/3

~~Box~~ Speech outlines

See. Manuscripts

32-20-3

1. Ferris W. Lewis
2. I am from N. Chicago
3. ?
4. ?
5. ?

12,000,000

The Mighty Elements

Capital	ambition
Labor	Unselfishness
intelligence	Consecration
Genius	The love of him

The Wonderful Tropics

The Cause of war

Greed

Unshakeable & Unfailing Union

Convention

Charity Takers

The New Cooperation

1. Collect our own capital
2. Employ ourselves
3. Place ability
4. Distribute profits justly
5. Lead the world

"And they shall lay their mantles by"

Erect & Strong & Universal as the Sun

Into the very clear shine

Wearing the Days of victory complete

The New World

Newness
- 1703 BC
- 1000 AD
- 1500 AD
  - Classics
  - Convention + Beauty
  - America

1492
- Sonia Ali
- Zymbabwe
- Yung

Revolution of 1919
- The New War
- The New Democracy
- The New Industry — Woman
- The New Alliguments

Our Position
- The Doctrine of Submission
- Earning a living
  - Toadyism - Teacher
  - Unniveristy - Physician
  - ugly — wife
  - Selfish - Business
  - 2nd generation
  - Exploited
  - ~~Convention~~
  - ~~Charity~~ - takers

Teaching Negro History

1. Why Was the Negro race no history
2. Why has no civilization risen in Africa
3. Why could Negroes be enslaved
4. Why Did Negro slaves never revolt
5. Why did the U.S. make the mistake of giving Negroes the ballot.
6. Why did not Negroes use the ballot intelligently
7. Why are we called Negroes.

Physical Africa

Egypt
Ethiopia
Yoruba
Songhay
Zymbabwe
Bantu

Paedric Callum

Iron
agriculture
Trade
Women
Slaves

Mohammedan & Christian slavery

Revolt

Maroons – Guiana

Revolution

uplift

Cotton

Runaways

The Civil War

Freedmans Bureau

Schools – Democracy – Social uplift

Races.

Paedia Collum

Dunbar – Aldridge – Antar

30 – 20 – 6

1. Why has the Negro no history
   Nefertari
2. No Negro Civilization
   Songhay

3 Slavery
   World commerce

4 No revolt
   Maroons

---

1. Black abolition.
2. 200,000 Soldier
3. Freedmen's Bureau
4 No vote no count
5. No discrimination account of color
6 Results: Schools – Democracy – Social legislation

(Freedmen's bank 3 million)

Why are we called Negroes

The dilemma of the Teacher.

The New World

Newness — 1703 BC — 1000 — 1500

1492

36—30—7

Revolution

New War

New Democracy

New Industry

New Woman

Our Position

Submission

Earning a living

Teach — submission
Preach — convention
Heal — avoid
Law — crime
Wife — ugly
Civil service — Repetition
Business — Bandit

The exploiter — Charity takes

2nd generation — common

The Mighty Elements

Capital — Labor — Genius

Abstract — Concretion
"The Love

The Wonderful Tropics
Cause of War
Greed

Holsey
Kinney
Mackey

The New Cooperation.

Collect Capital — 12,000,000
Employ ourselves.
Place ability
DISTRIBUTE PROFITS JUSTLY
Teach the World

And they shall beat their
swords into

Teaching Negro History

30-20-8

1. No history
2. no civilization in Africa
3. Natural Slaves
4. no revolt
5. no ballot
6. no right use of ballot
7. Negroes + higher civilization - Collum.

Dunbar - Nebertari - Seminides - Antar

1. The Songhay (Crete, Egypt, Assyria)
   Facts + Forgetting

2. Civilization
   Iron - Trade - Woman

3. Slaves - Tenkadition

4. Revolt - Maroons
   Runaways

5. Freedmens Bureau
6. Schools - Democracy - Social Service
7. Theory of races

Reading

Crete
Assyria & Babylon
Egypt
Pre Dynastic Egypt

Ethiopia in Bible
Early travel Buddha
Herodotus
greeks & the Dynastic period
great Sphinx
Punt

1000000 years of geology
10,000 years of prehistory
5000 years of history
100 years of modern culture

Neferkare 170B
Yahmes III
Amenhotep III dyn 18 1400
Ethiopia Dynasty 25 750-650
Nastasenen rebels
Cambyses 500
Ergamenes
Candace & Rome
Diocletian Nubians & Blemmyes
Sheba 1050 BC
Kaleb conquers Yemen 525-75 AD
Yemen 15th c
Mahdi 1881-98
Menelik Adua 1896

Future

Capital

Employ ourselves

Ability

Distribute Profits

Justly

Teach world

And they shall

lay them

Warfare by

New Worlds

Revolution

War

Democracy

Industry

Woman

Our Positions

Professions

Artisan

Wife

Business

Aquisition

Income

Crime

Sickness

Slavery

Philanthrohy

Elements

Capital

Labor

Genius

Ambition

Consecration

Tropics

War + Greed

Teaching Negro History

1. Why have Negro's no history?
2. Why was there no civilization in Africa?
3. Why could Negroes be enslaved?
4. Why did Slaves never revolt?
5. Why was the mistake made of giving Negro the ballot?
6. Why did Negroes misuse the ballot?
7. Why are we called Negroes

PAEDRIC COLLUM.

DUNBAR-ANTAR-ALDRIDGE

HISTORY — Nefertari

CIVILIZATION — Songhay

SLAVERY — World-commerce.

REVOLT — Maroons
1655 - 1663 - 1664 - 1738 - 1795

BLACK ABOLITION (SEMINOLES)

BLACK SOLDIERS

FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

NO VOTE, NO COUNT

BLACK LAWS

ENFRANCHISEMENT

SCHOOLS - DEMOCRACY - SOCIAL LEGISLATION

1738
1664
74

STEALING — Freedmans Bank.
NEGROES

The Dilemma of the Teaching

The Future

30-20-12

And they shall lay
their mantles by

Erect & Strong & visioned
as the Sun

NEW WORLDS

1703

1492

1787

DEMOCRACY

INDUSTRY

LABOR

SLAVERY

IMPERIALISM

WAR

NEW WORLD

NEW WAR

DEMOCRACY

INDUSTRY

WOMAN

RACES

Capital

Labor

Genius

Consociation

PROFITS

1. Wm. A. Rose
2. I dont know. (Locality)
3. ~~Do~~ my personal none have left. (How have left Ark)
4. Dont know where they went. (Where did they go)
5. Dont know why they went. (Why did they.
6.

MIGHTY ELEMENTS

Capital	Ambition
Labor	CONSECRATION
Genius	"The Love" &c

TROPICS

CAUSE OF WAR — Greed

The New Negro COOPERATION

Collect Capital

Employ Ourselves

Place Ability

DISTRIBUTE PROFITS JUSTLY

Teach the World

And they shall lay
their Marbles by —
Erect & strong & Visioned
as the Sun

THE NEW WORLD

NEW WORLDS

1703 BC
1000
1500 — Classics, Beauty, America

1492 — Sonnie ALi, ZyMBABWE, Fung

30-20-15

REVOLUTION

NEW
- WAR
- DEMOCRACY
- INDUSTRY
- WOMAN

OUR POSITION

SUBMISSION

ALIVING

TEACH
PREACH
HEAL
LAW

WIFE
CIVIL S.
BUSINESS
LABOR

2nd Generation
Convention
Charity

Lecture Notes

NEGRO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

I. Discussion groups
   1. Boston Equal Rights League, 1890

II. Recurrent discussion groups with committees
   1. Conventions 1830-1837
      a. State conventions: Ohio, Connecticut, etc.
   2. Troy Convention, 1847
   3. Cleveland Convention, 1848
   4. National Council - Rochester, 1853
   5. Emigration Convention, 1854
   6. National Convention - Syracuse, 1864
   7. Southern States Convention, 1865
   8. Adams and Singleton Conventions 1870
   9. National Labor Conventions, 1871
   10. Afro-American Council, 1895
   11. Pan-African Conference, 1900
   12. Niagara Movement, 1906
   13. Negro Conference, 1909
   14. Equal Rights League, 1914

III. Conferences and salaried officials
   1. NAACP, 1910
   2. Garvey Conventions, 1915

IV. Negro Federations
   1. National Urban League, 1911
   2. Sanhedrim, 1922
   3. The Negro Congress, 1936

CONCENTRATION OF CONTROL

1. Mass meeting democracy
2. Convention democracy - Conference of 1830
3. Clique control - Afro-American Council
4. Local control and national advice - National Urban League
5. National Control and local advice
6. Concentrated national control - NAACP

FIELD OF NEGRO SOCIAL REFORM

1. Political rights
2. Civil rights —(Lynching + mob violence)
3. Common school education
4. Higher education
5. Social equality
6. Legal defense
7. Employment & relief
8. Migration
9. Housing & residence areas

SUPPORT

1. White philanthropy and Community Chest
2. Negro voluntary offerings
3. Negro budgeted offerings
4. Political contributions
5. Business enterprise
6. Negro taxation

As I sketched
in Paris in
1960, & grasp
the meaning of
Grace I am
overwhelmed with
a despair of
what the human
mind can do
No one mind
can master
world history
1939–1959 —
and no number
of minds can
achieve the
unity &
continuity needed
for true understanding
such understanding

410-9-22

1961

Sept 15 — USA

Sept 15. Oct Mail

Oct Nov Dec — Pan-Africa + Encycl

Jan-Feb-Mch —

Dec Rev Reader — Cuba — + Encycl

Mch Mid Jun — Ecology

~~Jun Jul Aug~~ — Romania

Oct Nov Dec — Encyc

1962 —

The olives + Cypress

The tidal lands

The Cream Yellow colored

~~Pigeon~~ Cauliflower

The Castled cracked hills

The Wadis in the rain

40-6-828

Embankment

I can see what I might be
called the Cathedral of Capitalism. It's
not the height ; I saw the Kingdom
67 years ago + again yesterday — And the
same — not as high + Guardian Ed
& Barbara & Isobel already dating Kingdom
the Image & Gone west & Sensible Book
Well chosen + adventurous + College
Chang. + Underlibbs — No

Comfort — The Poverty Bible
Crime — Few police — Good
Well-dressed — shoes + Style — Iron
Taxicabs + Better class Food
Guardians + Rolls Royces
Children's Schools — Poor
Ulcers ! The Sweat Shops —
Workers — Over a hundred Years
(Red Cross — L & N) New Banks
Capital — Investment — No assent defined but
exploitation of labor & Gradually

Continued W. Nyon + Embankment

8-6-38

Ruth L

Curate-Canada

L' Interprète Nouvelle

(Cyprienne)

VI

Danton

65-90

Teachers

Confidential

Indigenity stifled

by Capitalist

atrocities of un-

deserved wealth

Using wasted powers

to serve the cause

of those

who can afford

& wealth to look

after their pleasure in

trade

Syndic

organised Workers

+ Union

12 hrs a day

Pay by week Lodging

Clothes content

British Comfort

— are selected

friends, Marriages

delicate, Intrigue

Servants, Leaves

Rooms, Leisure

travel, reading

music, London

season, home, dogs

horses — who

pays? Independence

Niggers, Cheeks

Whores, Ideals,

Luck & dead, Weather

God bless the Queen

— No connection? Obscure

& Confidence

Business — London City

Bank

62d) 12500 (2
1 24

£5000 = 35 50 Fr

Mr Dean of Canterbury

Soul Science

Franklin Frazer
& Russia

Joseph Wedlock
Cambridge U

Dike

9 books

Souls of B F
Ruth

French
Louis XIV
Elegance + high
heritage
Wealth + class
Revolution to WWI

Church Courts, &
Education
Exhibitions
War, Navy, Air

Welfare
.. gen
.. VSSP

The Gaulle

Capitalism & Secrecy

Scandinavia, Belgium, Holl
Rural Scandinavia — Comfort
Holland, Luxemburg, Swit
with exploitation —
Trade unions

Trade Unions
Church + Masses
W Europe + Colonies
AF of L + CIO

No Exploitation:
USSR + China
Coh. + Ex Workers = Trades
U.S.A – Slum + Wealth +
+ Free Land + Mortality +
Labor efficiency + Labor

Bantam
USSR

Italy – Volcano – Conquest –
Degree – Renaissance – Art – Culture
ground at – Easter – Dickens

How small the Roman forces
" " – Chinese
How small the ancient world

Old Africa Re-discovered
Basil Davidson
Victor Gollancz LTD 1959

The New West Africa ed. by Davidson
Geo. Allen + Unwin 1953

Dates of Publication

1492 – 1992

2000

Enc. Afr.

1561 – 1961

1876 – 1976

1861 – 1981

← Congo Free State →

Publication of Sources

Greek
Roman
Medieval

Arabic
Spanish
Portuguese
Chinese
Indian
American Indian

W. Indian
S. American
Mexican

Preservation of Legend & Folklore

Chiefs
Tribal History

MSS in Preparation

Harvesting – Ethiopia
Lamo – W.S.

Zoology – Archeology

Coop. Colleges & Societies

Egypt, Ghana, Nigeria, Congo, Cape Town

U.S.A. USSR – African Institute

Encyclopedia

Buy Bernal's book

Subscribe Observer

in medical + public services, unreasonable power to the executive. Work! What are Africans what the culture + freedom

Current views: Negro haters with cultural interests; the indifferent + fun seekers, the money makers

Much to learn? About Africa and Africans

Journal of views + Quotes — African

P.S. Views must not be professional (French Canada trade Engl. books)

a handbook needed

~~Ekoll~~

Emil Schulthess
SCHULTHESS

Collins London 1960

CHANTECLEER

Press, NY

1493 Mohammed

Rokes mounds

Union — 1993

Alex. Werth

of France 1940-55

London, Robert

Wade LTD

1958

B Davidson

African Awakening

Jonathan Cape

London

1955

Rue du Four

VI

Lord Boyd Orr

Davidson

African Awakening

Johnathan Cape London

55

Report on Southern Africa

do 52

William Howells

Back of History

Doubleday & Co. 54

Osagyefo

Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

Paris 24 h -

London

Sept 3 rd -

11

40-9-279

41-1-554

I believe in the Church
of unconfined saints, the Holy
Church

I do not assent on words
words but I assent to definite
& ordered conceptions, fairy tales
& lies

41-1-553

Christian College of Religion

mencken
Autobiographies

God — Son
Jesus — Redemption
Creation
miracles
Prayer
~~The Church~~
~~Revelation~~
The Bible
Saints
Heaven & Hell
Sunday School
Middle-Class
~~Sin~~
Conversion
Worship & Praises

=

582-b-14

quaked like a ship that
shudders athwart a
stormy sea.

The sombre sea that
shows its false white
hands in the night

30-29-91

Vision of Orgue
the Damned

The Church & the
church —
What does it mean
" " " "
How shall I ask
They do not know
I " " "
Who knows!

41-1-555

I believe that there have always been + are now men who have consecrated their lives for the good of others + the service of their own fellowmen + I believe that the ideals called Jesus Christ, was such a man so far as we can discern these ideals of strength + beauty

41-1-556

I sincerely hope that there is in this universe a living power + directing force which strives for the good of men + the fulfilment of life + which I see in the life of Jesus. This I will act as tho' it were true so long as Jesus' teachings + the ideals of righteousness do not disappear + all will [illegible] that is to do and agree with him

41-1-557

Life everlasting
Resurrection

Figures of Speech as Literal Truth

There is no evidence of a Personal benevolent ruler of this universe who created it

The known laws of life indicate that such unity as a Person exists + I say that the facts of history indicate

41-1-558

a clear benevolent purpose
is to live.

We may say this we believe
that God is a loving benevolent
God & we frame a report &
say this is what we mean by
believing that truth and having we
believe this is the test & this
we are going to act as if it
were

But this does not prove
God's existence nor does it give
us any right to frame or
assume [illegible] motives & desires &
persons who have not had help
and persons (& mankind) closing
& such help & talk of our help

a belief in God — a basis
of Reason unity & harmony in
This terribly troubled world
And it is absurd & Ray Bird
we know that is true or Paul
has been raised again or
Christ he has risen when
we asked it or received ever dead
Surely a church of belief is dangerous
existentialism or deliberate falsehood & it
is unforgivable & leads us & Ebo young
& ignorant as both
Continue Christ & legend in the
conception of Jesus Christ

Revivals
Theological School
The Unselfish life - Social Mind

41-1-559

The Southwestern Hist Quarterly
Vol XLIV, No. 3, Jan, 1941
"The KGC: A Filibustering Fraternity"
C. A. Bridges

The secret known as the KGC was organized August 4, 1854 at Lexington, Ky with 5 members. Its chief aims, organizer & General Inspector was George W. Bickley, a native of Boone Co. and but there during his boyhood 287

Dict of U.S. History by J. Franklin Jameson, ed by A.E. McKinley
Phila: Hist. Pub. Co, 1931

269- KGC The W.C. was an organization formed in 1867 in Tennessee for the purpose of intimidating and restoring Negro supremacy. The early speed rapidly over the Confederate States, with the restoration of political rights to the white people of the South, the organization gradually died out

Authentic Exposure of the KGC as a Hateful Treason Plot by a Member of the Order, Autobiography, 1861-1862
C.O. Perrine, Pub. 1861

It did not receive its name of KGC until 1855, but the principles upon which it was based, and the activities began in 1834, at the close of that year there were to be found in Charleston, New Orleans and some other Southern cities a few gentlemen who secretly detested the Republican Democratic Party. These men formed themselves into secret juntos, which united in Portalon for a system more called SRC's (Southern Rights Clubs) They had certain signs of recognition by which they made themselves known to each other, and met weekly semi-weekly or otherwise, they might have had some said

Const and rules and regulations, but of these still is now known (5)

Geo C. Bickley a native of Bxone City, Indiana, but then living in Cincinnati, went south in 1855 and org the SRC into the KGC framing a Const, by-laws, and ritual. The div of KGC were to be known as "Castles." There were subordinate castles, and a Grand Castle, State Castle, & Legion and Gr or State Castles were by delegates in what was known as Gr US or Judges

officers:- Capt, Lt, Sergt, treas, guard (for the inner door) sentinel (outer door) a corresp secy recorder Offices of G Castle same as subordinate except the "Grand" before positions "Grand United States Commander" Southern Interests and opposition to ~~extension~~ the

encroachments 3X of unbelievers"
and pledged to do all within their
power in order to maintain by
the US Grit, to set up a "free
Southern Grit." (8-9)

Among these members" were many of
the wealthy capitalists of the South,
such as the Lyncoln's of Toombs S. and
they were fully confident that the
South was rapidly coming when they
would literally subdue up the
West of their section of the country." (10)

Uniform consisted of a helmet for
the head with a silver spear at the
rear and a frontal position carrying
a silver crescent; a close fitting
garment like a coat of mail, and a
sword worn the left side.
Emblems were skull and crossbones
signifying death to all unbelievers
(12)

Murder could be instructed opponents if he believed the opponent was a good Southern man, and patriotic" so does the trigger. (12)

This sole effort began in 1858 was the Richmond Enquirer, which they considered "an accurate barometer of Southern sentiment and opinion in the South. Coffee was a guest at the leaders' tables, and even some prominent Northern men came knocking at the door for admission. Whenever they were known to be good Southern men they were welcomed and treated with joy." (12)

Knights of the White Camelias
" " " Golden Circle

185-224; 201

Surgeon from the Confederate
army, Dr. Geo. W. L. Bickley
was the originator and founder of
the secret political order
known as The K G C. Its sign
was that of a Maltese Cross
surmounted by a star and en-
circled by the inscription
"Great Seal of the G. C., 1856."
Metal stars were emblems of
the order.

It had the usual grips, signs,
passwords etc.

Bickley when arrested at New Albany
Indiana on July 17, 1863. He types
to secure his release he made
Gen Burnside in Cincinnati, Gen
John Dix in NY, Sec of War Stanton

and Pres. A. Lincoln & and
him letters to these persons he
admitted his connection with the
KGC but said it was "an order
established for the purpose of colonizing
Mexico" and denied it had any re-
lation to the secret proceedings
under examination that name and
them existing in border states
(He was released in March, 1865 from
Ft. Lafayette, NY) 185-187

The actual membership was never
known, since no correct and complete
files were kept and the merger was
in the hands of local State secessionist
leaders. The overall plans of the order
were exposed in 1864. C. L. Dunn
and in command of the rebellion in the
Swamp before the arrest of Marshall Sanders,
Ct St Louis in July 1864 There
were 100,000 in Mo., 100,000 in

Illinois, 125,000 Indiana,
40,000 Ohio, 20-25000 Michigan
Southern Calif 24,000 but counted
central 50,000 men.

In conf with the Confederate agents
in Canada in 1864, Mr Clement
L. Vallandingham said the strength
of the Sons of Liberty was 300,000,
In a speech at Dayton, Ohio in the
summer of 1863 he said 500,000,
which the Dodge Advocate thought
reported as near the true total.

There KGC was a secret political
Secretive stream by the names
of KGC, K of the Columbian Star,
Order of Knights,
Sons of Liberty, Copps Belgique,
Knights of the mighty host,
Knights of the Circle, Honor
Mutual Protective Society
188-190

KGC was organized in 1854 in Cincinnati, Ohio, and began activity with the establishment of a lodge there & in a number of towns of the state. (190)

Its object as stated in the manual was the "entire and speedy conquest of Mexico and the establishment of a separate and independent nation upon such a basis as to render it subservient" to the work of American conquest. The "rules" laid down the doctrine that:

"Each & every American citizen has a right to denationalize himself and become a citizen of any other nation, and to his the superior right (whenever there) to rebel against the existing govt (as in the case of Texas) and assist the establishment of a new govt." (191)

The "rules, regulations and principles" which were to govern the orders were issued by the "Congress of the K.C.S. (Knights Commanders South) and the Grand President" from the Head-Quarters at Wash., D.C. They provided for 2 sections, The American Legion vs The Dixieland Legion, Dickey my Commander-in-C of the Dixieland Legion vs Grand Prior.

The regulations provided for civil vs military duty, but save the object of the order was mission to conquer & foreign territory, the initiatory degree was attentions. The laws & rites first provided that the Dix Leg "Shall consist of 2 & div, each perfect military staff, each com by a marshall, who shall be responsible to the C-in-C

Its military personnel fought for the US Army - regulars, regulars, engineers Scholarships for officers and enlisted men were established. In addition Grants of land were promised

EM - 640 Acres	Lt Col 0 Acres
Capt 1280 "	Major 2560 "
Majors 2880 "	Col - Brig 3200 "

Each member was required to take an oath to support & defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies foreign & domestic & bear true faith & allegiance to the same & to obey the orders of the President of the US & the officers appointed over him according to the rules & articles of war" 191

"do anything which in his judgment would be contrary to the Constitution of the USA ... and in no instance will the regiment be allowed to take up arms against the US" 192

The new 3 degrees in Freemasonry

1st was a simple oath of allegiance to any member who was to bear arms. It was to be kept secret, allegiance and obedience to the KGC 192

2nd Brig. gold degree, same as first but ordinarily only to non-comm officers

3rd Division degree taken only by comm officers who must have served a part of the army canada (192)

The regulations contained provisions for the organization of castles in all parts of the country and also a long list of general and political questions with which new candidates for particular important meetings were made familiar. A ceremony of steamship [illegible] to the ship to finish the capital necessary to carry out the plans of the KGC (193)

The first definite public info of the KGC is to be found in the Mobile Register, April 16, 1860. This was a general order from the commander, No 546. This shows its spread and seeming strength in the South. This order by Col Bickley concluded that although it had nothing to do with

(145) 45000, 15000 militia

they pointed out religious questions then disturbing the country. "That the southern governments will have their forces on the right six months is confidently expected. If so, the KGC may find its hurtle in the District of Columbia." (195)

Another an open letter to the KGC in the Richmond, Va., Whig, July 7, 1860, Cassius Clay urged the South to assist in carrying out the plans of the order; that the country was divided into 2 parts — northern & southern — and reconciliation was impossible. "With Mexico annexed and southernized, the South will equal in territory the north." He pleaded with the slaveholders to lend financial assistance to the movement, promising that "no more negroes will be sprinted away on the U.R.R. There will not be a full negro in the Southern States in 1870, and your cotton production will be 15 millions bales." (196)

funds raised be sent to several southern citizens or banks to which funds could be sent, indicating the order of priority most represented in the following 1860 (196)

In 1861 a charge in the national declared that the agencies of the country of Mexico had for its general purpose the extension of slavery and the political equality of free and slave states. (198)

The first of these initial charges said: "...We hold it to be our duty to offer our services to any southern state to repel a northern army. We hope such a contingency may not occur." (198)

In 1861, Lynch, the local organizer in Kentucky with "orders" 8000 workers and "orders" in Marion, Barron, Daviess, Christian & Henderson Counties

In May, 1861, a resolution was passed in the Kentucky House of Reps asking that the KGC be investigated - never made (199)

Never definitely known how KGC
was linked to northern states (200

They committed acts of violence such
as kidnapping, looting, murder,
destroying property, making 208-2
and they attempted in every possible
way to upset local Administration
208-211

The KGC was more numerous in
Indiana than in any other Northern
state. Members were evidently stat-
ioned in nearly all southern counties
including the city of Indianapolis (214

Leaders in the KGC were found in nearly
Iowa, Ill, Conn, NJ, Md, Dela, Pa,
Ohio, Del, Indiana, Kentucky, Mo, Calif
and Wash. D.C. (189

INDIANA MAG. of HIST.
Vol XIV, No. 3 Sept, 1918
"Secret Political Societies in the North
during the Civil War" pp. 183-241
Mayo Fesler

local [illegible] in Angelica,
[illegible], a marble, the [illegible]
of Rob K.G.C. to Dr. Wm A. Bowles
of that County, who in 1864 was tried
for treason by a military commission
and sentenced to be hanged. He had
owned a slave among [illegible]
women and he believed in slavery

200

31-20-24

Rutherford's Grave
p. 297 - 299
The Trials for Treason at Aylesford
Edited by Benn Pitman
Cincinnati 1865.
Moore, Wilstach & Baldwin

41-1-600

The car

Up to the World & down

not turning back but onward

one little year

learning & human & real

about Conductor

The Negro Porter

white man

The one slang

Church

~~porter~~ porter

~~his station~~

his insolence

news boy

spectacles

candy

noise

book

Train crew

dirt

Night

Hunger

They supper no

changing car

new porter

supper

[illegible]

The moon
alone
The cloud
the weight
Heralding
the thunders
— Atlanta

NAACP

The Job I undertook

was to force a group

of local-kneed Solons to accept

a bogus bobtail school board

Vote for N. Rockefeller

Right & Wrong will BTW

the issue, eventually; they

would respond quickly & do as told

& vote

31-2-38

From the continuous
[illegible] silence in which I hear
all day through my self
the day beings are crying and
also a saying of my heart
I saying what I think I
what I know

31-2-39

Memo FROM W. E. B. DU BOIS

30-31-d

9+ is the considered opinion of this Body that the first duty of an African Institute should be a thorough-going and exhaustive study of the economic condition of the Native colonial people — their income and expenditure, their wages + taxation, homes and clothing health + conditions of life + labor; that this studies be made independent of colonial officials and investment interests by men of scholarship and character, with the avowed purpose of determining just how far colonial land, and labor

Out with ~~the~~ Religious dogma

In with the Spirit of Jesus who was called the Christ

~~The Eleventh~~ Ninth Crusade

The Unshackled Hand

The Iron Claw

Group Cooperation

The Crusade against The Heathen

Economic Justice

Efficient Organization

The Ennoblement of the Beast

The Rule of the Wise

The Religion of Joy & Beauty

Down with de-monetized lines

Efficient Service

The Rule of the Strong

War against Injustice

The golden Wand

Business as Philanthropy

The Rule of Poverty

The Kingdom of Almighty God

Consecration

Revival

War must not End

On with the War

Novum quod exspectamus

The Vow of Poverty

The Disgrace of Wealth

The Crucifixion of the Thief

Rule of Shearing Sts

25-EE-05

U of Va

Phelps Stokes Fellowship Papers

S.T. Bullock Rural Land ownership among Negroes of Va

Colored Girl Beautiful by E A Hackley Dunton Pub Co: K.C., Mo

Leigh Hunt a Negro.

If it does a man's soul good & Relieve that the Sun stood still in the Valley of A — let him believe it, if it does his soul good.

The Abolition of Domestic Service & substitution of domestic Cooperation

Deacons examining Candidates

Do you believe in Serpents in Eden

Jonah & Whale

Daniel in the Lions den

Fiery furnace

4.41
4.41
2.92
2.92
1600 pad
2 2
$30.66 — Phil x Wed
1 x return

Electric vacuum
cleaners

$27 a week?

41-9-311

Tuesday
M 9 a

Wednesday
Family night

Thursday
Theatre

Friday

Saturday

Death is punishment
without death there can
be no beauty
Montezo beauty is all
the death in all the
eyes of all the
corals that die in

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT

THE CRISIS

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

70 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK

CIRCULATION
40,000

W. E. B. DUBOIS
Editor

A. G. DILL
Business Manager

Sir:

THE CRISIS would like to have for publication:

1. Your photograph in uniform, preferably head and shoulders only
2. Date and place of birth, schools attended and degrees received
3. Married, widowed, or single

We are gathering this data from all colored captains and hope you will be willing to co-operate with us.

Very sincerely yours,

no S. white
in our family for
4 generations

Quaker or Amish
shirt or cloth
Casey rides
to weight

32-11-8

Floyd Hotel

Shreveport -

You got to ~~be~~ know
More than the dog

Panel - Pan Hall

Husband's dead and
I ain't

Water a beer
Water
Why
Because he's an ass

2 wks - dem 9 gets
hung

32-11-9

Note noted

Change enclosed
as you work + check
with my Reporter.

Date on my desk.

Ed. explains mem. on
desk - see this
album.

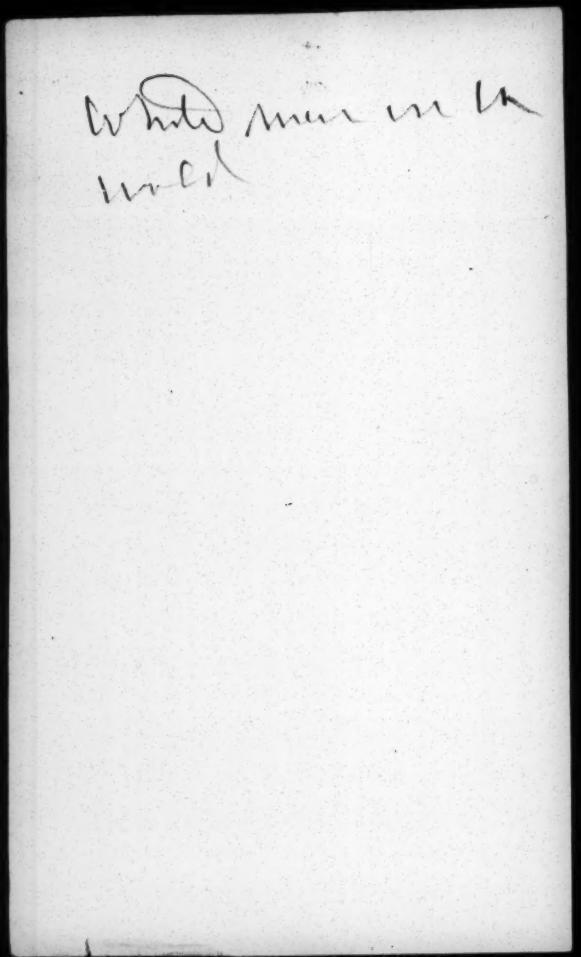
44-7-28

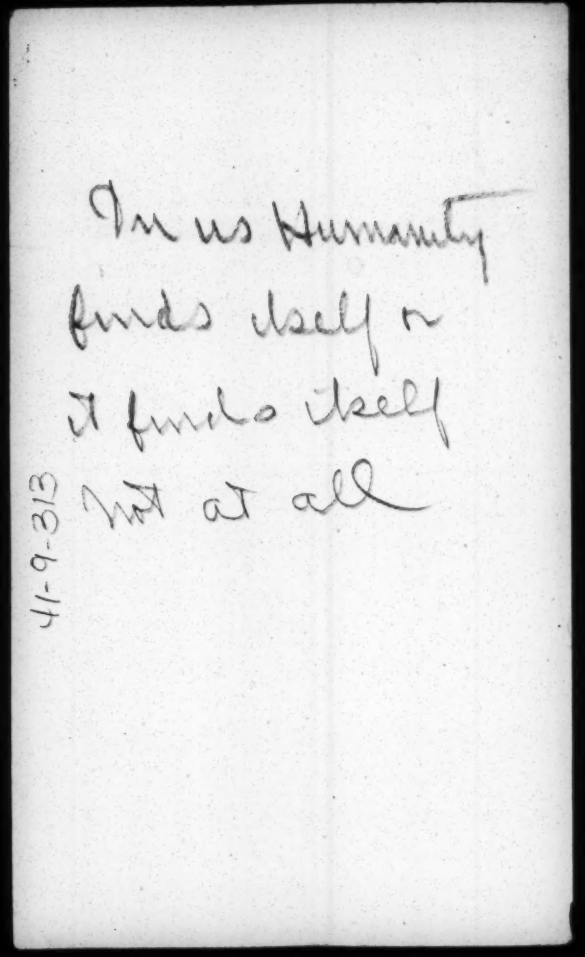
41-9-421

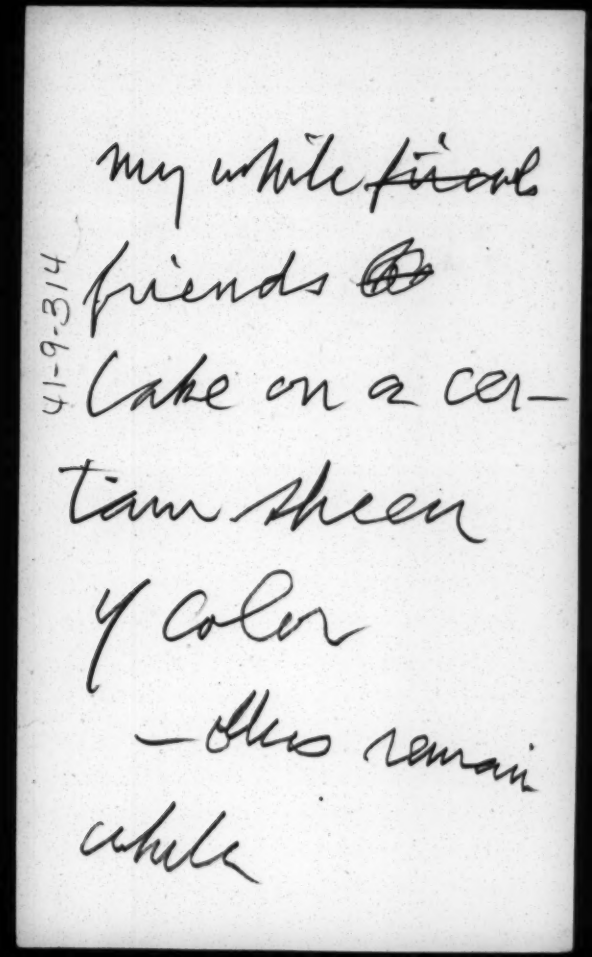
On the backs of the
children of our fathers
& of their children's children
& what of the world lean on
& make them more than
we are — amen men

I spoke to God
I shall never
find a white
Southern dying
——— Every
doctrine of religion
& reason would
say save — but
Teach me not O
God lest I see

41-9-312




In us Humanity
finds itself in
it finds itself
not at all
41-9-313


my white friends
take on a certain sheen
of color
— blues remain
white
41-9-314

30 - 14 - 18

We must not organise simply
to invoke others act — that is
difficult often impossible, We must
organise to act ourselves in unity
& solidarity

3 Ideals of Education

The central problem of Education

The teaching of experience
Other teaching – tradition

3 methods
1 teaching & work
2 teaching for efficiency
3 " " self development

1 Teaching & work
work & worker
house service
Stenographer
Skilled journeymen
managers

2 assumptions
1 stability of technique
2 Weed of the worker

1. The carpenter
The shoemaker
The stenographer

4-8-13-18

The Servant

B. Desiring home service

The Thread to know

& wish to be

2. Vocational training

Efficiency

Intelligence

Principles

Practical ends

Food

clothes

shelter

Wider Education

But

A { Higher vocations
The voter
The Parent
Public opinion

B Welfare of the worker

The Continuation School

Blackness is quite as beautiful as yellow, & not more glorious; how you seem to abuse Black in a Night Black Letter. Black is a Negative — the Negative the other two chuse for the Artist, & the Negative became real because men believe it real

Black Jack of Africa who had brought to Babylon in the Negro Ch Mirage on the Canvas & Ch Sky on the Zoomer & her Family

Thunder from Sinai & mankind

~~by~~ were damned — Christ damned & Heavenly Trinity — Crime

I am of the damned — how shall we now back? We must annihilate Reason as the Negative of Christ

30-11-20

We might make White to Damned — or yellow

But Hell — Infernally hellish We may sink nothing & all damnation Behind the way

12-11-20

Belief is not Reason & to assert that it is Blasphemy against Truth

& call it Christ is devilish

By faith we believe & do not know

of whom among the
classes curly hair one
of the characteristics
negro is a matter of definite
knowledge

30-121-19

41-9-420

Edelweiss

Patent Medicines

The Wants South

The earth lies still in darkening wonder
and above Almighty God is lighting
his stars.

I never went in for sport; I was a fair shot and rode to hounds a few times; I never played polo but did hobby ride at Cowes. I was two years at RN College. But I always loved swimming, played water polo & Cycling

1380
04
5520

Extreme NS segregationists
act as Christ there was but One
solution to race problem
This is unthinkable for 50 yrs
Other solutions
+ other reasonable attitudes
Present moderation + Fellowship

49th State
DC + coast
Our defection +
do moderate

41-158-6

Sebastian to Wren
and Lyon West

If anyone took Negroes
is as disobedient to
your words as it is to make

Every truth needs words to
make the words effective

We don't hate Negroes but their condition
— turn where [illegible] to change their condition

The picking out of
ideal segregated wholes
units
Slums
Our counter move
with capital

Shrinking from the Social
burden

22-9-22

Only 2 alternatives?

Acquiescence in present

Segregation

Non Segregation

Oh no!

27-9-24

---

a Declaration

Segregation

Hunting alone, in pairs
& in groups

Negro lynchings in parties

32-6-30

This thing that has
changed & threatened the ark
of the Lord's testimony is
that America has not responded
& begun descent as quickly as
we calculated

It is not sudden conquest
we are dying — it is a long
slow process

Meantime
we live
we do
we desire

30-9-31

Neglect of Negroes — Working outline

In Mixed schools

- Watching teachers
- encouraging Colored
- helping them & backward
- asking explanations & Control if necessary

In Segregated schools

- increasing curricula
- getting appropriations
- Closing poor & Mob violence

32-9-32

When a man can go where
he pleases he wants no Reprieve

When he cannot go where he
will he wants always Reprieve
& he dies then when he does
go

32-9-33

~~We talk in Alabama today and are asked~~

We have segregated institutions
We recognize them
We organize others
& make them excellent

32-9-34

The President of Liberia on the Present Crisis

Extracts from ~~His Ess~~ to message of His Excellency, President Edwin Barclay sent to the legislature Oct 25, 1933

Page 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13 14, 15, 16, 18 19, 20 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36 37 38, 47, 48 49, 61, 62, 70-71, 73, 74, 82, 86, 88,

We can only order the New Deal in graphs

32-9-35

Talented Tenth
Essential Readjustments
Triggers

39-9-36

Negro Fraternities

YMCA

memo from

W. E. B. Du BOIS

38-4-49

Finally after endless days they reached a place where - it was always Twilight - where the travelled always faced Night while behind them Blazed dawn of day

memo from

W. E. B. Du BOIS

38-41-50

~~Who knows which one came~~
~~first~~ — the Roman + his Toga or
the African + his kente cloth.

Let us make NIGGER
the proudest title on earth
I will be want to be known
as God's Nigger — the
Nigger of God! — Nigger
Nigger never die! black
face + shining eye!

38-4-51

memo from
W. E. B. Du BOIS

Lenin knew that
Africans like Asians
suffered from poverty -

Lenin knew that the
Blacks suffered identically
from poverty. That they
could not teach what they
earned but were the
victims of thieves

That Africans were a colored
race

38-4-62

memo from
W. E. B. Du BOIS

There is a human countenance which varies in color from warm ~~[illegible]~~ seal brown & pale pink with hair that curls in various degrees ~~of tightness but does not differ~~ but does not differ in kind. It is all human hair whose curliness is due to heat & dampness & food, one can find a European face of any color the differences due chiefly to climate

I am God's Nigger & I will make the term NIGGER the most respected on earth a dirty nigger.

There is a Dr. out
Dorothea
English gentleman
Lord Hawton
Jew at Sid
Most delegates a P.A.
Not more regulations, but kind
of books
Events, textbooks, hunt
They take a table of Albany
Vassar officers
new schools — (W. Indies
W hospitals
lawyers
The official version
Somebody is lying.

40-7D-3

A i s E

Excellency President of Liberia
Would you invite Drafts
Pan Amer C. meet in
Monrovia 1947 time of
Centenary ~~of~~ Cable answer

WE B D r B T O
for 7th Congress
and meeting here

Moves & feels 7
Look like honesty
in blue coat deep
deep & fear no
more

other graphs must
die - Jews, Catholics
Jobs — Labor

Education & guilt
would redeem black
self

38-14-38

Hugh, dry &
windy (Nurse)

31-2-38

DEFINITIONS: Wise and Otherwise

REFINEMENT: The ability to yawn without opening your mouth.

CRITICISM: A thing that may be avoided by saying nothing, doing nothing and being nothing.

CONSCIENCE: An inner voice that warns us someone is looking.—*Mencken.*

SMILE: A light in the window of the face which shows that the heart is at home.

ORIGINALITY: Undetected imitation.

FRIEND: One who knows all about you and loves you just the same.—*Hubbard.*

RELATIVES: Inherited critics.

ADVICE: That which the wise don't need and fools won't take.

SILENCE: The college yell of the school of experience.

Collected by
JNO. GARLAND POLLARD
Former Governor of Virginia

31-2-36

1. Wm done Carey Neal Roy
2. 7-9 mos. making deliveries
3. Cradle & miscarriages
4. Irregular in monthly returns
5. Male matter mixed in dreams
6. Yawning of bowels keeps Cancers bad feelings
7. No [illegible] in Dem. Party

38-12-4/15

Status quo is
better for the mess
he is in

Philosophy is searching for
black cat in dark cellar
by blind man when cat
wasn't there

was free set or did it catch
Shoelaces construct a meaningless
ego

Toynbee Vol I

Egypt 128-9

Civilization 129. 34

Egypt 136-41-46.

Primitive soc. + civilization 147-9

civilization 186, Latin

genesis of Civ. 189, 195,

Yin + Yang 201-4

Race 207

a + proletarianism 211

Jahweism 216

7th-15th Century — No "race" feeling

3 Magi 224

Judaism + race 226

Race + Civilization 227

232+, 239, 244

slowness of Race 234-

Different degrees of advance 236

Blacks in Egypt 241-2

(over)

30-31-4

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Race mixture 278
Climate 292
Genesis of Egyptian Civ. 302-15
Ibn Khaldun 470, 468
Human race 468-76
Crete & Minoan Civ — 324-30

Toynbee Vol II

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Falasha 403, 406-7

30-31-3

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Brave new World " 100-1
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Superiority of psychical & Technical progress 156
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Race & Class today 204
Tantam 207

30-31-5

— Sadie Peterson Delaney
Veteran Hon. @ Tuskegee

~~Colg on Negro~~
— Bibl on Negro in Chicago (Harsh)

— Mary E Lynch
4028 ~~[redacted]~~ So Parkway

— Mrs Snowden's collection on Chicago Negro

— Volgren O

Theodora Lee Purnell — Perkins
Chicago Negro Novels
(Harsh)

— Indianapolis Library
— K City " Mo

— Sch. Review & Lit. — American Valhalla

— H.W Wilson Co 950 Vanderbilt ave N.Y. City

Negro American

Thesis

Mrs. Dorothy Porter (A M Col.) Howard
Thesis @ Roosevelt

— Librarian @ Tuskegee

— Howard's Quarterly — Charles Thomson

— Molly Dunlap on J. Negro Ed Qrt

— Miriam Matthews (U of C.)
Vernon Ave Branch
L. Angeles Public Library

— Mrs Louise Walker (Wisconsin)
% Harsh
41-12F-3
Young of N.Y.
Elementary

— A.L.A. — 520 N. Michigan
Gertrude Mason Wilcox
Catharine — Librarian at Hampton

Memo FROM W. E. B. DU BOIS

and then industrial organization are
today being carried on
for the exploitation or benefit
of the natives of colonies;
& just what effect present
policies have on Order wage
& profit in the world at
large.

The Sonderhoffs

In South Germany.

Wilderforce

Principal & daughters & brothers

Brothers & wife

Professor Shorter

Professor Chandler

The Class { Barrett
Chandler

The grocers — Will

The girls Nina — Alice

Library

3-19-5

Rush pictures of Terrell and Braithwaite

Mr. to Murdoch

- Sensitive
- Jim crow car
- My dinner
- Grand Canon
- Bar Harbor
  - Franklin
  - the Comb of Peace
- 3rd Battle of Ball run.
  - Santa Beautiful
- Monterey Bay
- Los Angeles
- West Indies
- The Tunnel (Easter)
  - Vacation unique
- The Dolomites of Italy

Books
Friends
Dreams
Travel
Children
Love

Sir, We ~~want~~ D vole
~~A h i d counsel~~.

41-9-325

The Shoals

It is only little
things the devil makes

Of course — hope
is only little things
that matter a hell
of a lot

Can stand it —
I shake not

9-XX-88

Great Smokies

Lofty high heads all
proudly veiled in mists
+ cloth of gold, all
cloaked + valveted in
green, murmurous with
brook + breeze, 12 green
benches 3 tiers + world
sweeping vista of all the
earth

Sudden vacancy
Bellamy + old hotline
am.

9-XX-88

River ground &
then also of Olympus
Release of sight & sound

—

down an Exquisite
valley, guided by a Lake
Laughing Rugby down
river

30-10-12

Negro Education

Ambrose Calver, Washington D.C

L. R. Mailon Tuskegee

Charles H. Thompson, Howard

Horace M. Bond, Fisk, Nashville

W. A Robinson, Atlanta U.

Giotto's Corner

Michael the Angel Dawn, Night & Dusk

Brunelleschi's dome

Birth of Love - Botticelli

& Spring

Duccio Black Kay

Raffaelo Virgins, Women

Titian Naked Women, Bacchus

Murillo Virgin

Rubens Wives

39-46-211

45,000

$100 — 2000

107000

$.50 31000

138000

116100

21900

107,00

101,500

14000

115100

10'000

126000

20

2000
4000
1000
1500
8500

162) 116000

6200

1240

Home - Jenny

Leave a 7 am

W.E.B.D ~~Lv Phil~~ Sept 8, Phil. Sept 9

D C. Sept 11

Lv. " Sept. 12 Via Winchester 14

~~Lv~~ for Lynchburg

18 Asheville 15

14 Clayton 16

16 ~~Lv~~ Atlanta 17.

Spring Lake

8 - 11.

Sept 12

DC 13

Aug 6 — Baltimore

12 - Phil

7 am - 8 visits

Saturday — Va.?

Sept 9 — Va?

August

7 am - 2 times a week

Aug 1-12 Short stories & letters (ΣΠΦ)

12-19 Library

House

H.T Thomas - Va. Beach

- Christmas - Shirley - Spring Lake -

---

9 Faculty Sept 15

With N.D.-

Lv N.Y. 12

Lv Richmond 13

Lv Charlotte 14

alone

12

Lv Winchester 13

Lv Asheville 14

alone

Lv N.Y. 11

Lv D.C. 12

Lv Lynchburg 13

Lv Asheville 14

---

9 in Faculty

with N.

Buy in N.Y.

0
12
140
39
8.14

150

Cigarettes

Sauterne — #6

Champagne — 9

Whiskey — 5

Sherry — 4

Winter suit — 50

Napkins

Silk Stockings 8½ 6

Pajamas

1 tire?

Toaster

Coffee

Canned goods { Succotash, corned beef, beans

Scissors { Jam, Barclay Mc. pens, anchovy, caviar, Hellmans Real Mayonaise

Supplementary reading Psychology L.D.S.

House

Parlor ceiling.

Fireplace - size, mantel

40-5a-11a

Story —
At the seaside
Let's go — where
A. city?
Stony Lake?
Recitation
The quiet resort
Wish got to get rid of Higgins

The Home in Suburbia
Bob on spreadeth
Sammy — the hoss thereby
The betterest
Buying + selling
Selling it
Higgins moved in
The Higgins want a home
Standing every cent
It burns

41-15B-6a

The University of Sankore rose to the height of its prosperity, the fame of its professors being known not only in the Black Countries but throughout Arabian Africa. Learned strangers flocked hither from Morocco, Yemen & Egypt. The civilization of Arabia clasped hands with the civilization of Egypt & from them union resulted the "Songai of Timbuctoo" (1494-1591)

35-7-112

35-7-117

We believe in Peace
We want peace in
Korea; but we do not
believe that any foreign
power, country or Nation
having Dominion over any
people in foreign or Korea
or your nation ever
do not want. We defend
our own right & God was
in 1871, we should withdraw
~~the~~ Army from Korea.

We know what the reply
made answer is — C.
We are highminded A
nation by a word

flood control
Education
S. Tradition

Du Bois

Black Hamlet.

Rita Hayden

article

NS

32-01-08

Death XXIV

The greatest thing in
the World is Age
& Age is death
& death is
Divinity

And playing with words

31-2-6

Tales of Manhattan

Romance + Murder (
Sex rivalry (g. Rogers
Music + Courtesy,
Class loyalty (, 7 — alma mater
+ Medicine
Gambling + robbery
Poverty struggle
Land + wealth

30-31-11

So called democratic movement of 18th C. was
result against mental service
Service & Taxes
all individual producers.
& ; ;" land owners & mental

Foundations of democracy
freedom & equality
changes —
Mill of Public Utilities
" " " Bentham
Herbert Spencer & formulations

The Problems.
What to do science social
How to do " chemical & phys.
Who can do best — psychological & standard
How to distribute goods — Pragmatic criterion
How to rule
The will to do best — Christian

Failure of property
He that loseth his life — shall find it
The Super Selfishness
The Example
The vision of Humanity
The Glory of Ex cheerfulness

The future democracy of Art

The Selfish Powerful
The Few who
Know &
Can

The Problem
of the Powerful
Self.
Cannot work for
all without
democracy
Cannot work for
self without
injustice

P.S. in
service of
State

all democratic movements
" political "
end earliest practical
means
" assuming the Good Will

31-11-19

4 Battle of Pharsalia

15 years before I arose from
the dead & through the haze of
birth blood or earth, I felt & heard
that ~~great~~ spirit of steel that
was Pharsalia & many hundred years

I was a child of two & three
that year when again the world
grew crimson

The wars flames of Pharsalia
hundreds which might more often
at mean the age of Italy. The
whole world burnt in flames

And now at last again in
this solemn dream

36-31-12

Memo FROM W. E. B. DU BOIS

Paradox + dilemma

30-31-10

1-9 Negroes debarred + World -
Caucasian — Negro army — Negro technical
Colored world

2-9 not debarred World Caucasian
not debarred in Europe
+ Fr. over whole discrimination after

3 9 debarred + in Europe Reputation
not debarred Killing retarded
" debarred
" loyal ?
some training

4 Propaganda
but not World War III
Confusion
Color!

Volcano, 5th Col. Trouble
war — flatter pocket
must face it!

in other words Current

8-930

2-330

30-27-79

We had no choice
& We do not
only a choice &
Right to take
fighting
a grim choice
Labour & Socialists
work & war

30-27-81

Risk the ruin
of a race by
nobody otherwise
disaster

30-27-83

I said & I do say it
again —
Class war.
and then to the greatest
disaster facing us and
war
They truly are
Our shame

30-27-80

There are those of
your who think that
by getting angry &
killing some body
you are going achieve
this longed state
YOU conquer yourselves
your wife, your selfish
ness & the State is
dead

30-27-82

Hateful journey &
win?
Quick advantage

The Restaurant

Act I : Unemployed

II Southern Cooking

III The Crisis

30 - 27 - 84

Reclamant (2)

unemployed

1 { Architect & Cook
Teacher & Washer
The Child
The elder

2 { The burning of the shot
in debt

20-27-85

30-27-86

The other wheel determines. Auto a
wheel reverses; its drive for
happen. Somebody decides —
who & how?
What he/she owns?
what goods offered
who determines who has these goods

In 1848 when the Communist Manifesto was written the modern laboring class was weak unorganized before the Owners

Today the workers are the back bone of the owners power — then arising & many as the English general strike showed

MENELIK
ADUA
1896 - FASHODA

TRIPOLI
WORLD WAR
T. & LONDON
VERSAILLES

30-27-72

MUSSOLINI
ANSCHLUS
HITLER - LAVAL
OIL
ARMS.

It is the duty of
every individual for Communists
& left Comrades to be ready
not the resistance of defending
violence against Peace & Order

The Individual which
stands for violence is the
individual which becomes the
tool to carry out Capitalist
violence

The first duty of workers
is not to hate but to convince
themselves that union of
workers - class solidarity
is better than force & a
substitute for it

30-27-24

4 ETHIOPIA

NEPATA

MEROE

AXUM

THEODORE

TUNIS

EGYPT

ARABI

MAHDI

MASSOWA

GORDAN

"It is the duty of Socialism to battle the war psychology & not to brandish it

30-27-23

Early christianity in its battle hymn & war methods made the same ghastly mistake — its blood-red banner streams afar

a peaceful general strike of all the workers would bring the Revolution in a week; the real problem is converting the workers & this is an act of persuasion & this first conviction is now suppressed

I have nothing to take
Care of a wishful work
I have nothing to take Care
a structural work

30-31-13

Jones Release June

June 1 If you apologize I'll
release

with Jim Crowism offers an emotion
more human, more normal
Green Pastures by an accident
of interpretation
Belasco & unusual cast

30-8-13

And from work written on the stool
dominos the book for drama of
Paul Green, DuBose Heyward drama
of Catfish slums, superstition & society
& Let Lecha has time to raise
Negro ~~comedy~~ musical above or
else above the conventional cabaret

31-8-13

There are to be some abundant
signs of change — of interest and
understanding as the Tubus wrote
about the artist writes essays & use the
other modern Eugene O'Neill has
faced it splendidly but has not got
beyond defeatism; Prostitute Tarnish

30-8-13

But over much of negro life &
existence like the Tubus stand
forth & firm — no prohibition of dances,
no intermarriage instinct crimes,
no decent black women, no virgins
no romance, nothing heroic or
fine

30-8-13

41-9-295

All seas are Tears
The world were water
But for the laughing of little
children
whence the lingering sand

41-9-288

1

like Ruffled
waters ~~tt~~ tossed
on a bed of dreams
~~dot~~ twilight
(or a dream of twilight)

I'm ~~not~~ going to
make a splash
— you may make
a splash

41-9-287

the tones & under-
tones of the ancient
sea — the whole black
hull of sky with
its splash of a
million stars

She was
a burning
brown — dark
as tho' some
fiery flood
was steadily
held beneath

41-9-286

41-9-284

Her hair arose like
twisted
smoke — a curling & dusky

If we laugh it is because thirsty
Humanity is the great Flood of the
Tears of all Mankind

We are the Eternal Crucified
— in all ages &
climes.
We Dipper

41-6-283

His words curled out from
his lips like soft down
~~from~~ smoke & soared away
lingeringly & slowly and
dauntingly with elusive perfume

4-6-289

MESSENGER BOND

To Glenn

I have seen Louvain lying
beautiful & quiet; Belgium resting in
garden & town until it leads at large
& hills. Gradually Brabant folds the
grey canal curve of its hills & thin slim
church & strange towns & — the
Ruhr

31-2-16

On the colder regions with brute ice & snow & tough stony nature one can read on chance & natural selection with certain mental reservation. And I must admit difficult to look on the palms & trees of the tropics, the flowers & fruits without a complete sense of Personal Design. or perhaps better design of Purpose

Facts if not reason.

The New York woodland flora — the red oak, cucumber, linden & the sago palm, & the Cryptomeria Japonica — these are for the Kew gardens. Add if you will the bamboo, the yellow pine (the mazy ^ twisted, crooked conifers, the cactus a Botanic) & the great columnar beeches the high evergreen pleasures of the year

ah! this were too beautiful. How dwelleth God!

The Western Indies

New Africa

Commerce

Climate & Health

Color Line

Exploration

Government

Capital

Language

Negro

Year of Development on part of Negro world

The course of Empire

The New Tropics

United Fruit

American Negroes Vacation Card.

White & Colored immigration

Portals of

Arroyo, Grayson, Reiss

DW Johnson & J.R.J. Darrell,

Who's Who

in Colored America

1000 distinguished dead

100 well pictured

250 long lives

650 notices

5000 distinguished living

100 with portraits

250 long lives

250 short "

400 notices

Appendix II

100 great men of Negro blood outside America

Edited by W.E.B.

with the assistance

& the cooperation of 100 Jurors of selection

Appendix I

Men of Probable Negro descent

6100 biographies

11-6-24

40-81-1-18-04

date?

~~See what has been~~

How have we used our beautiful world — the Palace of Power, the Tower of Glory, the Temples of Learning? & afterwards about us walls & ruins & the voice of death & horror, the Book is sealed. The birds sing but children weep. All is pain & fear — wound & horrible fear

40-81-2-18-04

May God we who seek the Father attend your Christ Chairman? the Empire builder & the slumber Ruler & allow the Rule & Reign among our Empire & Power & 450 million slave & barracks & sword as now

5 00,000

5 00000

40-81-4

Was the matter of Colonies and Colonial peoples touched on in any way at Bretton Oaks? It is clear that Colonial labor & materials are fundamental matters of commerce & finance. The interest in Colonies is today economic more than political. A third of the earth's population lives in colonies Can we settle the post-war industrial troubles and neglect colonial troubles

40-81-3

The Queen of the Clydon Fields reaches
of danger & the Lord of Trafalgar
have charted on dark, the deeds of the
Dragons are known & the Ringabout
is on Tarbo. All the world is wary
& hurt & weary, while cowards
kills & blinds & maims at men.

The wound is wide & watchers;
wicked were the faces of men

Hamilton

4

True Black & 21, speaking the English language somewhat more aptly than his fellows and quite as correctly

---

this means that when you kick him kill him — is this fair & you have You a right to rule community from being knocked down — is there any likelihood of a world in which matters & people do so.

Every Negro — Winchester — in interests of peace. — Allen not shot when most fatal must died & a white southern jury acquitted every man.

Problem no diff than other human problems

33-2-75

Most unfair to the south is the present Yankee
wanderlust attitude of North — anything to calm
the baby — Paregoric yes but paregoric
is bad for it — O damn the baby stop its
infernal noise

Africa

Every thing of animal life moves & creeps of the earth & fowls

---

Creation of the world finished

30-19-4

A white man meets

Negro beggars

" Vagabonds

" Criminals

" bad behaves

but not Negro gentlemen

therefore

there are no Negro

gentlemen

he meets Negro servants &

" prostitutes

therefore all N. women

are P.

He reads &c

there no Negro cultivators

or Culture

30-1-1

anta University for the Carnegie Institution of Washington

Report on Co-operative Business among Negro Americans

(All answers held strictly confidential)

ess.

street, city, state).

er of partners or members.

Names of chief officials.

Location of branch establishments.

Kind and character of business.

Methods of operation.

Total business done in 1906 and 1907 (and for previous years if possible).

Total paid up capital.

Real estate owned (with location).

History of enterprise.

(Put further remarks and explanations on the back of this sheet.)

Short Stories

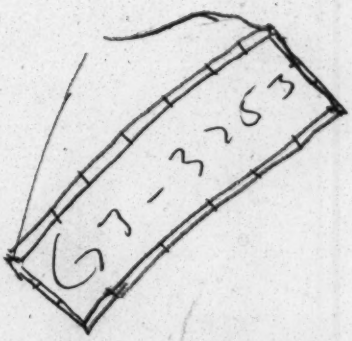
40-5a-11

RESEARCH MATERIAL - MISCELLANEOUS

Lynchers

Suspended	7
Fines	17
Less than 1 year	10
1 - 2 years	16
3 - 5 years	21
6 -10 years	0
10 years and over	47
Indeterminate	11
Unknown	6
Total	135

32-8-10


GJ-3253

RECORD OF LYNCHINGS FOR 1934.

1. Buster Allen, February 20, Brooksville, Florida.....Hanged.
2. Mat Lucas, February 28, Westfield, Alabama.....
3. Steve Jenkins, May 11, Macon, Mississippi.....shot
4. N. G. Romey, (white), May 17th., Lake City, Florida...shot
5. Joe Buxley, May 29, Alamo, Tennessee.....hanged
6. Jim Mobley, June 1, Jasper, Florida.....Drowned
7. Willie McDaniel, June 30, Charlotte, N. C.....Hanged
8. Rose Taylor, July 5th, Georgetown, Mississippi.....shot
9. Cleveland Williams, September 1, Calvert, Texas.....shot
10. Ella May Wiggins, September 14, Gastonia, North Carolina, (white).....shot

LYNCHING RECORD FOR 1929.

	NAME	DATE	PLACE	MANNER OF LYNCHIN
1.	"Buster " Allen.	February 20,	Brooksville, Fla.	Hanged
2.	Mat Lucas.	February 28,	Westfield, Ala.	_____
3.	Steve Jenkins.	May 11,	Macon, Mississippi.	Shot
4.	N. G. Romey (white).	May 17,	Lake City, Florida.	Shot
5.	Joe Boxley.	May 29,	Alamo, Tennessee.	Hanged
6.	Jim Mobley.	June 1,	Jasper, Florida.	Drowned
7.	Willie McDaniel.	June 30,	Charlotte, N. C.	Hanged
8.	Mose Taylor.	July 5,	Georgetown, Mississippi.	Shot
9.	Cleveland Williams	September 5.	Georgetown, Miss.	Shot
10.	Ella May Wiggins (white)	September 14,	Gastonia, N. C.	Shot
11.	Will Larkins	November 9,	Quincy, Florida.	Hanged & Shot
12.	Marshall Ratliff (white)	November 19,	Eastland, Texas.	Hanged

LYNCHING RECORD FOR [redacted].

NAME	DATE	PLACE	MANNER OF LYNCHIN
1. "Buster" Allen.	February 20, Brooksville, Fla.		Hanged
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3. Steve Jenkins.	May 11, Macon, Mississippi.		Shot
4. N. G. Roney (white).	May 17, Lake City, Florida.		Shot
5. Joe Boxley.	May 29, Alamo, Tennessee.		Hanged
6. Jim Mobley.	June 1, Jasper, Florida.		Drowned
7. Willie McDaniel.	June 30, Charlotte, N. C.		Hanged
8. Mose Taylor.	July 5, Georgetown, Mississippi.		Shot
9. Cleveland Williams	September 5, Georgetown, Miss.		Shot
10. Ella May Wiggins (white)	September 14, Gastonia, N. C.		Shot
11. Will Larkins	November 9, Quincy, Florida.		Hanged & Shot
12. Marshall Ratliff (white)	November 19, Eastland, Texas.		Hanged

LYNCHING - 1927

---

1 February 1: WILLIS, TEXAS: (New York Times, February 3) - Tom Payne was taken from two officers by an unmasked mob of white men near Willis and hanged to a tree. Payne had been arrested and charged with assault to murder in connection with an attack on a white sawmill worker. Fearing mob violence Payne was being taken by two officers to Huntsville for safe keeping when they were surrounded by a mob and disarmed.

2 March 19: MAYO, FLA.: (Florence S. C. Review, March 20) - Berry Allen (white) is reported to have been seized by a mob and thrown into the Suwanee River while being taken to a hospital suffering from wounds sustained when his barricaded home was dynamited by a sheriff's posse after he had shot and killed Will Brock, a range rider, and seriously wounded a deputy sheriff.

3 May 4: LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS: (New York Times, May 5, 1927) - John Carter, accused of assault on a white woman and her daughter, with an iron bar, as they rode along the road near the city, was hanged by a mob, after which his body was dragged behind an automobile through the main street, then saturated with gasoline and burned at one of the principal corners in the Negro section.

4 " 20: MACON, MISS.: (Washington Post, May 21, 1927) - Dan Anderson, alleged to have confessed that he killed a young white farmer was lynched by a mob which took him from officers. More than 200 shots were fired into his body.

5 " 22: BRAGGADOCIO, MO.: (N. Y. Evening Post, May 23) - Will Sherod was lynched after an alleged criminal assault on a white woman. He was strung up by the hands to a temporary scaffold in the town square and his body pierced with bullets. He had been taken from jail.

6 May 25: LEAKESVILLE, MISS.: (Mobile, Ala., Register) - Bernice Raspberry (Ed Lively) was taken from jail by a masked band of about 100 men and strung up to a tree. His body was then riddled with bullets. He had been arrested on a charge of beating a board bill, after which the sheriff was informed that he was wanted at Bothwell, Miss., for alleged improper conduct with a white woman.

7 June 13: LOUISVILLE, MISS.: (New York Times, June 14) - Jim and Mark Fox, brothers, accused of having slain Clarence Nichols, a sawmill superintendent, were seized by a mob, paraded through the streets and then taken a short distance from town, where they were tied to a telephone post saturated with gasoline, and burned to death. The men were taken from officers who were taking them to Jackson, Miss., for safekeeping.

Lynching - 1927

8 June 16: HELENA, ARK: (Philadelphia Tribune, June 16): Owen Fleming was shot to death by a posse of 200 whites. He was charged with killing a white man who tried to force him to work while sick.

9 June 17: PARIS, TENN.: (New York Times, June 18) - Joseph Upchurch who shot and killed Sheriff T. D. Caldwell when the latter attempted to arrest him, was shot to death by a posse of about 50 men. The cabin where Upchurch had been placed by a deputy sheriff was riddled with bullets.

10 July 7: YAZOO CITY, MISS.: (New York Times, July 8) - The bullet ridden body of Joe Smith, alleged to have attempted an attack on a young white girl, was found hanging to a tree.

11 July 21: CHIEFLAND, FLA.: (Bronson, Fla., News, July 22): Albert Williams was shot to death by a mob charged with assault on a turpentine operator. The trouble is said to have arisen over a debt which Williams owed the white man.

12 August — BAILEY, N. C.: (Chicago Whip, August 20): Thomas Bradshaw accused of a statutory offense escaped from police officers and was chased for three days by foxhounds until he was exhausted. As he emerged from the woods with the hounds at his heels, he was shot to death by a posse of armed men.

13 " 26: WILMOT, ARK.: (New York World, August 27): Winston Pounds was taken from a posse of deputy sheriffs and hanged to a tree one and a half miles from Wilmot, charged with having attacked a young married woman.

14 Sept. 28: MEMPHIS, TENN: The bullet ridden body of Thomas Williams, alleged to have attacked a fifty-year-old white woman, was found in Pleasant Union churchyard, two miles from the scene of the crime.

15 November 13: COLUMBIA, TENN: Henry Choate, 18 years old, was taken from jail by a band of 250 men, and hanged from a second story window of the court house building. He was alleged to have attacked a white girl.

16 " 30: WHITESBURG, KY.: Leonard Woods alleged slayer of Hershel Deaton, a mine foreman, was lynched by a mob said to have been composed of citizens of Kentucky and Virginia. After hanging the Negro the mob fired many shots into his body.

GEORGIA

1889

July 1	Irwin County	Rape
July 11	Witfield County	Rape
Sept. 4	Fulton County	Rape
October 1	Murry County	Living with a white woman.
October 12	Wayne County	Throwing stones.
November 10	Burke County	Rape
November 16	Lincoln County	Attempted rape.
December 26	Wayne County	Race hatred.
December 26	Wayne County	Race hatred.

1890

February 28	Clark County	Rape
March 24	Johnson County	Murder
June 10	Elbert County	Alleged rape.
June 10	Dodge County	Murder
June 10	Marion County	Unpopularity.
June 13	Elbert County	Rape
June 28	Ware County	Rape
July 11	Walton County	Rape
October 12	Banks County	Incendiarism
October 24	Burke County	Murder
October 31	Barton County	Rape
October 31	Lowndes County	Rape
November 1	Candler County	Rape
November 19	Grady County	Rape
December 3	Floyd County	Unknown cause.

1891

February 21	Locality undetermined	Murder
February 26	Wilcox County	Rape
July 1	Clay County	Rape
August 29	Wayne County	Rape
September 26	Emanuel County	Rape
November 2	Decatur County	Murder
December 16	Ware County	Rioting
December 14	Ware County	Rioting
December 15	Warren County	Burglary

1892

January 9	Mitchell County	Murder
March 1	Ware County	Murder
April 5	Dekalb County	Rape
April 14	Locality undetermined	Murder
May 17	Clarksville, Habersham Co.	Suspected Robbery
May 21	Newton County	Rape
June 11	Monroe County	Rape
July 21	Wayne County	Supposed offense
August 25	Liberty County	Murder
September 8	Dodge County	Attempted rape
October 26	Whitfield County	Race prejudice
November 26	Gordon County	Murder
August 30	Monroe County	Rape

(Georgia...Cont.)

1893

March 1	Murray County	Rape
May 23	Jeff Davis County	Murder
May 23	Jeff Davis County	Murder
July 17	Locality undetermined	Rape
October 22	Clayton County	Murder
December 2	Pike County	Murder
December 19	Berrien County	Turning State's evidence.
December 25	Locality undetermined	Unknown offense

1894

February 10	Clarke County	Enticing servant away
February 15	Macon County	Race prejudice
March 5	Jasper County	Murder
April 6	Greene County	Rape
April 10	Greene County	Rape
April 20	Murry County	Unknown offense by white caps
April 26	Locality undetermined	Rape
May 22	Miller County	Rape
June 13	Pierce County	Rape
June 18	Monroe County	Rape
June 28	Mitchell County	Rape
September 19	Fulton County	Rape
November 8	Jasper County	Rape
December 23	Brooks County	Murder
December 23	Brooks County	Murder
December 23	Brooks County	Murder
December 23	Brooks County	Murder
December 23	Brooks County	Murder

1895

January 9	Colquitt County	Murder
March 2	Wilkinson County	Murder
March 14	Monroe County	Rape
May 2	Butts County	Informing
May 22	Montgomery County	Murder
June 18	Laurens County	Attempted rape
July 2	Walton County	Unknown offense
August 12	Colquitt County	Attempted assault
October 4	Locality undetermined	Rape
November 4	Clinch County	Rape
November 23	Locality undetermined	Rape
November 25	Glasscock County	Attempted rape
December 1	Dooly County	Desperado
December 1	Dooly County	Desperado
December 8	Jasper County	Informer

1896

February 9	Locality undetermined	Illicit distilling
May 12	Coffee County	Assault
June 1	Muscogee County	Rape
June 1	Muscogee County	Rape
September 16	Terrell County	Rape

(Georgia...Cont.)

(1896...Continued.)

September 27	Hancock County	Shooting at officer
October 7	Locality undetermined	Murder
October 15	Spalding County	Rape

1897

January 5	Locality undetermined	Race prejudice
January 9	Dooly County	Murder
January 22	Twiggs County	Murder
January 22	Twiggs County	Murder
January 27	Locality undetermined	Assault
May 18	Stewart County	Alleged arson
July 19	Harris County	Murder
July 23	Spalding County	Attempted rape
August 23	Laurens County	Murder
September 2	Echols County	Stealing cattle
September 12	Bibb County	Murder
October 2	Locality undetermined	Rape
November 18	Glasscock County	Rape
November 19	Laurens County	Murder

1898

February 1	Locality undetermined	Murder
February 13	Fannin County	Murder
March 24	Colquitt County	Attempted rape
May 27	Decatur County	Murder
August 8	Meriwether County	Attempted rape
August 20	Sumpter County	Murder
September 7	Decatur County	Rape
September 11	Spalding County	Rape
November 23	Jasper County	Alleged rape
December 6	Jasper County	Murder
December 6	Locality undetermined	Murder
December 26	Jackson County	Arson

1899

February 11	Lee County	Alleged rape
February 11	Lee County	Alleged rape
February 11	Lee County	Alleged rape
March 16	Campbell County	Arson
March 16	Campbell County	Arson
March 16	Campbell County	Arson
March 16	Campbell County	Arson
March 16	Campbell County	Arson
April 25	Cowetta County	Murder and rape
April 25	Campbell County	Alleged complicity in murder
April 27	Lee County	Inflammatory language
May 22	Locality undtermined	Race Prejudice
June 16	Wayne County	Attempted rape
June 16	Wayne County	Resisting arrest
July 23	Early County	Robbery and murder

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(Georgia...Cont.)

(1899...Continued.)

July 23	Early County	Robbery and murder
July 23	Early County	Robbery and murder
July 23	Early County	Robbery and murder
July 25	Early County	Complicity in murder
July 25	Lee County	Alleged Complicity in murder
August 1	Columbia County	Attempted rape
August 5	Early County	Rape
August 11	Carroll County	Attempted rape
September 14	Tift County	Rape
October 24	Locality undetermined	Attempted murder
November 23	Butts County	Attempted rape

1900

March 18	Cobb County	Attempted rape
April 3	Berryville	Rape
May 4	Coffee County	Murder
May 13	Columbia County	Murder
May 14	Columbia County	Murder
June 9	Muscogee County	Attempted rape
June 11	Thomas County	Attempted rape
June 27	Pike County	Unknownoffense
September 8	Thomas County	Assaulting a whiteman
October 19	Willaston	Rape
October 24	Pike County	Race Prejudice
October 24	Pike County	Race Prejudice
December 8	Floyd County	Murder
December 28	Marion County	Arson

1901

January 3	Floyd County	Suspected rape
January 3	Campbell County	Race Prejudice
January 5	Brooks County	Rape
March 2	Bryan County	Cause unknown, by white caps.
March 13	Randolph County	Murder
March 18	Randolph County.	Murder
April 15	Bullock County	Attempted rape
April 29	Elbertxx County	Murderous assault
May 10	Lowndes County	Murderous assault
June 29	Quitman County	Attempted rape
July 25	Montgomery County	Robbery
August 10	Bryan County	Rape
November 1	Wilkinson County	Attempted rape

1902

March 29	Chat ham County	Murder
April 1	Floyd County	Attempted criminal assault
April 22	Locality undetermined	Unknown offense
July 28	Locality undetermined	Murder
July 28	Bryan County	Rape
August 31	Jasper County	Attempted rape
October 23	Haralson County	Rape

1903

February 7	Johnson County	Murder
February 24	Spalding County	Insulted white woman
April 23	Decatur County	Arson
May 23	Decatur County	Rape
June 1	Locality undetermined	Murder
June 8	Houston County	Murder
June 24	Baker County	Murder
June 24	Baker County	Murder
June 24	Baker County	Murder
July 14	Dodge County	Mistaken identity
September--	Grady County	Rape
October 16	Crisp County	Unknown offense

1904

May 15	Columbia County	Rape
June 1	Calhoun County	Murder
August 16	Bullock County	Murder
August 16	Bullock County	Murder
August 16	Bullock County	Race Prejudice
August 17	Bullock County	Race Prejudice
August 17	Upson County	Assault
August 22	Locality undetermined	Rape
August 28	Turner County	Murder
August 30	Bullock County	Race Prejudice
September 18	Franklin County	Murder
September 21	Talbot County	Murder
September 21	Talbot County	Murder
October 12	Tift County	Murder
November 29	Pike County	Murder

1905

June 29	Oconee County	Murder
June 29	Oconee County	Murder
June 29	Oconee County	Murder
June 29	Oconee County	Murder
June 29	Oconee County	Murder
June 29	Oconee County	Murder
June 29	Oconee County	Murder
June 29	Oconee County	Attempted rape
October 8	Decatur County	Rape
October 29	Decatur County	Murder

1906

May 14	Dodge County	Rape
May 23	Harris County	Murder
July 11	Emanuel County	Murderous assault
July 31	Lakewood	Rape
September 10	Monroe County	Attempted rape

1907

May 7	McDuffie County	Murder
May 21	Tattnall County	Race Riot
July 1	Whitfield County	Rape
July 2	_____	Murderous assault
October 27	Houston County	Robbery

1908

January 9	_____	Murderous assault
January 9	_____	Murderous assault
February 17	Bullock County	Rape
February 24	Bullock County	Rape
	(Alleged rape, proved innocent afterwards.)	
February 26	Lowndes County	Conspiracy to do violence.
March 6	Pulaski County	Murder
March 6	Pulaski County	Murder
June 27	Ware County	Rape
June 27	Ware County	Rape
June 27	Wayne County	Conspiracy in rape.
July 29	Toombs County	Attempted rape.
August 7	Tift County	Insulting remarks to white woman.
August 25	Jefferson County	Murder
September 5	Early County	Rape
September 22	Clay County	Murderous assault
October 11	Dodge County	Murderous assault

1909

February 19	Locality undetermined	Murder
February 22	Fannin County	Rape
March 2	Early County	Murder
May 24	Lincoln County	Murderous assault
June 22	Talbot County	Unnamed offense
June 22	Talbot County	Instigation of murder
June 25	Randolph County	Murderous assault
July 1	Warren County	Burglary
July 20	Liberty County	Insulting women
July 31	Houston County	Window peeping
August 27	Montgomery County	Murder
August 27	Montgomery County	Complicity
August 27	Montgomery County	Murder
December 1	Bleckley County	Murder

1910

February 20	Columbus County	Alleged complicity in murder.
March 2	Toombs County	Alleged rape and murder.
April 15	Turner County	Rape
April 15	Turner County	Rape
May 27	Dougherty County	Rape
July 27	Locality undetermined	Attempted rape
July 31	Grady County	Rape

(1910) Continued

April 11	Wheeler County	Rape
September 6	Clark County	Attempted burglary and murder
November 8	Mason County	Murder
November 8	Mason County	Murder

1911

January 22	Locality undetermined	Murder
February 25	Augusta, Richmond, Ga	Murder
February 25	Augusta, Richmond, Ga	Murder
April 7	Gwinnett County	Rape
April 8	Schley County	Murder
April 8	Schley County	Murder
April 8	Schley County	Murder
May 18	Emanuel County	Murder
May 21	Emanuel County	Murder
May 22	Taliferro County	Murder
June 30	Walton County	Rape
June 31	Walton County	Suspicion rape
July 11	Mitchell County	Murder
August 29	Clay County	Murder
October 8	Laurens County	Attempted rape
October 11	Locality undetermined	Attempted rape
October 19	Meriwether County	Murderous assault
October 28	Wilkes County	Murder
December 21	Liberty County	Murder

1912

January 22	Harris County	Murder
January 22	Harris County	Murder
January 22	Hamilton County	Murder
January 22	Harris County	Murder
January 30	Crisp County	Rape
February 4	Bibb County	Assault and robbery
March 21	Beckley County	Murder
April 26	Butts County	Race prejudice
June 25	Locality undetermined	Murder
August 13	Muscogee County	Murder
September 10	Forsyth County	Complicity in murder
October 5	Sumpter County	Rape
November 30	Crisp County	Murder

1913

March 4	Habersham County	Murder
May 5	Troup County	Murder
June 21	Sumter County	Murder
July 28	Locality undetermined	Murderous assault
August 15	Calhoun County	Murder
August 25	Meriwether County	Alleged murder, proved innocent.

1914

September 20	Ogle County	Murder

1915

January 15	Jasper County	Resisting arrest for murderous assault.
January 15	Jasper County	Resisting arrest for murderous assault.
January 15	Jasper County	Resisting arrest for murderous assault.
January 23	Calhoun County	Murder
February 4	Columbia County	Rape
April 16	Lowndes County	Theft
June 14	Habersham County	Rape
July 5	Bibb County	Alleged murder
July 21	Pulaski County	Accessory to murder
July 21	Pulaski County	Accessory to murder
August 17	Near Milledgeville	Attempted rape and murder.
August 17	Decatur County	Rape
October 21	Jones County	Murder
December 20	Dodge County	Unnamed cause
December 20	Dodge County	Unnamed cause

1916

January 21	Worth County	Murder
January 21	Worth County	Murder
January 21	Worth County	Murder
January 21	Worth County	Murder
January 21	Worth County	Murder
February 12	Bibb County	Murder
February 25	Barton County	Attempted rape
August 21	Lowndes County	Attempted burglary
September 21	Meriwether County	Rape
September 26	Randolph County	Murder
September 26	Randolph County	Murder
September 29	Decatur County	Attempted rape
September 29	Wilkinson County	Accessory to murder
October 4	Calhoun County	Accessory to murder
October 7	Washington County	Murder

1917

March 1	Thomas County	Rape
March 28	Pelham	Reason unknown
September 18	Clarke County	Rape
November 16	Brooks County	Insulting white woman
November 17	Sale City	Disputing white man's word
November 17	Sale City	Disputing white man's word
December 18	Metter	Killing in quarrel

LYNCHING IN THE UNITED STATES BY FIVE-YEAR PERIODS:1889-1943

Year	White	Negro	Total	
1889 - 1893	335	616	951	123
1894 - 1898	235	550	785	110
1899 - 1903	87	470	557	94
1904 - 1908	27	362	389	72
1909 - 1913	36	312	348	62
1914 - 1918	26	249	275	50
1919 - 1923	30	268	298	53
1924 - 1928	8	82	90	16
1929 - 1933	11	69	80	14
1934 - 1938	2	55	57	11
1939 - 1943	2	18	20	4
Total.....	799	3051	3850	

32-12-9

Source:

1889-1932--Raper, Arthur, The Tragedy of Lynching, (Chapel Hill, 1933), pp. 480-481.

1933-1941--Ames, Jessie Daniel, The Changing Character of Lynching, (Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Atlanta, 1942), p. 33.

1942-1943--Information obtained from Southern Region Council office via telephone message. Data given by Mrs. Clegg (June 14, 1944)

30-23-1

Westermann

✓ 1 List of Co-laborators

X 2 Dr. Woelfel, Wien

3. Subjects – enquête among scientists (Westermann sketch)

4) Other suggestions

5. Article for Africa – 2 Mss. next later

Comm-classes in Vienna

30-23-6 Contemporary colonials on self determination under League of N

Authority + freedom – general ideas

Views of a Theban

Princess of Egypt

Note flasks + whistles

of same rock

(duplicate – Staatliches Museum München)

30-23-5

cessive drinking and other moral delinquencies. They seem not to invite the truth." (Minority report, page 17).

Can you cite another case?

Yes, the "Relay ride" matter is another.

What do you know about the "Relay ride" matter?

Mr. Learned testified (page 691). "There had been a good deal of criticism that came in from these witness to us regarding what they called the Relay accident. Mr. Bruce was very seriously injured out at Relay. . . . . late one night, perhaps early one morning; at all events it was about the time of a birthday celebration that he had had, and there was a good deal of rumor about the situation, and witnesses kept bringing up this Relay accident as a clear case where the Assistant Superintendent of public schools was probably drunk."

Do you know of other charges?

Yes. Recently, Mr. Bruce was openly charged in open Board meeting by Mr. George Smith with a most serious offense.

When were other charges preferred against Mr. Bruce?

About the middle of July, 1919.

By whom were the charges preferred?

By Mr. George C. Smith, the Citizens Associations and by the Parents' League.

What were the specific charges preferred? (Page 2, Minority Report):

On the 30th day of July, 1919, on verbal motion made in conference of the Board, by Mr. H. B. Learned, vice-president, it was resolved by the Board to appoint a committee to investigate the educational and administrative efficiency of Mr. Roscoe C. Bruce, assistant superintendent in charge of the colored schools of the District of Colombia. Thereupon the president of the Board, Rev. John van Schaick, Jr., appointed as members of said committee, Mr. H. B. Learned, chairman, Mrs. Coralie F. Cook and Fountain Peyton. Said committee was then and there instructed by the Board to hold sessions in private from time to time and to summon persons in the school system having close relation to, and such contact with, Mr. Bruce, and other persons from among citizens having intelligent interest in the schools, to appear before said committee to testify to the educational and administrative efficiency of Mr. Bruce. It was then and there also resolved that the private nature of the investigation and the limitations on witnesses should not be embraced in the written resolution offered in the public meeting of the same date, which written resolution appears of record in the minutes of July 1919. It was understood that the committee was to ascertain so far as it could the educational and administrative efficiency of said Bruce from said witnesses and not otherwise; and that said investigation was not to be in any sense a trial; nor was it understood that Mr. Bruce was to be called before the committee in support of his efficiency, or to explain away, or defend him-

32-40-108

self against, any of the matters which might be testified to by the witnesses.

Was Rev. Van Schaik much interested in the outcome of this Committee's report?

He certainly was, as he asked Mr. Peyton to go with the majority and promised members of the Parents' League that the report of the Committee would be unanimous.

What did Dr. Van Schaik say to Mr. Peyton about getting a verdict clearing Mr. Bruce?

He said to him, "I do not want any trouble about this affair, and I want you to go with the majority and bring in a unanimous verdict. Let us have peace."

Was this before the committee met?

It was. He tried to determine the verdict before the committee had met.

Was the question of Mr. Bruce's moral qualifications considered?

It was not.

Was it ignored?

Rev. Van Schaik ordered that it should not be included in the investigation.

Was Rev. Van Schaik afraid the people might complain because of his efforts to clear Mr. Bruce.

Not at all. Rev. Van Schaik told Captain Oyster, on one occasion, "The Public be Damned." (Page 1166).

How could a minister of the gospel say such a thing?

No one seems to know.

Was Mr. Bruce allowed to attend the hearings?

He was.

Was Mr. Thurston, his chief, allowed to attend the hearings?

He was not.

Why was he not allowed to attend the hearings?

Dr. Van Schaik decided that he was not to attend.

Did Mr. Thurston make any efforts to attend?

He did, but was refused admittance to the room where the hearings were in progress. Mr. Thurston says;—(page 947) "Dr. Van Schaik met me as I started into the room and said, that they were going into the Bruce case, and requested me to stay out."

Should Mr. Thurston have been allowed to attend?

He certainly should have. Mr. Bruce was there and Mr. Thurston, as head of all the schools, certainly had a right to be there too.

Tell me something more about the investigation by the school committee.

Mr. Peyton says (page 765);—"There were thirty-three people, I think before the committee. I would have to estimate it. I calculated it in the report, but I think 20 of these people testified against Mr. Bruce and showed him up in a very bad light. Most of them were teachers. None of the fifteen teachers who testified against him were promoted. Some of those who testified for him were promoted.

What was the result of the investigation?

activities. If he did not know what was going on after two years, then he is guilty of criminal negligence.

Is there any evidence that Mr. Bruce knew Moens was taking these pictures?

There certainly is as Mr. Bruce was well acquainted with Mr. Moens and complaints had come to him from Dr. Lucy Moten as far back as 1917. (See page 1292). Mr. Bruce refused to notice such a serious matter unless it was put up to him in a formal written complaint by parents. He allowed it to continue, and did not get busy until the people attacked him.

When did the Senate Committee meet to investigate the schools?

The Senate Committee met March 9, 1920, and adjourned April 22, 1920.

What did the Committee do?

It went through an exhaustive examination of the whole School situation. Thirty-seven persons appeared before the committee and gave testimony.

What were some of the striking features of this investigation?

It was shown that Dr. Van Schaik was the board of education. Senator Harrison, in his report said; "Let's take up Mrs. Cook. Anyone who reads the testimony can see a thread running all through it, that Dr. Van Schaik had but to whistle and

Instant from copse and heath arose
Bonnets and spears and bended bows.

His followers like those of Roderick Dhu, started up in every direction ready to perform his bidding. I shall point out from the testimony that this description is not overdrawn."

What else was shown?

Mr. Thurston said, "that Mr. Bruce is not strong in his business procedure. There have been many inaccuracies requiring correction in his business actions. The Superintendent carries under the law the final responsibility, if one of his chief subordinates does not inspire general confidence, in his employee and in a very large section of the Public, and if, he is not any too effective in business procedure, then necessarily I must keep a closer watch over him, and must keep in closer contact with him, than otherwise I would have to do. (Page 1324).

Give me more information about the investigation.

We quote Senator Dillingham:—"Do I understand you to say that Mr. Bruce was not questioned about the automobile ride or the "Slush-Fund" letter during the investigation?" (Page 859)

Mr. Larner:—I think not. I did not like that. That was really the only thing about the whole matter that impressed me badly.

Senator Harrison:—(page 1104) Did you (Mr. Bruce), after the subcommittee was appointed to go into these charges, did you suggest to the committee that you preferred that only they would investigate your efficiency as an administrative officer, your educational qualifications, etc., but that they would go into the other specific charges that affected the moral features?

32-40-110

Mr. Bruce:—I made no suggestions.

Senator Harrison:—Why didn't you ask the committee to go into the matter fully, so that all those charges might be investigated?

Mr. Bruce:—I made no suggestions.

Senator Harrison:—So you really were not sincere when you invited the charges if, when they were made, you did not ask the committee to go into them? They made the charges and you invited those charges, and when they came to substantiate those charges you made no effort to have them produce proof. (page 1104).

What does all this complaint show?

It clearly demonstrates the fact that Mr. Bruce had lost the respect and confidence of the people.

Could this affect his usefulness as a teacher or Superintendent?

It certainly would not only affect his usefulness but really destroy it. And for the good of the children in the schools he should be promptly moved.

What did Mrs. Cook say about Mr. Bruce?

Among much said in his behalf, she also said, (page 314);—"Clamor against the Assistant Superintendent Bruce grew so offensive during the school year of 1919, that it was decided by the board to refer the matter to the corporation counsel."

What did Mr. Larner say about Mr. Bruce?

He said:—"He is an able man, but certainly there is too much friction in the colored schools in regard to Mr. Bruce. It ought to be allayed in some way."

Mr. Peyton said: As further evidence of Mr. Bruce's character, the following are additional instances from Mr. Bruce's testimony. First, let us observe the case of Mr. Madella. Mr. Bruce was displeased with this teacher and sent to this teacher at the Armstrong School a postal card bearing the polite inscription: "A yellow dog is the lowest thing on earth; a knocker is worse than a yellow dog." The reception of this card severely wounded the feelings of this teacher and provoked considerable comment unfavorable to Mr. Bruce; whereupon Mr. Bruce who has so much sympathy for humankind, who wishes to please everybody, humiliates and wounds this teacher, and then offers a sort of perfunctory apology, not so much as a panacea to Mr. Madella's wounded feelings, as in an effort to protect himself in his official position. In Mr. Bruce's testimony before the committee he attempts to explain away this offence. He says that he purchased a number of postal cards at Christmas to send to his friends; that the offensive card got mixed with the other cards and that by mistake he addressed and mailed it to Mr. Madella. (See record, p. 711.) How can any person accept as valid any such explanation? Mr. Bruce had signed the card, and there was no other explanation he could make which would acquit him and thereby preserve his official position. In rebuttal to Mr. Bruce's statements in his testimony on this matter as to how Mr. Madella finally regarded this incident, some excerpts are directly quoted hereafter. They are from a letter written by his widow, Mrs. F. D. Madella, dated

September 24, 1919. The original of this letter is in possession of the writer of this report and will be submitted on request." (Page 781).

EXCERPTS FROM LETTER

"Feeling as I do, that many injustices done my husband by Mr. Bruce were indirectly the cause of his death, viz., the sending of a very unkind post-card. . . . Mr. Bruce made a stiff, reluctant effort to apologize, but Mr. Madella never appreciated, never thought him real. Many times at home, in conversation with me, he would say that he had been unkindly dealt with because he would not assist Mr. Bruce in carrying out his dirty work. Among the last statements made by Mr. Madella, he said: 'I am worried and worked to death; I can't make it.' Kind friends, out of the depths of my heart, I would say away with such a man."

Very truly yours,

(Signed) MRS. F. D. MADELLA.

It also shows that certain members of the board were clearly prejudiced in favor of certain persons, no matter what testimony might be produced. Mrs. Cook was in favor of Mr. Bruce and Miss C. Hunter. Evidence to the contrary notwithstanding. Mrs. Cook says of Miss Hunter.—"I have no understanding or belief that Miss Hunter has been guilty of immoral acts or conduct." In spite of the fact that she knew Miss Hunter had taken school children to Dr. Moens, to be photographed and also had been seen at all hours in the day and night in company with Moens.

In the Bruce Case Senator Harrison said:—Anyone can see that Mrs. Cook was prejudiced against Thurston because she desired Bruce, the assistant superintendent of colored schools, to have greater authority in the school system. Time after time, instance after instance, in matters that came to their attention, she would go over the head of the superintendent and either talk to the president of the board of education or to the assistant superintendent in charge of colored schools about matters which were solely within the jurisdiction of the superintendent himself. It was she who advocated that Bruce, the assistant superintendent of colored schools, should have a seat in the meetings of the board of education, although the law was silent on that point, and although the law had expressly given the right to the superintendent to sit in the meetings of the board of education and discuss with them questions, if need be, denying him only the right to a vote; it said nothing about the assistant superintendent of the white schools or the assistant superintendent of the colored schools being present at the meetings of the board of education. Yet this member of the board and Dr. Van Schaick and other members of the board extended the invitation that the assistant superintendent of the colored schools be admitted to the meetings of the board and there sit by the side of the superintendent, having, as they claimed, just as much right and authority and jurisdiction there as he. Of course, they based their action on the theory that the law says the assistant superintendent of the colored schools shall have sole charge of the colored schools, while the language of the law touching the assistant superintendent of the white schools does not say 'sole charge.' The law, however, expressly states that the super-

intendent may be permitted to attend all meetings of the board and denies him only the right of a vote, but it gives no such authority to the assistant superintendent of colored schools.

This member of the board voted against Thurston in 1917 and for Van Schaick against Daniel, although she had served with Daniel previous to 1917. Her whole attitude was in the direction of giving to Bruce greater power. She evidently thought she could carry out her plans through Van Schaick better than through Daniel. One had been tried out; the other had not."—Congressional Record.

What was Dr. Johnson's position?

When Dr. Van Schaick declared that members of the Parents' League were one-third child, one-third savage, and one-third shell-game man, Dr. Johnson endorsed his statement.

What did Dr. Johnson say?

I would quote from the record (page 511);

Senator Harrison:—Did you disapprove of that statement?

Dr. Johnson:—I modified the proposition, if you will read further.

Senator Harrison:—You thought they were two-thirds child?

Dr. Johnson:—That is it.

Senator Harrison:—And two-thirds savage?

Dr. Johnson:—No, with the rest divided.

Senator Harrison:—You were not going to get too many parts?

Dr. Johnson:—No.

Senator Harrison:—That is a pretty bad allegation to bring against a part of your own race, is it not?

Dr. Johnson:—Knowing them as I do, and as you cannot know them, I do not think so.

Senator Harrison:—There are some pretty good people in the Parents' League, are there not?

Dr. Johnson:—Surely.

Senator Harrison:—You agreed with Dr. Van Schaick about that statement?

Dr. Johnson:—Except in the proportions.

Senator Harrison:—He wrote you a letter in which he stated:—

"Dear Johnson, I have read the evidence, every line. You are absolutely right. That outfit is one-third child, one-third savage and one-third shell-game man."

Senator Harrison:—Evidently you have the same opinion that Dr. Van Schaick had about them, because he had written to you about it?

Dr. Johnson:—Evidently.

Who was Charlotte Hunter?

She was a teacher of history in the Dunbar High School. Formerly she had taught in the Miner Normal.

Was she involved in the Moens case?

She was, as she and Moens were well acquainted.

What did she do for Moens?

She arranged for him to take pictures of certain school children. Some of which were taken nude.

Was she kept in the schools after Moens was arrested?

She taught there some five months until the people rose up and demanded that she be put out.

What was done by these people?

The school was picketed and Mass Meetings were held.

Did Mr. Bruce know of Charlotte Hunter's connection with the Moens case?

He must have as he attended the trial.

Did Mr. Bruce recommend that Charlotte Hunter be dismissed? (page 1009)

He did not and at no time was her dismissal demanded by Mr. Bruce.

Was it a fact, that after it was revealed that for approximately eight months Charlotte Hunter and this man Moens were staying frequently together, and she was the agent at times of Moens to go out and get girls of various types to come to the studio of this man Moens, so that nude pictures might be taken of them, she was retained in the public schools?

It is.

How did she finally get out of the schools?

She was allowed to resign, April 11, 1919, and was given a letter of honorable dismissal by the Board of Education at Mrs. Cook's suggestion.

What is the Parents' League?

It is an organization in the District of Columbia composed of a membership and following of over 20,000 persons.

Why was it organized?

It was organized as a protest against the scandalous conditions disclosed by the Moens case.

When was it organized?

It was organized March 1919.

What is its motto?

"We stand for better Schools.' '

Who belong to the Parents' League?

Some of the best people in Washington. Among its members are, Pastors of some of the leading churches, Doctors, Lawyers, Merchants, Bankers, and Mechanics. It has the sympathy and support of a large number of teachers.

Was the Parents' League justified in holding meetings?

It certainly was. And Senator Harrison said, "they were doing a great deal of good by their agitation, and had they not protested, it would have shown that the colored people did not have any respect for their own race." Even Mr. Bruce said, "that I do not think that anyone could condemn the masses of the colored people for their perfectly sincere indignation." (page 1055).

What other work has the Parents' League done since its organization?

In the lamentable riot of 1919 the Parents' League spent two days with the authorities and with the colored people and succeeded in bringing

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about order and the Parents' League was given credit by the white papers for having stopped the riot.

Did not the N. A. A. C. P. in Washington bring about peace?

It did not. For the riot was over when they began to go among the people and see the authorities.

What did Mr. Archibald Grimke do to help Mr. Bruce?

He presented a statement before the select committee of Congress in defence of Mrs. Cook and Mr. Bruce. This statement was on behalf of the N. A. A. C. P. and was lengthy, covering 12 pages.

Did the N. A. A. C. P. order Mr. Grimke to present this statement in its name?

It does not appear anywhere in the record that it did. It appears that Mr. Grimke made this statement on his own initiative. He has always been an ardent supporter of Bruce, and his photograph holds a conspicuous place in Bruce's office at Franklin School.

What was the opinion of Senator Harrison of Dr. Johnson?

He said:—"Dr. Johnson knows just about as much about the school system of Washington as he does about the nebular hypothesis. He has conferred so much with Dr. Van Schaick and other members of the board who are opposed to Thurston that when he started to talk he spoke like a parrot and employed practically the same language as had been used by his confederates who had preceded him."

May I quote part of his testimony? Dr. Johnson said he went on the board prejudiced against Bruce. Then the following occurred:

Senator Harrison:—Did you vote for or against Dr. Van Schaick for president at that time?

Dr. Johnson:—I voted for him.

Senator Harrison:—What were your reasons at that time for voting for Dr. Van Schaick?

Dr. Johnson:—Well, when I went on the board I was very much prejudiced against the assistant superintendent.

Senator Harrison:—Bruce?

Dr. Johnson:—Yes.

Senator Harrison:—Why were you prejudiced against him?

Dr. Johnson:—Like most of the other people in the community, I believed that he was wholly responsible for the condition of the colored schools.

Senator Harrison:—The condition was bad at that time was it?

Dr. Johnson:—There was a lot of grumbling about transfers and appointments and promotions, and had been all along.

Then, he suddenly changed his mind about Bruce, and in a very short while after Johnson became a member of the board he was at all times and under all circumstances a champion of Bruce. It was Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Cook, two colored members of the board, who fought for Bruce to have a place on the board of education when the law did not grant it, going constantly over the head of the superintendent and to the head of the board in order to consult.

I read further from the testimony:

Senator Harrison:—When did you make up your mind as to the superintendent's weaknesses, as you told him that day?

Dr. Johnson:—All through the year.

Senator Harrison:—You ascertained that after you got on the board?

Dr. Johnson:—Oh yes.

Senator Harrison:—What incidents had happened that made you come to that conclusion?

Although Johnson had sat at these hearings for almost three weeks when he testified, had heard the examinations of the witnesses, and knew the character of questioning which we had put to the witnesses, he testified as follows:

Well, out of the mass of detail on the board of education that we had to deal with at every meeting, I could not pick out particular things. Had I known this investigation was coming on I could possibly have noted them down and refreshed my mind.

I shall not go into the Randall case further. That was one of the things, he said, that caused him to change. I have already alluded to that case, a fight between Syphax and Miss Wilson.

This same Dr. Johnson, a colored member of the board, in speaking of his own race in the city of Washington, indorsed language that had been used by Dr. Van Schaick. In speaking of those of his race who comprised the Parents' League, he said that they are more than one-third savage. That was the compliment which was paid by Dr. Van Schaick to the Parents' League, which had been organized by the colored population here, or some of them, in order to rid the public schools of teachers such as Charlotte Hunter, whom they thought might have associated with Moens, this degenerate and profligated anthropologist—this vile and low pervert.—Congressional Record.

What was Senator Harrison's opinion of the Parents' League?

Senator Harrison in speaking of the Parents' League and Dr. Johnson said:—"While he, (Dr. Johnson) expressed himself as believing these members of his race composing the Parents' League were two-thirds savage and the balance divided as childlike and 'shell game,' he wrote a letter to these people April 14, 1919, in answer to an invitation to attend one of their mass meetings, in which he said, 'While I can not be with you in person, I am with you in spirit,' and so forth. 'The Parents' League was organized in a good cause, is capable of doing splendid work for our school system, and, as I told you then, you have my hearty support in your efforts. The people that he speaks of there organized themselves from amongst the colored population here in order to purify and clarify the atmosphere touching this controversy that had arisen respecting Moens, who, as I will show later, entered the school system here through a letter given by Dr. Van Schaick as president of the board, and took pictures of little school children, took pictures in the nude of women throughout the city, in his studio in Washington, and for which action this man Moens was afterwards indicted and tried and convicted in the courts of the District. When this

part of the colored population, desirous of removing the stain from the right living and better element of school-teachers who were trying to do their duty, and upon whom a foul suspicion rested, desirous of ridding the schools of such teachers as Charlotte Hunter, who had associated with Moens for years, then this Dr. Johnson, member of the board, says that they are 'one-third savage, one-third child, and one-third shell-game persons.' He changed as quickly in his estimate of the Parents' League as he did about Thurston as superintendent.

Believing in the motives that were behind most of the people who were in the Parents' League, many of them must have been from the best people of the colored population of Washington—they were good because preachers were there of every kind and every denomination. I read the speeches at their big meeting at one of the churches here, and every speech was pitched upon a high plane, all advocating the one proposition to clarify the atmosphere and rid the schools of these nefarious influences that were calculated to tear down and destroy the colored schools. I have more respect for them, knowing the motives behind them, than I have for this man who makes the allegation that a part of his people are two-thirds savage and one-third child, when they are embarked upon such a good purpose as they were."—Congressional Record.

What did Dr. Van Schaick think of the Parents' League?

Captain Oyster testified that Dr. Van Schaick asked whether he, (Dr. Van Schaick), should attend the meetings of the Parents' League. "I said that would depend entirely as to how you feel toward Bruce. If you are not friendly toward Bruce, you will get a warm welcome. But if you are friendly toward him you better go there with a gatling gun. I knew the type of people. His reply was "I will see them in hell before I will accede to their wishes." (Page 1315).)

And what did he say about Mrs. Cook as compared with Dr. Moten?

There was a row on, or a controversy, between Dr. Moten and Miss Charlotte Hunter, who then taught in her school, and this member of the board about whom I am now speaking took the side of Charlotte Hunter; and since that time, as the evidence disclosed, there has been a feeling of antagonism against Dr. Moten. I visited, with the committee, the school over which this woman, Dr. Moten, presides, the Miner Normal School; and I say to you that I have never seen a school that impressed me so greatly as that.

What did Senator Harrison say about Dr. Moten?

Another reason was a controversy between Dr. Moten, the head of the Miner Normal School, and Charlotte Hunter, a teacher in the school at that time, about whom the newspapers have published articles, about whom witnesses have testified in the courts of the District, about whom much testimony was given before the select committee, a woman who was forced to resign from the schools of the city of Washington because of her association with a man by the name of Moens, an imposter, a degenerate, a man of low character, who claimed to be an anthropologist from Holland or somewhere else.

I have never seen a school that I thought was better managed than the Miner Normal School; and as we came out of that building, and down the high steps of that school, another committeeman remarked to me, "Oh, what a pity it is that Dr. Moten is not serving as assistant superintendent over the colored schools in place of Bruce."

Any one could see at a glance that the woman was of superb qualities when it came to managing a school; and yet one of the reasons why this particular member of the board was against Dr. Thurston was because of that little feeling that had crept into the controversy between Dr. Moten and Charlotte Hunter. Away back in 1914, I believe, Charlotte Hunter had been recommended by Mr. Thurston, then superintendent, to be removed or transferred from the Minor Normal School. It was the wish of Dr. Moten that she should be transferred, but the board even at that time overturned the action of Mr. Thurston. Mrs. Cook as a member assisted in overturning it. She was afterwards, in 1916 or 1917, I believe, transferred to the Dunbar High School, and still later she was fired or I should say allowed to resign.—Congressional Record.

What have the Washington daily papers said?

"Star"—June 5th 1920.

"The Board of Education has been rebuked severely by a select Committee of the Senate after a protracted investigation. If it (the Board) has regard for the state of public feeling it will resign."

"Post"—May 27th 1920.

"There will be a feeling of general satisfaction and agreement with the unanimous decision of the Senate select Committee to recommend the abolition of the present Board of Education of the District of Columbia, the Board has ceased to function properly because it has degenerated into a set of little factions and cliques. It will be a relief to everybody when an institution that had so outlived its usefulness is finally dissolved. The interests of more than 60,000 school children must not be farther jeopardized."

"Times"—June 10th 1920.

"Having back of him (Thurston) the virtual endorsement of the United States and the good wishes of the masses of Washington people, Mr. Thurston looms large on the educational horizon. What Washington needs most is the right to elect, by vote, our own Board of Education, so that its members will be responsive to public sentiment. As now elected it is quite the proper thing that "the Public be damned." "Congress will doubtless even up scores with the Board."

"Times"—July 6th 1920.

"The very best thing possible for the schools would be for the entire board to resign."

How did Mr. Bruce select some of his teachers?

Mr. Peyton said, (page 730):—I cannot go over all the cases, but I would like to give you an illustration. I was told that a "bouncing young widow" who has lots of company was being importuned to accept a place in the Public Schools. I asked who the "Bouncing young widow" was,

and found that she lived within a stone's throw of my house. I think on the same day, or the day after, I met Captain Newman, the principal of Armstrong High School, and I reported this to him, and he was very anxious to know who this "bouncing young widow" was. However it was told me that this "bouncing young widow", in order to prove her assertions, was willing to conceal this person in her house to hear these importunities made. Now I knew that Mr. Bruce frequented this house. I had seen him go there time and time again, and other teachers too. I want to say there is no insinuation in what I am saying. A few months after that talk with the lady, I saw Mr. Bruce on Sunday morning drive up in his auto to that particular house and go in. On Monday morning following, a Miss Sayles, Mable Sayles, living in Hillsdale, came to me and reported that a Miss Cornell a teacher in O street Vocational School, had died suddenly Sunday morning, and that she Miss Sayles, had occupied that particular place before Miss Cornell did, and she would like to be reappointed to that place, temporarily, until an examination could be held. She showed me her papers, and I have them here, very strong papers complimenting her, praising her for her service, etc. They showed that she had gone regularly through our schools, had taken the domestic art course in the High School, and had supplemented that by a course in a trade school, and had actually served for a time with credit in that particular place, that was just vacated by Miss Cornell's death. I told her that I would take the matter up with Mr. Bruce and see what I could do. I went to Mr. Bruce's office and took the matter up with him, and Mr. Bruce agreed with me that she was a splendid woman, that she had given excellent service, and he was going to get busy at once and see what he could do for her, that he felt that she was the woman for the place. In the mean time the "bouncing young widow" came in, before I got through talking with Mr. Bruce, and heard part of the conversation. I left and went back to my office. About three o'clock that afternoon I felt that I had better call up Mr. Thurston over the phone and lay the case before him, and his answer was: "Mr. Peyton, I wish you had spoken of this earlier. Mr. Bruce brought a lady down here this forenoon and recommended her as the only available person for the place, and I gave her a preliminary examination and then an appointment, and she has gone over there and gone to work. I then understood who the "bouncing young widow" was and inferred why Mr. Bruce was at her house on Sunday morning. That was the first experience I had with Mr. Bruce that caused me to believe some of the rumors that were flying about and creating discord and confusion in the Public Schools. This story is nearly ended. I complained about this matter in the meeting of the board of education and insisted that an examination should be held. In the meantime Mr. Bruce had explained that the reason why he had chosen that particular young lady was because she was a practical dressmaker, and I have since learned that although she was appointed to that position in the O Street Vocational School, that she did not serve as a practical dressmaker. The lady had lived opposite me six or eight years, and I had never heard that

she was a dressmaker, but she was shortly thereafter promoted to science teacher, and is now a science teacher.

(Page 752).

Another instance is shown of Mr. Bruce's methods in the following. Mr. W. T. S. Jackson, an Amherst graduate, a post graduate with degree from the Catholic University of America, and a successful teacher in the old M Street High School. Subsequently he was promoted to the principalship of that school. Bruce rated him high for a time and suddenly without warning or constructive effort to uphold Jackson, marked him down and recommended his demotion to a teachership. The case of the appointment of J. Moria Saunders as principal of the O Street Vocational School is a flagrant one. Saunders was a product of the Washington Public Schools, having graduated from Armstrong Manual Training School and the regular teachers course at the Normal School. After Saunders' graduation from the Normal school, he became clerk to the Assistant Superintendent Bruce. During his experience as an employee of the schools prior to his becoming principal, he never taught a day as a regular teacher. His only teaching experience consisted of service as a night school teacher in the lower grades.

Now when Mr. Bruce began his vocational schools here, despite the fact that they were new ventures, technical in character, and required persons of broad education, definite technical training, and specific trade experience, a man of practically no fitness for the position, was recommended by Mr. Bruce to be the First O Street Vocational principal. Mr. Saunders has since resigned and left the schools to enter business. Dr. Bailey is a Harvard graduate, a distinguished language scholar, a fluent speaker of French, and an M. D. from Howard University. After Dr. Bailey had taught for several years in the old M Street High School, because of his superior scholarship, executive promise, and excellent teaching ability, he was made a supervising principal.

When Dr. Bailey was in this position, he was led, even in the last year, by Mr. Bruce to believe that his services were acceptable. As a coincidence it came to pass that Mr. Bailey married and departed on his honeymoon trip, the end of which proved to be his last year as supervisor. While he was off, lulled by Mr. Bruce's misrepresentations into a false sense of security, the colored assistant had him demoted to a high school teachership, overnight. This is an instance of unfair administration.

What was the position of the board regarding charges of immorality against Mr. Bruce?

The board referred the charges to the Corporation Counsel's office. They had no right under the law to do this and the Corporation Counsel had nothing to do with them, and sent them back to the board where nothing was done.

What happened to some of the witnesses who testified for Bruce?

Professor Houston was given the headship of the business Department of Dunbar High School. Others were also promoted.

What was the Slush-fund letter?

Mr. Bruce had this letter originated in his office to defend himself. He got the teachers to contribute so much to this slush-fund to help defend him, he said. It read that in proportion to what the teachers gave, that was the way they were going to be paid back. If you put in $2 then you would get your pro rata, according to amount you paid.

How much money did they succeed in raising?

About $500.

How much damages were they seeking to recover?

$100,000.00.

Did they sue anyone?

They have not, up to this time.

Why have they not?

Because they had no case against the people whom they wished to sue.

Was there anyone whom they might have sued, for reflecting upon any teacher?

Yes. If they were really anxious to protect the good name of their teachers they would sue Dr. Van Schaick, who said in a letter to Dr. Learned, "that Poor, Miss———— (he called her name in the letter), was thrown out for alleged immoral relations with a white man." Here is a case where a conviction for libel could easily be had.

Why then do they not sue Dr. Van Schaick?

1st, Because they are simply hoping to scare the people who are opposed to Mr. Bruce. 2nd, Because Van Schaick is in sympathy with the Bruce faction.

What has been done with the money that was raised?

It is reported that half of it was given to Lawyer C————, and $100.00 more for some expenses and the balance kept in the treasury.

Was it wrong in Mr. Bruce to allow this letter to go out?

It certainly was. Mr. Peyton said, "that he has violated his oath of office; the rules of the board and the law of the land. Can you say that this does not show his incompetency, his inefficiency and his absolute unfitness for an important office of Public trust? Should we not have his resignation at once? Mr. Bruce is guilty of administrative inefficiency through indisputable proof of lack of character. He is shown to be undependable, lacking in directness, candor, frankness and truthfulness. It also is established that he is lacking in backbone and manly insistence. It is needless to say that his usefulness is at an end. His moral effect upon the teachers and children has vanished. His powers to serve the community have waned. Every day he remains at the head of the schools, but serves to bring nearer their complete disintegration. Ruin and destruction can but follow and poor colored children can but be stinted in their larger growth and inclined towards ends destructive of the best interests of our fair land and special community. I recommend that Bruce be separated from official service in the Public Schools of the District of Columbia." (Page 784).

MR. BRUCE'S TESTIMONY

Senate Hearing No. 11, page 99.

Senator Harrison:—What about the stop order?

Mr. Bruce:—There were dark suspicions to say the least, which certainly justified the decisive action, and the moment I presented the matter to the superintendent he agreed with me, as he did in the first instance.

Senator Capper:—When was it you took up the matter with Superintendent Thurston?

Mr. Bruce:—The action of which I am now speaking was in October 1917.

Senator Capper:—How soon after that was the stop order issued?

Mr. Bruce:—Immediately. There was no question about it.

Senator Harrison:—That was eight months after you received those letters?

Mr. Bruce:—The action in the cases of those letters was taken by the president of the board.

Senator Harrison:—But those letters came to you on January 12 and 15, 1917, and you immediately turned them over to the superintendent and he took them up with the president.

Mr. Bruce:—You can readily see that the superintendent felt constrained to refer them to the president since the authority had been issued to Mr. Moens by the president. Throughout the matter the superintendent agreed with my position absolutely.

What report did the Congressional Committee make?

It recommended among other things the following:

(H. R. 9417, Sixty-sixth Congress, first session.)

A BILL To change the school system of the District of Columbia.

Be it enacted, etc., That the present school system of the District of Columbia be abolished and that in its place be established what is known as the Scharf modern system for urban public schools.

SEC. 2. That, accordingly, the functions of the school system of the District of Columbia be divided into three separate, distinct, and independent departments, namely, the pedagogical department, the business department, and the inspection department, each to be conducted under one head with full power, responsibility, and accountability.

SEC. 10. That the school board is hereby abolished. The heads of the three departments may, however, constitute an advisory council, but without any authority whatever of one member of this council over any other.

LETTER OF MR. THURSTON *re* THE BRUCE CASE:

June 30, 1920.

To the Board of Education of the District of Columbia,

Washington, D. C.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

At the last meeting of the Board of Education, replying to a verbal protest of a representative of the Parents' League, the President of the

Board of Education stated in substance as a basis for failure of the Board to act in the Bruce case that the Board could do nothing without the recommendation of the Superintendent of Schools. The direct impression conveyed was that failure to act was due to the Superintendent.

I desire to protest most positively against any such statement. Before the return of the President, Dr. Van Schaik, the Superintendent of schools was in conference with the preceding President of the Board with reference to the charges against Mr. Bruce and showed his entire readiness to act in accordance with the laws and rules of the Board of Education. When Dr. Van Schaik again became President this case was taken entirely away from the Superintendent. It was given to a committee of the Board to investigate. The committee held secret hearings from which it excluded the Superintendent, although the latter has a seat at the Board. Furthermore the committee did not call the Superintendent as witness although he is the best qualified person in the system to talk on certain matters in connection with Mr. Bruce. In addition the Superintendent was definitely refused the testimony in the case, although such testimony was necessary to a consideration of the recommendation because of the facts put before the Board Committee.

By this procedure, as clearly shown in the Senate Hearing, the Board of Education took the case of Mr. Bruce absolutely away from the Superintendent of Schools and must accept absolute and full responsibility for the continuation of Mr. Bruce in the service and for any failure to act in any way in his case. Under the procedure followed it violated the rights of the Superintendent of Schools. The Superintendent had no recourse but to consider himself entirely relieved of the matter until such time as the Board recognized his rights.

The Superintendent is of the opinion that the present status in the colored schools cannot be maintained without serious detriment to the schools. He regrets that the Board had made it impossible for him personally to act, by their action in taking over full control and responsibility of the case. He has stood ready for sometime to make the necessary recommendations to clear the situation, but the Board's own procedure has prevented such action.

Very respectfully,

E. L. THURSTON.
Superintendent of Schools.

An opinion of Mr. Bruce by a leading citizen, *re* the Cardoza case:

"In submitting the above case, Mr. Peyton, I am convinced I do the public of Washington a distinct service, since I feel sure the Board of Education cannot ignore the foregoing in the Bruce case, made up as it is of letters, etc., which prove beyond a doubt the untruthful character of the Assistant Superintendent; and that they cannot escape creating a vacancy. No one can apologize for the person involved, nor mitigate the

Bernatzik, Dr. H. A. Wien XIX, Springsiedelgasse 28

Garth, Prof. Th. R. : Denver, Colorado U. S. A. (Univ. of Denver

Jäger, Prof. Dr. : Riehen b. Basel, Pfaffenlohweg 53

Schebesta, Prof. Dr. : Mödling bei Wien, St. Gabriel.

B. Adachi, Prof. Dr. : Anatomisches Institut d. Kaiserl. Univers. Kyoto

Y. Koganei, Prof. Dr. Tokyo, Imp. Univ. Hongo

30-33-11

45-4-16

* For the night before election I prepared the following broadcast on "Democracy". It was not actually delivered, because that night was given over to a symposium, in which all candidates took part. But I insert this text here since it forms the logical developement of my argument in the series.

Out in front of the house of Parliament, a tribal king, crowned and gowned in gold, danced solemnly to his fathers gods and poured libations to Mother Earth around him danced two of the women of his house, done in dark and burning bronze erect and swathed in the flowing costume of their clan. The trumptes of nanadom mourned fitfully above

Hearken Pale-face! Hail
Niggir! the day of the
Darkie has dawned!

2201 Southern ave

2207 "

Congo
not seen C. 4-71
Bad shape

Coltrin of C.
Tribes & Migrations
Portugal - U of C
Monopolies
Stanley
Leopold
9 drive with a heads
9 walk with Vanderpoel

Panda
Corporation & Land
Bribery Chiefs
Bourgeois
Coppers

Belgium, Prof & U.S

Lumumba
Tschombe
-the death struggle

Tuesday

Letters
1st pd Congress

Congo
Letter & Acad
Northwestern
Columbia
Free Press
Am Poke
WW - scholars
chiefs of state

40-3-42

How far can the present world contradictions be settled by money?

By opportunity, by understanding of reason; But can 500 million create S America like the US can assent other hundred millions create China, Nigeria & Bantu cooperate with Americans?

what the real problem in the Congo is clear: to monopolize it, build railroads not to labor + keep it cheap + bribe the leader by giving them a small share in industry's profits

Ethiopia

A Tragedy in Technology

First Age: The World of Iron — 5000 B.C.
The Pride of Ethiopia

Second age — The World of Stone — 2000 B.C.
The Power of Ethiopia

2nd Age — The World of Cloth — 1500 A.D.
The Profit of Ethiopia

Fourth Age — The World of Gold — 2000 A.D.
The Doom of Ethiopia

→ The Snake = Human Civilization

- Killed by Iron
- Grown in Stone & Iron
- Dwindled in Cloth Stone & Iron
- Entwined in Gold Iron Stone & Cloth

given to
- Graham
- K Johnson
- Dell

No one mocks & "jeers" the Czech. No one mocks & "wags the slowly head" No one dares & misconstrue for a moment the gravity of the problems & race & ignorance & crime which the South faces & If the only way & cure the social ills of the South was to nullify by tyrannical despotic government in the land many might contemplate even this enormous sacrifice. But & all sacrifice & get nothing & nowhere is idiotic. It is not the negro who suffers most in this instance. It is the nation which the hundred million whites. We are not allowed today even & discuss openly much less attack it

30-18-16

As i rode through the Iron Curtain, I thought of my own country. The The United States is my birthplace, the lands of my dreams and the locale of my

Criticism of these things we fear because of secret police, encouragement of gossi and tattling and spying and an official list of persons under suspicion who are l liable to disc imnation and punishment without t ial. A young negro actor was invited to dine with at the Soviet Exposition showing in New York; he refused unless he could secure the consent of the State Department. A Negro newpaper editor wante to secure a gifted youg man as assistent. He first consulted the Departmnet of State. They refused because the young man had a rcord of criticism and had Communist friends. He was not appointed. Newssgathering services have been bought up by Big Business. Magazines are own by banks and corporations. Radio and Tele vision are monopolies and bookstores are under police inspection. Great publishin houses only issue books which the State Department approves; otherwise they fail to to shaee in government subsidies

Dr. Carlos de la Torre who received a LL.D. from Harvard is a Cuban of Negro descent.

30-31-7

Jose Anthony Saco, a noted Cuban historian who wrote the history of slavery is of Negro descent.

Presidents Machado, Mencol and Batiste are all presidents of Negro descent.

Gottschalk, the musician, son-in-law of Karl Marx was of Negro descent.

GPOUP ACTION

There as no such thing as group action. There is no social Will. Thereis no class consciousness or national conscience or public opinion. All these loose phrases have been given wide scientific sanction, and immense popular appeal

30-27-36

The Alliance in Georgia was a secret oath in bound order. 32-2-9

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Green, Paul Lonesome Road.

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O'Neill, Eugene All God's Chillun Got Wings.

O'Neill, Eugene Emperor Jones; The First Man; The Dreamy Kid.

O'Neill, Eugene

Torrence, Ridgley Granny Maumee; Rider of Dreams; Simon the Cyrenian

36-2-86

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Chesnutt, C. W. The Colonel's Dream

Chesnutt, C. W. The House Behind The Cedars.

Du Bois, W. E. B. The Quest of the Silver Fleece

Dunbar, P. L. Folks From Dixie.

Fauset, Jessie. There Is Confusion.

Glanville, Ernest. The Hunter.

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Millin, S. G. God's Stepchildren.

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Peterkin, Julia Green Thursday

Toomer, Jean Cane

Van Vechten, Carl Nigger Heaven

Walmsley, Leo Toro of the Little People.

Walrond, Eric Tropic Death

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Manchester, Eng: Prentice & Cathrall, printers, 1842, 8p.

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Glasgow: D. Robertson 1833. 42 p.

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London: J. Hatchard & Son, 1832, 28 p.

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Boston: W. Crosby & H. P. Nichols, 1851
Springfield: Merriam, Chapin & Co. 31 pp.

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Boston: O. Johnson, 1844 45 p.
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Thompson from Cornelius Anderson
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Edinburgh: J. Johnstone, 1846, 35 p.

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meeting of that body). ZWHF pv1
Edinburgh: J. Johnstone, 1846, 14 p.

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a Letter to Mr. G.T., M.P. regarding
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Edinburgh: J. Johnstone, 1846, 38 p.

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ENGLAND NEEDS TO GO TO AMERICA

By Gerrit Smith. G. Smith to G. Thompson. Dated, Peterboro, January 25, 1862.

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Edinburg: J. Johnstone, 1846, 35p

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Edinburg: J. Johnstone, 1846, 14p.

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In the matter of American Slavery; a letter to Mr. George Thompson, M. P. regarding his recent appearances in this sity--signed, A Free Churchman

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SOUTH AFRICA

For convenience of reference, a bibliography of some of the principal contributions to the study of social anthropology in Africa is given below.

The journals published by learned societies have been mentioned in sect.

A number of governments finance journals which deal with subjects of local interest, including accounts of native, e. g. Nada, the Native Affairs Department Annual of Southern Rhodesia; Tanganyika Notes and Records; The Gold Coast Review; Bulletin du Comite d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l' Afrique Occidentale Francaise; the monthly journal Congo; and Ethonological Publications, a series issued by the Union Department of Native Affairs. Material is to be found in the reports of agricultural and health officers, and in the proceedings of committees appointed to consider land questions and labour conditions. The most valuable of the special reports made on the subject of land tenures, in the light which they cast on the social system are those relating to the Kikuyu in Kenya and the Yoruba in Negeria. Reference is made to such material in the appropriate chapters throughout this Survey.

31-6-1

South Africa

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H. Callaway, The Religious System of the Amazulu, 1870; most valuable of the older works on the Zulu.

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S. T. Plaatje, an African, Sechuana Proverbs 1916; a collection of texts.

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E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia, 1920; of high standard.

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by S. J. K. Baker, of the Geography Department of the University of Liverpool, on the Ankole District of Uganda and the South Nyeri District of Kenya, in the course of a four months' tour of East Africa. Such surveys are comparable with the survey work of the early anthropologist, but the method of circulating questionnaires to observers who may not have given much previous thought to the subject of inquiry, and lack the context of knowledge in which it was drafted, has serious disadvantages.

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- 13 Janvier et suivants : Lord LUGARD : Les revendications coloniales

- 18 Janvier - Sir F. SWETTENHAM : Les revendications coloniales

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29 février

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- G. TABOUIS : Sommes-nous à la veille de négociations nouvelles franco-allemandes ?

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- mai

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- 4 septembre

E. ROCHE : Où les communistes apparaissent comme les adversaires d'une prospérité impériale.

- 6 septembre

E. ROCHE : Une simple redistribution des colonies serait un leurre

- 7 septembre

E. ROCHE : Comment doit se faire la redistribution des matières premières.

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- p. 11 & 12 - René LECLERC : Le régime douanier au Maroc

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- 24 janvier : l'Afrique Occidentale française
- 25 Janvier : le Maroc
- 26 Janvier : l'Afrique noire
- 16 février : l'Afrique noire
- 19 février : la Tunisie
- 7 mars : l'Afrique Occidentale française.
- 28 mars : la Tunisie
- 14 avril : l'Algérie
- 19 avril : Politique coloniale.
- 21 avril : la Tunisie
- 27 avril : le Maroc
- 5 mai ; l'Afrique Occidentale française
- 20 mai : l'Algérie
- 2 Juin : la Tunisie
- 24 Juin : le Maroc
- 14 Juillet : la Tunisie
- 23 Juillet : l'Afrique noire
- 21 Août : le Maroc
- 28 Août : l'Afrique noire
- 5 Août : La France au travail : Economie nationale et coloniale.

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Origin
Distribution
Collections of
Musical characteristics
Words
Work songs
Blues
Mellows
Music built on Negro themes
Popular music
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Still, James
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Charlton, Melville
Diton, Carl
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Name	Published	Year	Pp.	L.M.	Size
Christian Recorder	Philadelphia	1852	8	36	15X22
Southwestern Christian Advocate	New Orleans, La.	1866	16	42	11X15
Christian Index	Jackson, Tenn.	1870	16	32	9X13
Star of Zion	Charlotte, N.C.	1877	8	27	12X21
Afro-American Presbyterian	Charlotte, N.C.	1878	4	11	16X2[illegible]
The Washington Bee	Washington, D.C.	1879	8	15½	15X22
Georgia Baptist	Augusta, Ga.	1879	8	23	13X20
Western Star	Houston, Dallas, Texas	1881	8	10	15X22
Baptist Vanguard	Little Rock, Ar.	1881	8	19	15X20
The World	Indianapolis, Ind.	1881	8	11	15X22
Pioneer Press	Martinsburg, W.Va.	1882	4	11½	11X20
Gazette	Cleveland, O.	1883	4	10	18X24
Normal Index	Normal, Ala.	1883	4	13	11X16
Appeal	St. Paul, Minn.	1884	4	8	18X24
Southern Letter	Tuskegee, Ala.	1884	4	7	9X12
Savannah Tribune	Savannah, Ga.	1885	8	13	15X22
Philadelphia Tribune	Philadelphia	1885	8	24	15X24
Brotherhood	Cincinnati, O.	1886	8	10½	15X22
Crusader	Baltimore, Md.	1886	8	5½	15X22
Florida Sentinel	Pensacola, Fla.	1886	8	15	15X22
New York Age	New York	1887	8	33	16X20½
The Light	Vicksburg, Miss.	1887	4	7	18X24

The Freeman	Indianapolis, Ind.	1887	8	23	15X22
Steelton Press	Steelton, Pa.	1888	4	2	18X24
Tuskegee Student	Tuskegee, Ala.	1888	4	9½	11X16
New Light	Edwards, Miss.	1888	8	12½	15X22
Statesman	Denver, Col.	1888	16	25	11X15
Southern Christian Recorder	Columbus, Ga.	1889	4	22	18X23
Baptist Leader	Birmingham, Ala.	1889	4	9½	15X22
Christian Banner	Philadelphia	1889	4	20	18X24
The Christian Hope	Demopolis, Ala.	1891	4	6	15X22
Dallas Express	Dallas, Tex.	1892	8	18	18X24
Griffin Echo	Griffin, Ga.	1892	4	2½	18X24
Oklahoma Guide	Guthrie, Okla	1892	4	4	18X24
People's Recorder	Orangeburg, S.C.	1892	4	20	15X22
Oklahoma Safeguard	Guthrie, Okla	1893	4	12	18X24
IowaBystander	Des Moines, Ia.	1893	4	15	18X24
Baptist Truth	Cairo, Ill.	1894	4	7½	18X24
Plaindealer	Palestine, Tex.	1894	8	6	15X21
Weekly Express	Mobile, Ala.	1894	6	11	15X22
Charleston Messenger	Charleston, S.C.	1894	4	13	18X24
The Standard	Lexington, Ky.	1894	4	9	18X24
The Journal	Huntsville, Ala.	1894	4	12	15X22
Seattle Republican	Seattle, Wash.	1894	8	8	11X16
Western Outlook	San Francisco, Los Angeles and Oakland, Cal.	1894	4	10	18X24
Rock Hill Messenger	Rock Hill, S.C.	1895	4	5½	18X24
Colored Citizen	Memphis, Tenn.	1895	8	10	15X22
Advance Citizen	Springfield, Ill.	1895	4	5	15X22
Detroit Reformer	Detroit, Mich.	1895	4	11	18X24
The Reformer	Richmond, Va.	1895	4	18½	20X26
Broad Ax	Chicago, Ill.	1895	4	9	16X22
OddFellow's Journal	Philadephia, Pa.	1896	8	15	13X20
The Advance	Jamestown, N.C.	1896	4	1	15X22
Recorder	Indianapolis, Ind.	1896	4	12	18X24
The Educator	Huntsville, Ala	1896	8	3	11X16
Taborian Visitor	Little Rock, Ark.	1896	8	40	15X22
Enterprise	Omaha, Neb.	1896	8	10	15X22
The Helping Hand	Paris, Tex.	1896	8	27	15X22
Louisiana Baptist	Alexandria, La.	1897	9	22½	13X20
Informer	Urbana, O.	1897	4	10	15X22
Oakland Sunshine	Oakland, Cal.	1897	4	13½	18X24
News-Enterprise	Shreveport, La.	1897	8	13	15X19
Nashville Clarion	Nashville, Tenn.	1897	4	10	13X19
Weekly Gazette	Metropolis, Ill.	1897	8	14½	13X20
City Times	Galveston, Tex	1897	4	4½	18X24
Mission Herald	Louisville, Ky.	1897	8	19	12X19
National Protest	St. Joseph, Mo.	1897	8	16½	15X22
Texas Freeman	Houston, Tex.	1898	-	--	18X24
Western Enterprise	Colorado Springs	1898	8	13	15X22
Plaindealer	Topeka, Kan.	1898	8	13	12X20

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Baptist Sentinel	Raleigh, N.C.	1898	8	13	11X16
Durham Reformr	Durham, N.C.	1898	8	16	15X22
Kentucky Standard	Louisville, Ky.	1898	4	6	18X24
Missionary Seer	Philadelphia	1898	8	14	9X12
Independent	Savannah, Ga.	1890	8	8	15X22
Southern Reporter	Charleston, S.C.	1890	4	14½	15X21
Kentucky Reporter	Owensboro, Ky.	1899	4	8	15X22
Advocate	Charleston, W.Va.	1900	8	31½	18X22
Western Messenger	Mason, Jefferson City and St. Louis, Mo.	1900	4	15	15X22
The Demonstrator	Mound Bayou, Miss.	1900	4	7½	18X24
St. Luke Herald	Richmond, Va.	1900	4	9	13X21
Florida Reporter	Tampa, Fla.	1900	8	10	13X20
American Star	Tuscumbia, Ala.	1900	8	6	11X15
National Star	Vicksburg, Miss.	1900	4	6	18X24
Pythian Monitor	Cincinnati, O.	1901	8	30	15X24
Bluff City News	Memphis, Tenn.	1901	12	12	17X22
Friendship Banner	Rock Hill, S.C.	(?)	4	10	11X17
Wilkes-Barre Advocate	Wilkesbarre, Pa.	1901	4	11½	15X22
The Star	Newport News, Va.	1901	8	18½	15X22
The Courant	Philadelphia	1901	4	9	15X22
Professional World	Columbia, Mo.	1901	8	22	15X22
The Guardian	Boston, Mass.	1901	8	35	18X24
The Torchlight	Danville, Ky.	1901	4	10½	15X22
Florida Labor Temple	Jacksonville	1901	8	12	18X24
Baptist Rival	Ardmore, Okla.	1901	8	11	13X20
Industrial Era	Beaumont, Tex	1902	4	4½	16X22
Seattle Searchlight	Seattle, Wash.	1902	4	17	16X22
The Truth	Birmingham, Ala.	1902	4	3	12X18
Missionary Presbyterian	Washington, Ga.	1902	4	8	13X20
Portland Advocate	Portland, Ore.	1902	4	12	18X24
Vox Populi	Alabany, Ga.	1902	8	8	13X20
Fisherman's Net	Hampton, Va.	1903	4	10	15X22
The Forum	Springfield, Ill.	1903	8	7	12X16
Cleveland Journal	Cleveland, O.	1903	8	14	15X22
Southern Age	New Orleans	1903	4	8½	18X22
The Echo o	Red Bank, N.J.	1903	4	7½	1[illegible]X22
The Signal	Memphis, Tenn.	1903	4	7	15X22
Birmingham Reporter	Birmingham, Ala.	1903	8	12	15X22
Illinois Idea	Chicago	1903	4	7	18X24
National Watchman	Topeka, Kan.	1903	8	9	15X22
The Defender	Sumter, S.C.	1903	8	9	15X22
The Advocate	Portland, Ore.	1903	4	15	18X24
Springfield Leader	Springfield, Ill.	1904	8	11	15X22
Interstate Reporter	Helena, Ark.	1904	4	7	15X22
Staunton Reporter	Stauton, Va.	1904	4	8	11X15
Beaufort County News	Beaufort, S.C.	1904	4	3½	13X20
Boley Progress	Boley, Okla.	1904	4	8	15X22
Florida Standard	Jacksonville, Fla.	1904	4	8	15X22
Negro Fortune Teller	Huntsville, Ala.	1904	4	11½	11X16
Atlanta Justice	Atlanta, Ga.	1904	6	9	9½X12½
Colorado Times	Pueblo, Col.	1904	4	7	18X24
The Messengar	Tuskegee, Ala.	1905	4	10	11X16
Nashville Globe	Nashville, Tenn.	1905	8	27	13X18
American Problem	Newport News, Va.	1905	4	4½	15X22

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Nashville Globe					
Light of the Race	Newport News, Va.	1905	4	15	15X22
Farmers' Courier	Darlington, S.C.	1905	4	4½	15X22
Southern Plowman	Columbia, S.C.	1905	4	22½	15X22
The Messenger	Atlantic City, N.J.	1905	4	8	15X22
Chicago Defender	Chicago, Ill.	1905	4	14	18X24
Richmond Planet	Richmond, Va.	1905	8	12	18X24
Mid-Weekly Progress	Memphis, Tenn.	1905	4	6	15X22
Colored Alabamian	Montgomery, Ala.	1906	4	10	11X16
Waycross News	Waycross, Ga.	1906	4	3	15X22
Wisconsin Weekly Defender	Milwaukee, Wis.	1906	4	5½	15X22
The Advance	Providence, R.I.	1906	4	7½	15X22
Saturday Evening News	Columbus, O.	1906	4	14	11X14
The Union	Cincinnati, O.	1906	8	6	15X22
Union Messenger	Dothan, Ala.	1906	4	8	15X22
Macon Dispatch	Macon, Ga.	1906	8	8	15X22
The Daily Metropolitan	Dallas, Tex.	1906	4	9	14½X10½
San Antonio Inquirer	San Antonio, Tex.	1906	4	3	15X22
National Industrial Enterprise	Washington, D.C.	1906	8	16½	15X22
The American Citizen	Atlanta, Georgia	1907	8	8½	13X20
Kansas City Sun	Kansas City, Mo.	1907	8	7½	15X22
Yonkers Standard	Yonkers, N.Y.	1907	4	11	15X22
Fessenden Academy Herald	Fessenden, Ala.	1907	8	11	9X12
New York Eye	Brooklyn, N.Y.	1907	8	8½	13X20
Union Ledger	Anniston, Ala.	1907	4	3½	13X20
The Light	Columbia, S.C.	1907	8	9	15X22
Mississippi Odd Fellow	Holly Springs, Miss.	1907	4	13	15X22
Southern Indicator	Spartanburg, S.C.	1907	8	15	13X22
The Advocate	Boston, Mass.	1907	8	19	15X22
The Plaindealer	Helena, Mont.	1907	4	16	15X22
Muskogee Cimeter	Muskogee, Okla	1907	8	14	15X22
Conservative Counselor	Gonsales, Tex.	1907	4	5	15X22
The New Century	Norfolk, Va.	1908	4	7	15X22
Spokane Citizen	Spokane, Wash.	1908	8	15	11X16
Atlantic Wee City Weekly Topic	Atlantic City, N.J.	1908	4	8	15X22
Washington American	Washington D.C.	1908	4	10	13X24
Allen Student	Columbia, S.C.	1908	4	15	16X22
Wagoner Lantern	Wagoner, Okla	1908	4	3	13X20
Supreme Circle News	Albany, Ga.	1908	4	15½	15X22
Bath Times	Hot Springs and Covington, Va.	1908	4	3½	18X24
The New Age	Los Angeles, Cal.	1908	4	10	15X22
The Sentinel	Richmond, Ky.	1908	6	15	11X17
The College Journal	Savannah, Ga.	1908	4	16	11X17
Baltimore Times	Baltimore, Md.	1909	8	14	15X22
Appreciator Union	Fort Smith	1909	4	12	13X20
Negro Leader	Uniontown, Ala.	1909	4	6½	8½X14
St. John Herald	Montgomery, Ala.	1909	4	5	8½X12
Baptist Herald	Lynchburg, Va.	1909	8	10	13X20
Ethiopian Phalanx	Covington, Ga.	1909	4	6½	15X22
The Caret	Philadelphia	1909	4	8	15X22
The U.B.F. Searchlight	Sedalia, Mo.	1909	4	13	15X22
Fort Valley Uplift	Ft. Valley, Ga.	1909	4	5½	9½X12

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New York Defender	New York	1909	-	--	-------
The Forum	Spokane, Wash	1909	4	11	16X22
Wadesboro Enterprise	Wadesboro, N.C.	1909	4	10	18X24
Indiana Register	Richmond, Ind.	1909	4	12	15X22
Zanesville Advocate	Zanesville, O.	1909	8	8	15X24
National Aspect	Chicago, Ill.	1910	4	12	18X24
Jackson Gazette	Jackson, Tenn.	1910	4	8	15X 22
The Enterprise	Muskogee, Okla.	1910	8	12½	18X24
Illinois Chronicle	Chicago, Ill.	1910	4	15½	15X24
PittsburghCourier	Pittsburgh, Pa.	1910	8	18	16X22
Magazines:					
A.M.E. Church Review	Nashville, Tenn.	1882	100	9½	11X16
A.M.E. Z. Quarterly	Charlotte, N.C.	1889	91	182	6X9
Gazetteer and Guide	St. Paul, Detroit, Richmond, Va. and Montreal	1900	24	9½	11X16
		1900	24	9½	11X16
Business League Herald	Washington, D.C.	1908	12	54½	8X12
The Horizon	Washington, D.C.	1907	12	24	10½X8
McGirt's Magazine	Philadelphia	(?)	40	60	6X9
The Liberator	St. Louis	(?)	96	145	6½X10
Negro World Echo	Hot Springs, Ark.	1910	64	36	6½X10
The Sixth Race Magazine	Orlando, Fla.	1910	20	19	6X8½

31-3-12

Papers reported as being published:

The Tribune, Bessemer, Ala.
The Selma News, Selma, Ala.
Voice of the 20th Century, Argenta, Ark.
Echo, Hot Springs, Ark.
Eagle, Los Angeles, Cal.
The Light, Colorado Spring, Colo.
Delaware Advocate, Wilmington, Del.
Afro-American Ledger, Wilmington, Del.
Masonic Forum, Jacisonville, Fla.
Florida Tribune, Marianna, Fla.
Christian Recorder, Orlando, Fla.
Advocate, Covington, Ga.
Baptist Truth, Macon Ga.
Enterprise, Pulaski, Ga.
Standard World, Columbus, O.
Ohio Standard, Xenia, O.
Republican, Muskogee, Okla.
Sun, Ardmore, Okla.
The Western Age, Langston, Okla.
The Gazette, Buxton, Ia.
The Enterprise, Salina, Kan.
The Searchlight, Wichita, Kan.
American Baptist, Louisville, Ky.
Blue Grass Bugle, Frankfort, Ky.
Reporter, Mt. Sterling, Ky.
The Watchman, Shreveport, La.
Republican Liberator, New Orleans, La.
Louisiana Searchlight, Shreveport, La.
The Guide, Evansville, Ind.
The Sun, Columbia, S.C.
The Monitor, Greeville, S.C.
The Blade, Chattanooga, Tenn.
The Conservator, Memphis, Tenn.
The Signal, Memphis, Tenn.

The Paul Quin Weekly, Waco, Tex.
The Wiley Reporter, Marshall, Tex.
The Witness, Houston, Tex.
The Watchman, Austin, Tex.
Texas Pythian Journal, Waco, Tex.
The Searchlight, Austin, Tex.
The New Idea, Galveston, Tex.
The Item, Fort Worth, Tex.
The Louisiana Record, New Orleans, La.
The Advocate, Baltimore, Md.
The Appeal, Meridian, Miss.
The Baptist Reporter, Jackson, Miss.
The Herald, Natchez, Miss.
The News Journal, Laurel, Miss.
Delta Light House, Greenville, Miss.
The National Mirror, Kansas City, Mo.
The Western Christian Recorder, Kansas City, Mo.
The Sentinel, East St. Louis, Ill.
The Signal, Kansas City, Mo.
The Paliadium, St. Louis, Mo.
The American Citizen, Kansas City, Mo.
The Advance, St. Louis, Mo.
The Appeal, Jersey City, N.J.
The Industrial Watchman, Paterson, N.J.
Voice of Missions, New York
The Statesman, New York
The National Review, New York
The Gazette, Charlotte, N.C.
The Piedmont Advocate, Salisbury, N.C.
The True Reformer, Littleton, N.C.
The Bee, San Antonio, Tex.
The Utah Plaindealer, Salt Lake City, U.
The National Pilot, Petersburg, Va.
The Virginia Baptist, Richmond, Va.
The Colored Union, Clifton, Forge, Va.
The Westerner, Spokane, Wash.
Fair Play, Parkersburg, W.Va.
The Wisconsin Advocate, Milwaukee, Wis.

31-3-13

The History of the Negro -America
African sources of the Negro population
African institutions in America
West Indian background
Labor, slavery and servitude
Patriarchal slavery
Colonial slavery by colonies
Slavery in the territories
Negroes of Louisiana
Negroes of Florida
The Slave Code
Political Rights
Insurrections and Uprisings
Anti-Slavery sentiment
Slavery among Puritans and Quakers
English attitude tow ard slavery
Punishments
Fugitive slaves
Miscegenation
Rise of caste
Doctrine of the Rights of Man
The Negro During and After the Revolution

Emancipation in the North
Emancipation Sentiment in the South
Negro preachers and churches
Colonization
Free Negroes
Free Negro occupations
Negroes in the churches
Rise of the cotton kingdom
Rise and decline of the slave trade
Compromises in the Constitution
Slave trade laws
Ordinance of 1787
Haitian Revolution
Louisiana Purchase
Illicit Slave Trade
Internal slave trade
New slave insurrections
Harsher slave code
Seminole Wars
Negroes in the war of 1812
Race riots
Sugar industry
Increase of cotton crop
Annexation of Texas
Rise of commercial slavery
Underground Railroad
Abolition Movement
Attitude of the white church
Southern Assertion
Increase of free Negroes
Negro education
Negroes in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Cincinnati
Negroes in Canada
Negro books and periodicals
Negro conventions
Negro leaders
Colonization
Liberia
Plans for migration
Garrison, Phillips and Tappan
Anti-slavery agitation
Frederick Douglass
Repression of abolition

The right of petition
Gag rule
Texas
Fugitive slave laws
Kidnapping
Personal liberty laws
Mutinies on slave ships
The crisis of 1850
The Dred Scott Decision
State rights and secession
Harpers Ferry
The Civil War
Negroes as contrabands
Negroes as laborers and servants
Negroes as soldiers
Emancipation
The KuKlux Klan
The Black Codes
Reconstruction

31-3-14

Disfranchisement
Missionary efforts
Negro colleges
Booker T. Washington
Industrial education
Higher education
Renewal of agitation
Citizenhip rights
Political efforts
The World war and migration
The depression

The History of Slavery
The American slave Trade
English Slave Trade
Action of colonies
Constitutional convention
Slave Trade Laws, 1808-1819-1820
Illicit Slave Trade
Texas
Civil War
History of slavery by states
Mason and Dixon Line
Census of slaves
Legal basis of slavery
Number and distribution of slaves
Plantations
Work of slaves
Treatment and punishment
Fugitive slaves
Fugitive slave laws
Insurrections
Manumission
Slavery and internal improvements
Slavery and the tariff
The Internal Slave Trade
Slave Breeding
The foreign slave trade
Kidnapping of Negroes
The Church and Slavery
The Abolition of Slavery
Anti-Slavery Society
Lawrence, Kansas
Gag Laws
Underground Railroad
Harpers Ferry
Kennedy Farm
Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction
Lincoln on Slavery
Pennsylvania Abolition Society
Anti-Abolition Riots
Anti-Slavery Debates
Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia
Abolition Societies
Abolitionists
Thompson, George
Convention of Abolition Societies, 1794-1929, 1838
Personal Liberty Law
Compromise of 1850
Dred Scott Decision
State Rights
Thirteenth Amendment
Fourteenth Amendment

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Fifteenth Amendment
Wilmot Proviso
Slavery Compromise of the Constitution
Ordinance of 1787
Northwest Territory
Missouri Compromise
Louisiana Purchase
Gradual Emancipation
Emancipation Proclamation
Anti-Slavery Societies
  Pennsylvania AbolitionSociety
  New York Manumission Society
  The American Convention of Abolition Societies, 1794
Abolition in Northern States
Attitude of the South
The Organized Abolition Movement
The Free Soil Movement
Free Negroes
Colonization
  American Colonization
  Lincoln's Colonization Plan
Confiscation Acts
Negro Slave Owners

Insurrections
Northern Neck, Virginia, 1687
Surry County, Virginia, 1710
South Carolina, 1711
South Carolina, 1711
New York, 1712
Rappahannock, 1722
Savannah, 1728
Malden, Massauchetts, 1730
Samba, Louisiana, 1730
South Carolina, 1730
Williamsburg, Virginia, 1730
Mutiny of slaves on Rhode Island ship, 1731
Captain John Major of Portsmouth, New Hampshire was murdered with all of his crew in 1732
Slaves being imported from Guinea by George Scott, asserted themselves and murdered three of the crew, 1731
Captain Beers and his crew suffered the same fate a few years later.
Mutiny on Portsmouth, New Hampshire ship, 1732
Mutiny on the Dolphin, 1735, West Coast of Africa
St. Paul's Parish, St. John's and Charleston, South Carolina, 1739
Stono, South Carolina, 1740
New York, 1741
Louisiana, 1791
Gabriel's Insurrection, Virginia, 1800
Camden, South Carolina, 1816
Augusta, Georgia, 1819
Charleston, South Carolina, 1822
Denmark Vesey, South Carolina, 1822
"Comet", the
  Slave ship en route to the United States, wrecked (1831) at Bahamas.
Nat Turner, Virginia, 1831
Southampton County, Virginia, 1831
"L'Amistad" Mutiny, 1839
  Slave ship bound from Havana to Neuvitas carrying 54 Negroes who mutined under the leadership of Joseph Cinque
"Creole" Mutiny, 1841
Harper's Ferry, 1859

Anti-Negro Riots
- Cincinnati, Ohio, 1826
- Philadelphia, 1829
- Portsmouth, Ohio, January 1, 1830
- Philadelphia, Penn., 1833
- " " ., 1834
- New York City, 1834
- Palmyra, 1934
- Philadelphia, 1834
- " , 1835
- Cincinnati, Ohio, 1836
- Philadelphia, 1838
- Pittsburgh, Penn., 1839
- Philadelphia, 1842
- New Orleans, La., 1866
- Memphis, Tenn., 1866
- Hamburg Massacre, 1876 (South Carolina)
- New Orleans, 1895
- Wilmington, 1898
- Juan Hill, New York, 1900
- Charles Riot, New Orleans, 1900
- Atlanta, 1906
- Brownsville, 1906
- Springfield, Illinois, 1908
- East St. Louis, 1917
- Chester, Pa., 1917
- Elaine, Arkansas, 1918
- Washington, D.C., July, 1919
- Chicago, 1919
- Knoxville, Tenn., 1919
- Washington, D.C., 1919
- Mercer County, Ohio

31-3-17

The Negro in American Wars
- Colonial Wars
- American Revolution
  - Battle of Bunker Hill
  - Negroes in the American Army
  - Militia
  - Battles participated in
- War of 1812, Negroes in
  - Negro sailors
  - Battle of New Orleans
  - Abraham Lincoln
  - The Negro Fort
  - Oscelo
- The Seminole Wars
- Civil War
  - Secession
  - Negro refugees
  - Negro stevedores and servants
  - Negro soldiers
  - Negro regiments
  - Negro officers
- The Draft
- Copperheads
  - Bull Run
  - Fortress Monroe

Fort Wagner
Hilton Head
Milliken's Bend
Military Districts
Peninsula Campaign
Port Hudson
Port Royal
Portsmouth
St. Helena
Shiloh
South Edisto Expedition
Bounties for Negro Troops
Bureau for Negro Troops
Corps d'Afrique
Discrimination Against Negro Troops
Enlistment of Negro Soldiers
Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment
Fifty-fifth Massachusetts Regiment
Fort Pillow Massacre
Hinck's Negro Division
Kansas Colored Volunteers
Louisiana Native Guards
Union Army Camps, Negroes in
Spanish and American War
Negro regiments
Regular army
Volunteer regiments
Yellow fever epidemic
World War
World War--Negroes in American Army
Volunteers
Veterans' Bureau
Service of Supply Regiments
Ninety-third Division
Ninety-second Division
Fort Des Moines Camp
First Separate Battalion of the District of Columbia
Eighth Illinois Regiment
Fifteenth New York Regiment
The Draft
The camps
Transportation overseas
Treatment by the American Army
Promotions
Discrimination
Health
Intelligence Tests
The Anthropological Missions
The Negro in the Army
Negro Regiments
West Point
War payments
Militia
Missionary and Philanthropic Enterprise, Civil War and After
American Missionary Association
Hartford Relief Society

31-3-18

Missionary Teachers
National Freedmen's Relief Association of the District of Columbia
New England Freedmen's Aid Committee
New England Freedmen's Mission
New England Freedmen's Relief Association
Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association
Tract Society, the
Washington Christian Union
The Negro in Reconstruction
The Black Codes
Freedmen's Bureau
Carpet-baggers
Compensated Emancipation
Colonization
Contrabands
Congressional Reconstruction
Ku Klux Klan
Negroes in Legislatures
Private Schools
Land
Social Legislature
Enfranchisement
Whites
Negroes
Force Bills
Peonage
Reconstruction by States
Southern States
Border States
Frontier
Reconstruction Efforts in the North
Political attitude in the North
Economical attitude in the North
Negro Citizenship
Citizenship of Negroes
Civil Law
Civil Liberty
Civil Rights
Civil Rights Bill of 1865
Constitution and Constitutional Law
Constitutional Convention
Hall vs. De Cuir
First of a series of cases (1869) by which the Supreme Court nullified the Civil Rights Act of 1875
Plessy vs. Ferguson
Supreme Court, in this case, pronounced discriminatory legislation valid; an apparent reversal of the decision in Hall vs. De Cuir.
Civil liberties
Local government
Minorities
Representation
The Declaration of Independence
The Supreme Court
Negro Political Rights
Voting Colonial Times
" 1787-1830
" 1830-1868
" 1868-1876
" 1876-1890
" 1890-1930
Primaries

31-3-19

Gerrymandering
Woman Suffrage
Restrictions on Suffrage
Southern States
Northern States
Registration
Pole Tax
Literary Tests
Property qualifications
Residence Qualifications
Grandfather Legislation
Court Decisions
State Courts
United States Courts
United States Supreme Court
Dred Scott
Grandfather Clause
Civi l Rights
Separate Laws
Separate Schools
Elections
Counting the Votes
United States Supervisory Elections
"Force Bills"
Political Parties
Republican
Democratic
Bull Moose
Socialist
Communist
Farmer Labor
Political Convention
Bribery
Basis of Representation
Amendments
13th, 14th, 15th
Civil Service
Consular
Journalism
Newspapers and Periodicals, American Negro
Advance, Mont., Ala., 1880
African Expositor, Raleigh, N.C., 1880
Afro-American, Baltimore
A.M.E. Review
The American Musician Magazine
American Star, Sheffield, Ala.
A.M.E. Zion Quarterly Review
Afro-American Presbyterian, Wilmington, N.C., 1880
The Afro-American Spokesman, edited by Rev. R.C. Ransom
The Alienated American, Cleveland, Ohio, 1852, edited by H.H. Day
Amsterdam News, New York
The Anglo-African, 1859-1865, New York, published by Thomas Hamilton.
This paper was later called "The Pine and Palm"
The Argus, Washington, D.C., 1880
The Baltimore Vindicator, Baltimore, Md., published by William Murrell.
Baptist Leader, Birmingham, Ala.
The Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City
Boston Chronicle
Boston Guardian
Buffalo American
Cadiz Informer, Ky.

21-3-20

Challenge, New York
Chicago Defender
Chicago Tribune
Chicago Whip
The Christian Recorder, Philadelphia, 1856, edited by Jabez Campbell
Christian Recorder, Philadelphia Pa., 1880
The Clarion, published between 1842-1843 by Henry Highland Garnett.
Cleveland Advocate
The Colored American, first newspaper published in the South, 1865-67, Augusta, Ga. Edited by J.T. Shuften.
The Colored Citizen, Cincinati, published during the Civil War to 1865 by John P. Sampson.
The Colored Citizen, Mississippi, 1866, edited by John R. Lynch.
Colored Citizen, Topeka, Kansas, 1880.
The Colored Man's Journal, 1851-1861, Louis H. Putnam, published in New York.
The Colored Tennesseean, published in Tennessee, 1865-1866.
The Columbus Messenger, Columbus Ga., 1887, edited by B.T. Harvey
Competitor, edited by Robert L. Vann
Conservator, Chicago, Ill., 1880
Co-operator, Boston, Mass., 1880
Concordia Eagle, Vidalia, La., 1880
Crisis
The Crusader, 1918
Dallas Express, Texas
Danville Torch Light, Ky.
Denver (Colorado) Star
Detroit Leader
Detroit Plaindealer, Detroit, Mich., 1883
Eastern Review, Providence, R.I., 1880
Educator and Reformer, Nashville, Tenn., 1880
The Elevator, Albany, N.Y., 1842
Elevator, San Francisco, Cal., 1880
Fenton Johnson's Favorite Magazine
Fraternal Advocate, Chicago
Freedoms' Journal later called the Rights of All, 1827-1830 New York City, N.Y., edited by John B. Russwurm.
The Genius of Freedom, issued some time between 1845-1847, New York, edited by David Ruggles.
Golden Enterprise, Baltimore, Md., 1880
The Herald of Freedom, Ohio, 1855, edited by Peter M. Clark
The Hopkinsville New Age, Kentucky
Horizon
The Impartial Citizen, Syracuse, N.Y., 1848, published by Samuel Ward.
Indianapolis, Freeman.
Indianapolis World, 1885, Indianapolis, Ind., edited by Levi E. Christy
Journal and Guide
Journal of Industry, Raleigh, N.C., 1880
The Journal of the Lodge
The Journal of Negro History, edited by C.G. Woodson
Kappa Alpha Psi Journal
The Knoxville Negro World, Patterson Brothers & Company, publishers, Knoxville, Tenn.
Leader, Indianapolis, Ind., 1880
Liberian Register
Louisville News, Ky.
Louisianian, New Orleans, La., 1880
The Madison Vindicator, Delta, Madison Parish, edited by William Murrell.
The Mirror of the Times, San Francisco, Cal., 1855-1862.
Messenger, New York City

31-3-21

Mobile Weekly Press
The Monitor, 1866, edited by Rev. R.L. Perry
Moon
Morrillton Voice, Arkansas
The Mountain Eagle
The Mystery, 1843-1847, edited by Martin R. Delaney
National Monitor, Brooklyn, New York, 1880
National Watchman (Troy, 1842-1845) edited by Wm. G. Allen
Negro Outlook
The Negro World, New York, edited by Marcus Garvey
Newport News Star, Va.
New York Age, New York
The New York Dispatch, N.Y.
The New York Freeman, New York, 1884, edited by Timothy Fortune
The New York News, N.Y.
TheNorth Star, later called Frederick Douglass' Paper, 1847-1865, edited by Frederick Douglass at Rochester.
Observer, New Orleans, La., 1880
The Ohio Falls Express, Ohio, 1879
Opportunity
Our National Progress, 1866, published by W. Howard Day
National Tribune, St. Louis, Mo., 1880
The New Orleans Louisianian, 1866, edited by P.B.S. Pinchback
The Pacific Appeal, established 1862, immediate successor of the "Mirror of the Times."
Palatka Advocate, Fla.
People's Advocate, Washington, D.C., 1880
The People's Advocate, Alexandria, Virginia, 1876.
The People's Journal, Jackson, Miss., 1880
People's Journal, New Orleans, La., 1880
The People's Press, 1843-47, New York and Pittsburgh, Pa. edited by Thomas Hamilton and John Dias.
People's Watchman, Charleston, S.C., 1880
Pike County News, Alabama
Philadelphia Tribune
Phoenix Tribune, Ariz.
The Pilot, 1888, Virginia
Pittsburgh Courier
The Planet
Progressive American, New York City, 1880
The Public Ledger, Baltimore, Md., edited by Mr. Wesley Adams.
Progressive Citizen, Texarkana, Ark.
The Promoter
The Public Ledger, Baltimore, Md., edited by Mr. Wesley Adams.
Pullman Porters' Review
The Rams Horn, 1847-1848, New York, edited by Willis A. Hodges
Red Bank Echo, New Jersey
Richmond Colored American
Rising Sun, Pueblo Colo.
Rome Enterprise, Ga.
Robbins, Herald, Ill.
Rumor--later called the New York Globe, 1880-1884, edited by Timothy Fortune.
Rural Messenger, Tuskegee Institute
The San Francisco Sentinel
Savannah Tribune, Ga.
Sentinel, 1887, Gainesville, Florida, edited by M.M. Lewey.
Shreveport Sun, La.
Southern Workman, Hampton Institute
Spectator, Galveston, Texas, 1880
Star of Zion, New Berne, N.C., 1880
St. Louis Argus
St. Luke Herald, Richmond, Va.

31-3-22

Notes on Negro Literature

1. The literature of whites about Negroes and influenced by Negroes.
   Joseph Sewell wrote in 1700, a pamphlet on the selling of Joseph.
   Anthony Benezet wrote an account of Guinea and notes on the Slave Trade
   1771 - 1880.

2. Then came the group of what we may call the anti-slavery writers.
   F. A. Kimble, Lydia Maria Child, Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1803 - 1882,
   John G. Whittier, 1807 - 1892, James Russell Lowell, 1819 - 1891, Walt
   Whitman, 1819 - 1892, Julia Ward Howe, 1819 - 1910, Wendell Phillips,
   1811 - 1884, Charles Somner -------, W. L. Garrison, ------ Harriet
   Beecher Stowe, 1811 - 1896, John C. Calhoun---------.

3. Then came the writers of the Reconstruction Period.
   G. W. Cable, Thomas Nelson, Page, Tom Dixon, Howells.

4. In the 20th Century the subject has been consistently avoided by white
   writers.
   Henry W. Grady, Stephen Graham, A. B. Hart, E. G. Murphy, U. B. Ph
   H. J. Seligman, R. T. Kerlin, Detweiler, A. H. Stone, Stribling

Folklore - Songs in the 16th and 17th centruy. The Brer Rabbit Stori
the 18th and 19th century; Jubilee Songs in the 19th century; T. W. T
Negro Folk Rhymes 20th century.

Literature - Jupiter Hammon, Phyllis Wheatley, 1753 - 1784, Lemuel Haynes
1753 - 1833, George Horton 1797 - 1880, James M. Whitfield (1854), Francis
E. W. Harper (1854), A. A. Whitman (1877)

History - William C. Knell, Bishop Payne, William Still

Biography - Bishop Alle, C. C. Purvis, Gustavus Vassa, Bishop Logan, Josiah
Henson, Sojourner Truth,

Propaganda - Paul Cuffe, David Walker, H. H. Garnet, W. C. Pennington, George
Hogarth.

30-18-1

Bourgeois artists

1920-1928. Self-Assertive School.

* Braitewaite
Brawley
J. W. Johnson
G. Johnson
* Cullen
* Bontemps
Alexander
White
Fauset

ROMANTIC REALIST

WAR

Defeatists
McKay
* Toomer
Fisher
* Walrond
* Hughes
* Larsen

Dramatists
Burrell
Richardson
Spence

ALDRIDGE

Painters
Tanner
Scott
Smith
Wheeler
Douglass
Woodruff

46-2-24

LIFE

18th Century

Wheatley

Hammond

Horton

VOICES - REVOLUTION

19th Century. First Half.

Walker

Cuffe

PROTEST - INDUSRY

19th Century. Third Quarter

Douglass

Truth

Nell

TRUTH - WAR

1875-1890

W. Brown

Whitman

Harper

Williams

NOVEL POETRY HISTORY

1890-1900

Dunbar

Chesnutt

LITERATURE

1900-1915

Washington

Miller

Braitewaite

Woodson

Cotter

Three Johnsons

McClellan

THE WAY PERSONS

IMPERIALISM

46-2-26

SELF INTERPRET

DEFEATISTS

ROMANTIC

REALIST

LITERATURE & ART

18th C. AFRICA - EUROPE
RYTHYM
VOICES

19th C. INDUSTRY
RELIGION - FOLK-SONG
PROTEST - MINSTRELS

1850-90 UPHEAVAL
DOUGLAS - TRUTH
WM. BROWN - WHITMAN
NELL - WILLIAMS

ALDRIDGE
WILLIAM & WALKER
TANNER

NEW SONG

1890-1900
DUNBAR - CHESNUT

H6-2-28

1900-15

CONFUSION
IMPERIALISM
DARKER WORLD

FULLER
JACKSON

1915-1928

DEFEATISM
TOOMER - McKAY

SELF-INTERPRET
CULLEN - FAUSET

WHEELER - DOUGLAS
THEATRE

THE BEAUTIFUL
ADVENTURE

NEGRO LITERATURE

WHAT + WHEN IS LITERATURE
DRAMA of NEGRO

AMERICAN LITERATURE + NEGROES
EMERSON, WHITTIER, WHITMAN
STOWE, HOWELLS, HIGGINSON
CABLE, PAGE, DIXON
GREEN, HEYWARD

LAY FIGURE
3 KINGS - OTHELLO - ORINOKO
MINSTREL - UNCLE TOM
BIRTH of a NATION
UNCLE REMUS

NEGRO LITERATURE
LANGUAGE - AUDIENCE - ART

SUB-STREAM
WHEATLEY - HORTON - HAMMOND
BANNEKER
DAVID WALKER
L. HAYNES

46-3-29

VASSA
ALLEN
DOUGLASS.

W. W BROWN
NELL
G.W. WILLIAMS

HARPER
A. WHITMAN

DUNBAR
CHESNUT

BT WASHINGTON

BRAITHWAITE

	REALISTS	IDEALISTS	ROMANTICS
SLUMS	McKAY FISHER THURMAN (VAN VECHTEN)	(HEYWARD)	HUGHES TOOMER
STREETS	J W JOHNSON WOODSON	CULLEN G D. JOHNSON FAUSET	(DUBOIS)

3

G.W. WILLIAMS

CHESNUTT

DUNBAR

BRAITHWAITE

J.W. JOHNSON

McKAYE

COTTER

HUGHES

CANE

STURM & DRANG

FUTURE

BEAUTIFUL

GESTURE

DAWN - SHOW-BOAT

46-2-30

NEGRO IN LITERATURE (1)

AS SUBJECT

KUSH - ETHIOPIA.

SUDAN

PRESTER JOHN - GNOMES

OTHELLO

AIDA

UNCLE TOM 30 yrs

NELSON PAGE - LEOPARD SPOTS - STRIBLING VAN-V

AS ARTIST

ANTHOLOGIE NEGRE

CENDRARS

FROBENIUS - JUHNSTON

EGYPT

NOSSEYEB

ANTAR (1001)

TARIKH-ES-SUDAN

46-2-31

(2)

AMERICA — DISPERSION

WEST INDIES

↓ S. AMERICA

PUSHKIN
↓
DUMAS
↓
BRAZIL
↓
HAITI

VOODOO
↓
ANNECY ~~TALES~~
↓
DANCE

U.S.A

SONG

FOLK LORE

WHEATLEY

DAVID WALKER

Wm W. BROWN 47-60

DOUGLAS - 45-70

~~also overlapped the last eight years of realism, especially in the strict historical writing of Woodson and the pessimism of Grimké.~~

The last years, from 1920 to 1928, have seen a peculiar, almost fourfold alignment. First, there has been the perpendicular division, between a novelist like Jessie Fauset, writing of Negro aristocracy, and a novelist like Claude McKay, writing of Harlem prostitutes. But in addition to this, there is a cross division, between those who still see a vision of Negro possibility and success in America and those who are striving more simply after art for art's sake. Rudolph Fisher and Eric Walrond represent particularly this movement among realists; and Charles S. Johnson and Arthur Fauset among the idealists. Langston Hughes stands perhaps on the border line, while Willis Richardson, playwright, and E. Franklin Frazier, essayist, are realists who fight grimly still for the Negro's ideals. Idealists who still have a vision of Negro triumph and stand distinctly against defeatists are Countee Cullen, Arna Bontemps, Lewis Alexander—all poets—and Walter White, the novelist. Jean Toomer and Helene Johnson again stand on the sort of border line between defeatism and Negro ideals on the idealistic side.

36-2-29

Turning to literature, we think first of the appeal of the color problems to white writers of American literature. It is not too much to say that without the Negro, white American literature would have lost its main theme. The early colonial writers wrote about him and the masters of the nineteenth century, and in recent literature both North and South, the Negro still holds a foremost place. Negro folk lore is the only folk lore save the Indian indigenous to American soil.

Even more significant, however, is the effect of the racial situation on the literature written by Negroes. We may tentatively distinguish four waves of this movement from the end of the 18th Century, to the days of Reconstruction was a period of rather diffident groping; from 1875 to the World War, there was a surge of

31-11-82

Table A. Number of Owners and Assessed Value of Farm Land in each class.

County	Under $50		$50 and under $100		$100 and under $200		$200 and under $300		$300 and under $400		$400 and under $500		$500 and under $750		$750 and under $1000		$1000 and under $1250		$1250 and under $1500		$1500 and under $2000		$2000 and over		Unknown	Total	Total Land Value
	Owners	Value	Owners	Value	Owners	Value	Owners	Value	Owners	Value	Owners	Value	Owners	Value	Owners	Value	Owners	Value	Owners	Value	Owners	Value	Owners	Value			
Franklin	52	1277	95	5761	104	12857	60	13400	44	13770	30	12255	39	23220	10	8270	6	6165	2	2634	3	3400	1	2666	19	561	105778
Camp	1	25	1	50	2	957	14	3253	4	1350	4	1720	8	3314	6	5086	5	5365	1	1417	4	6635	0000	0000	32	85	29072
Toombs	11	314	9	565	23	8139	15	3390	4	1918	5	2153	14	7323	3	2470	1	1040	0	0000	0	0000	0	0000	28	155	23 312
Jeff Davis	17	463	15	1001	25	3364	13	2800	4	1233	9	3780	6	3305	2	1730	4	4204	0	0000	1	1500	1	2000	20	117	25 378
Stephens	9	238	5	315	12	1472	7	1494	5	1550	1	400	6	2605	1	848	2	2000	0	0000	0	0000	0	0000	23	70	11 922
Polk	38	1082	38	2160	61	7370	34	7345	22	6855	15	6190	11	5525	3	2400	5	5800	0	0000	1	1700	0	0000	62	290	46 432
Gentilis	2	54	3	204	16	2226	15	3355	13	4427	5	2017	7	3778	4	2355	5	5608	0	0000	0	0000	1	2730	23	94	27 755
Grady	17	4558	30	1810	86	10275	35	7830	15	4965	17	7120	20	11160	15	12485	6	6240	8	3800	1	1720	1	2665	24	270	70 525
Houston	6	170	14	900	29	3855	20	4705	10	3355	13	5285	84	19695	8	6590	8	7585	0	0000	7	11235	4	10100	70	223	324 475
Wayne	10	258	17	917	27	3175	17	3645	8	2475	5	2000	9	5050	1	700	1	1000	0	0000	1	1503	0	0000	22	118	20 720
Turner	9	293	3	230	6	775	5	1733	2	600	2	945	3	1820	2	1700	1	1000	0	0000	0	0000	2	4574	20	58	13770
Tift	16	444	31	2037	46	6121	10	2374	5	1550	4	1775	3	1200	1	985	0	0000	0	0000	0	0000	0	0000	7	123	16 889
Oglethorpe	7	185	5	300	8	1020	12	2717	21	6945	19	8195	12	7165	1	800	4	4220	3	4000	0	0000	3	5500	9	104	44 045
Effingham	125	3233	130	7202	96	1324	25	5299	16	5031	6	2536	3	1550	0	000	1	1000	0	0000	2	3096	0	0000	19	423	41 271
Floyd	23	1016	41	2682	35	4220	38	7281	18	6775	12	4850	23	12600	7	5700	4	4000	0	0000	1	1500	1	2000	39	252	53 624
Bradley	20	515	24	1622	51	7017	40	9592	37	12603	32	13019	89	39538	44	28275	23	29713	7	9467	4	6528	7	19680	74	414	164 564
Wayne	31	901	54	3256	47	5956	25	5653	17	5312	3	1250	4	2116	2	1650	2	2060	0	0000	1	1500	0	0000	36	223	29 654
Elbert	20	454	15	982	17	2461	14	3034	7	3117	16	6866	13	7083	2	1593	4	4500	0	0000	1	1865	5	11820	27	145	44 578
Harris	30	728	21	1338	44	5755	26	5720	24	7495	17	7103	19	11095	9	7738	3	3200	4	5410	0	0000	0	0000	18	215	55 566
Willis	5	170	13	815	21	2930	21	4860	19	6310	9	3755	23	12735	13	10820	2	2100	0	0000	2	3320	5	16895	20	132	64810
Rockdale	0	000	2	125	00	0000	3	730	6	1900	2	850	8	4414	4	3417	12	13650	2	2700	4	9924	2	4743	21	67	42 653
Hart	2	45	3	200	9	1255	11	2680	10	3235	4	1675	14	8057	5	4225	2	2000	0	0000	3	4900	4	9100	80	47	37 323
Dodge	13	365	27	1580	40	4700	51	12349	25	8024	13	5305	46	29533	10	8091	36	37529	1	1265	9	14594	4	12402	60	275	136037
Crisp	10	205	7	530	22	2120	6	1400	8	3552	7	2825	14	9455	4	2810	4	4525	2	2700	3	4025	2	5035	27	627	
Glynn	150	4007	208	12076	134	16035	86	7850	7	2220	9	3740	8	5795	2	1700	1	1200	0	0000	2	3050	1	3665	78	627	59 468
Richmond	321	730	324	8791	141	17515	152	34855	140	43960	75	31150	67	37320	16	12590	9	9610	4	5300	1	1500	3	8300	121	724	206 121
Fulton	29	710	48	2975	150	19605	193	23730	127	39920	53	19065	54	30100	15	12260	12	12545	3	4000	2	3000	6	14100	357	666	176 110
Thomas	126	3341	122	8076	117	15615	60	13625	44	14640	21	9040	49	28953	14	13113	9	9761	3	3829	6	9465	3	8028	113	687	136 576
Cherokee	10	233	4	255	6	830	3	600	3	900	1	400	1	600	1	700	0	0000	0	0000	0	0000	0	0000	000	29	4 618
Clay	2	55	2	100	6	700	2	500	1	320	2	800	0	000	5	4000	0	0000	10	12500	2	3000	2	6300	000	40	27 295
Williamson	27	517	12	687	12	1702	14	3265	8	2562	5	2060	10	6069	5	4200	1	1232	0	0000	1	1958	0	0000	000	95	24 344
Catoosa	4	94	4	252	5	545	6	1295	1	350	0	0000	00	0000	0	0000	0	0000	0	0000	0	0000	0	0000	000	20	2516
Baldwin	25	725	40	2550	77	9815	19	4325	5	1519	4	1770	7	4035	9	7570	5	5270	0	0000	2	3000	1	2400	000	194	47 979
Calhoun	00	000	3	176	10	1364	10	2235	12	4140	4	1777	13	7250	5	3760	5	5175	1	1250	2	3300	1	2580	000	66	33 637
Talbotton	26	640	10	652	16	2449	15	3486	6	2082	10	4522	12	7327	9	7770	3	3208	2	2619	4	7321	1	2448	000	114	44 524
Upson	3	60	2	135	10	1510	14	3180	10	3355	8	3425	16	9265	4	3250	2	2200	0	0000	1	1500	4	12530	000	74	40 210
Liberty	4150	11191	339	20606	285	37672	74	16365	44	13675	21	8710	15	8404	10	8192	0	0000	0	0000	2	3000	0	00000	23	1262	12 725
Putnam	8	199	4	250	2	267	5	1272	5	1650	8	3375	13	7649	8	6231	1	1000	0	0000	5	7442	2	4616	0	62	54 951
Camilla	5	130	3	210	13	1659	13	2904	10	3201	4	1600	3	1500	2	1600	4	4200	1	1400	0	0000	0	0000	00	58	17 404
McIntosh	366	8974	87	16573	105	12760	16	3440	4	1300	5	2000	3	1775	0	0000	0	0000	0	0000	0	0000	0	0000	0	776	46 822
Cobb	21	550	25	1855	40	5055	37	8275	19	6190	12	5505	14	7800	7	5700	5	5000	0	0000	1	1600	5	1215	0	179	47 505
Jones	34	880	16	965	22	2975	9	2135	11	3570	10	4365	21	12440	8	6805	4	4555	1	1400	2	3050	2	7610	0	142	51 750
Chattooga	3	103	3	190	8	930	10	2380	6	1800	5	2000	8	4400	1	750	3	3300	0	0000	1	1700	1	2000	0	49	19 553 19 913
Washington	8	179	11	715	26	3480	9	2362	16	5205	11	4783	20	11563	4	3640	8	8527	0	0000	4	6427	1	3176	0	118	50 109
Walton	4	115	13	770	17	2010	14	3299	10	3443	8	3400	22	12468	5	4095	6	6750	4	5350	4	6665	10	14305	0	117	93 770
Hall	11	80	8	555	9	1377	9	2248	9	3217	6	2671	11	6400	4	3465	3	3628	2	2565	4	6721	00	0000	0	66	32 752
Sumter	35	973	34	2065	29	3505	15	3503	23	7501	8	3380	23	14535	9	7498	9	10768	6	8087	7	12095	14	40042	0	210	113 902
Dougherty	0	000	1	60	2	357	2	449	4	1302	5	2100	16	8983	9	7190	12	12678	1	1250	0	0000	19	100734	0	71	134 941
Hancock	44	1190	31	2020	75	9758	43	10050	29	9272	31	13197	21	13005	19	12973	3	3270	2	2651	3	5120	5	28830	0	306	111 446
Monroe	51	1367	92	5711	77	9524	43	9580	19	6307	26	10742	25	14573	19	15948	6	6777	5	4370	5	7412	2	4650	0	369	97 971
Stewart	19	665	9	550	17	2055	18	3875	13	5435	14	5880	26	14795	8	6550	2	2220	1	1250	3	5075	0	0000	60	195	57 778
	1961	50672	2002	122252	2240	279524	1311	292774	935	301563	610	265461	884	532081	335	314792	259	279139	89	91214	113	154114	132	477344	772	11938	3123 285
						256524					X			501201											1103 X	11961	21272,20

5 10

Table 2.

Number of Owners of Farm Land and Total Acres in each class.

Counties	Under 5 A		5 A. and u. 10		10 A. and u. 20		20 A. and u. 30		30 A. and u. 40		40 A. and u. 50		50 A. and u. 75		75 A. and u. 100		100 A. and u. 200		200 A. and u. 300		300 A. and u. 400		400 A. and u. 500		500 A. and over		Un-known	Total Owners	Total Acres
	Owners	Acres	Owners	Acres	Owners	Acres	Owners	Acres	Owners	Acres	Owners	Acres	Owners	Acres	Owners	Acres	Owners	Acres	Owners	Acres	Owners	Acres	Owners	Acres	Owners	Acres			
Lowndes	105	195	35	226	63	822	46	1124	16	529	14	580	47	2630	34	1982	53	6635	22	5075	4	1266	8	3694	3	2630	1	779	559	27386
Crisp	3	3¾	1	8½	1	10	6	150	2	90	2	83½	15	763	8	169	11	1344½	9	1923½	2	718	0	0000	0	0000	31	85		5265
Irwin	7	12	6	38	9	112	11	255	8	217	5	203	15	783	6	502	19	2301	2	475	0	000	0	0000	0	0000	27	116	4995	
Jeff Davis	4	9	3	19	11	141	10	238	3	100	3	129	20	1111	8	688	21	2514	7	1658	0	000	3	1470	4	3182	20	117	11	25
Stephens	4	2⅔	4	24	5	68	5	100	2	90	4	129	7	399	7	581	8	980	3	612	0	000	0	000	0	0000	21	70		2790
Polk	33	564	10	584	9	114	22	4534	9	308	22	2900½	13	768½	28	2263	19	2563	6	1310	1	340	0	000	1	730	47	290	276	11374
Jenkins	4	11	3	26	0	000	1	26	4	144	6	267	15	859	9	750	16	2057	5	1227	3	900	1	455	0	000	27	94		6729
Grady	39	53	20	128	17	210	30	699	18	329	10	416	39	2270	11	907	40	4968	14	3418	7	2273	1	413	1	666	24	84		16650
Houston	0	00	9	45	13	170	15	725	9	280	3	130	25	1375	9	725	51	4375	9	1995	6	1970	2	900	2	1350	50	224		15630
Ware	26	50	12	704	17	2274	8	1794	4	134	4	171	9	517	3	279	6	715	4	900	1	325	1	490	1	712	21	117		4775
Turner	18	194	3	20	8	32	3	70	1	30	3	128	5	270	2	165	3	480	1	200	0	000	1	428	0	000	20	58		1790
Tift	70	91	11	68	13	169	14	300	3	98	1	44	3	266	0	000	1	197	0	000	0	000	0	000	0	000	7	123		1233
Oglethorpe	4	14	7	43	1	11	2	49	5	161	7	147	17	1057	19	1614	28	3499	4	986	3	958	1	441	3	2740	9	104		11726
Effingham	86	145	46	280	83	1052	47	1099	25	893	21	900	47	2661	12	971	24	2843	5	1173	0	000	1	425	3	1201	79	423		14162
Floyd	24	403	14	87	28	362	32	770	7	229	50	2045	12	692	23	1845	89	3967	7	1551	2	700	1	450	1	556	43	279		13302
Brooks	19	58	21	130	29	375	34	779½	25	818	20	850½	98	4362	25	2064½	71	8703½	15	3341	3	1080	1	400	1	636	92	414		23657
Wayne	34	78½	23	151½	24	278	25	594½	15	484	5	211	15	852½	5	423	24	3012	5	1191	6	1995	1	400	1	980	37	228		10687
Calhoun	28	33	8	45	5	50	8	205	5	164	2	89	15	830	8	689	28	3697	2	420	2	600	2	914	4	2207	28	145		9935
Harris	19	47	10	67	10	119	12	173	14	1420	12	5164	26	1378	20	1597½	50	6155	21	4716	7	2719	2	800	1	500	20	215		17935
Willcox	6	18	3	18½	10	149	11	2422	8	275	6	270	19	1057	9	759	45	6071	11	2513	0	0000	2	951	4	3798	00	134		16151
Rockdale	10	000	2	114	1	10	3	75	2	65	3	126	5	259	7	563	20	2594	4	893½	1	395	0	000	0	0000	20	68		4973
Hart	3	7	2	10	4	53	7	164	5	178	7	305	17	988	7	594	12	1434	3	655	0	000	0	000	0	0000	00	67		4337
Dodge	30	67	15	80	25	313	18	423	9	271	8	345	21	1289	15	1208	52	6071½	35	7359½	4	1227	1	455	3	2112	00	276		23
Coweta	31	397½	2	123	7	913	5	120	4	128	3	125	8	418	4	241½	17	2131	6	1550	[redacted]		4	1227	1	455	0	000	1	767	80	172		6245
Clayton	114	259	89	560	137	1693	63	1464	22	713	24	983	34	1892	17	1490	19	2309	5	1125	3	1015	1	450	1	000	00	00		14993
Richmond	49	114½	24	161	40	495	14	333	7	233	4	176	13	787	3	245	16	1807	7	1701	0	0000	0	000	0	0000	194	394		6055
Fulton	86	125¾	17	108½	17	213½	5	129	4	137	5	217	3	163	2	160	00	0000	0	0000	0	0000	0	000	0	0000	137	277		12623
Thomas	166	178	46	283	59	746½	54	1221	47	1518	20	894	60	3506¾	15	1229	66	7245	22	4990	8	2556	3	1296	1	690	174	627		27302
Chevelier	5	9	1	5	1	25	0	000	0	000	8	320	3	182	4	320	6	700	1	280	0	000	0	000	0	000	000	29		1941
Clay	4	6	5	30	0	00	2	50	0	000	3	120	0	000	5	400	12	1550	2	450	0	000	0	000	6	6050	00	39		8670
Wilkinson	31	624	0	24	6	753	2	42	2	65	0	000	6	357	7	583	24	3011	8	1790	4	1231	4	1704	1	650	000	95		9603
Calhoun	4	62	0	00	3	41	0	00	2	65	3	125	3	170	3	240	2	322	0	000	0	0000	0	0000	0	000	000	20		969
Baldwin	93	138	8	51	11	144	13	313	7	237	7	305	11	614	8	598	10	1484	7	1674	5	1673	2	970	1	2700	000	184		11600
Calhoun	1	2	0	00	5	794	8	193	4	132	5	201½	5	289½	5	400	20	2646¾	7	1705	3	972	0	000	1	500	080	64		7132
Talefero	21	51	10	66	7	103	4	85	8	285	8	363	11	626	4	321	27	3499	8	1831	2	695	3	1234	1	544	000	114		9692
Upson	1	2	2	12	3	39	1	27	1	33	2	94	10	576	9	744	27	3269	7	1537	4	1300	2	805	5	3971	000	74		12519
Liberty	178	380	182	1246	220	2290	159	3736	110	3612	63	2693	160	7991	55	4499	98	12734	17	4221	8	2700	4	1723	8	4333	2	1000		53555
Putnam	7	13	2	11	3	443	3	373	0	000	00	000	8	471	1	90	21	2409	10	2231	1	341	4	1290	2	10574	0	63		7038
Camilla	18	103	0	00	8	100	8	175	8	282	7	3033	6	336	1	90	8	1022	00	000	0	100	0	000	0	000	00	55		2225
Meriwether	208	381¾	131	799	151	1854½	93	1679½	37	1267½	27	1126	40	2233½	19	1639	80	2579	3	653	0	000	1	430	0	000	000	175		14641
Cobb	38	924	25	163	18	232	14	305	11	371	36	1441	13	803	14	1132	14	1841	1	299	2	640	0	000	0	000	000	172		7299
Jones	21	493	14	97	12	158	7	177	4	133	5	210	16	773	3	250	25	3426	20	4521	5	1675	4	1700	6	5070	000	142		17347
Chattooga	3	5½	2	11	2	24	2	52	1	33	3	128	6	367	8	645	17	2699¾	8	460	8	630	0	0000	0	0000	1	157		5050
Worth	5	13	8	54	5	60	12	282	6	193	5	212	14	840	12	1013	35	4909	6	1290	5	1637	1	427	2	1027	20	118		11957
Walton	31	45	9	674	4	53	7	157	2	63	3	140	7	479½	11	859½	27	3312½	11	2607	2	673	2	761	0	0000	0	117		9405
Hall	8	15	3	17	3	46	6	131	1	30	9	298	16	928	3	255	13	1686	3	703	1	365	1	400	0	0000	0	46		4785
Lanier	62	128½	21	129½	17	216	6	138	13	449½	2	95	14	960	8	639	34	4118¾	22	4718½	4	1233	3	1335	3	1695	0	200		15655
Dougherty	0	000	0	000	3	32	0	000	1	30	1	45	9	451	5	411	17	2155¾	24	5567	2	679	0	000	9	9704	1	72		19375
Hancock	90	181¼	27	168	20	237¾	10	225	9	296	9	399¼	29	1554	18	1514	43	5306¾	19	4295	3	1069	1	400	4	4022	20	3000		25664
Monroe	193	278	12	74	13	155	9	195	6	199	10	434	30	1713	12	1022	51	6238	19	4270	9	3076	1	400	3	1860	0	36		19914
Stewart	8	15	8	12	6	77	12	268	3	107	7	327	7	365	8	649	36	4225	26	5534	11	3542	6	2505	2	1223½	67	184		19462

	South Carolina	North Carolina	Georgia	Tennessee	Virginia	Alabama	Florida	Mississippi	Louisiana	Tex
Vagrancy	Vagrancy laws applicable to free whites; neither the only vagrancy laws applicable to freedmen. Such laws will not apply to freedmen if they can prove that they were unable to obtain employment		20. All persons wandering or straying about in idleness, who are able to work, and have no property to support them, all persons leading an idle, immoral and profligate life ... shall be deemed and considered vagrants.		30 Persons, who not having the means with to support their families, live idly and without employment and refuse Thence for the usual and common wages given to other laborers in like avocations are deemed as vagrants.		3 Any person who is found who has no visible means of living and is not employed at some labor to support himself and is leading an immoral, idle and profligate life may be deemed a vagrant.	4 All freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes found without work on the second Monday, January 1866 and after with no lawful employment or business may be deemed vagrants	5 Vagrancy is defined the same as by the laws of 1806. Any person charged with vagrancy shall be convicted on the oath of any judge or justice of peace.	
Apprentice-ship	6 Colored children between the ages 11 and 21 who have no parents nor mothers living in the district where they live or no one to support them, or where they may be subject to moral contamination may be bound out as apprentices by the district judge.	7 The apprentice ship laws amended soon to apply to negroes, but have the former matters have performed			8 If a child is bound out as an apprentice, the employer is required to teach him reading writing and arithmetic and direct care and treat, or otherwise is specified in the contract.	13 If a minor be entitled of a freedman, the former owner of the child should have the preference in apprenticing him, if a suitable person.		9 All sheriffs, justices of the peace and other civil officials shall report to the probate court of their counties twice each year, January and July, all freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes under the age of 18 years in their counties who are orphans or whose parents have not means to support them or are unable to support them. The court may apprentice such minors to suitable persons		
Labor	10 All agreements for labor or for personal service of any kind, or for the hire and occupation of land and tenements, or for any other lawful purpose between freedmen and other persons when fairly made will be enforced against them by existing laws.				11 A contract between white person and a colored person for over a period of two months must be written, signed by such white person, or his agent and by said colored person and duly acknowledged by some officer of the county, or justice or other legal officer. It must be read to and explained to colored person making contract.		12 Any contract made with a person of color for more than 1 year shall be in writing and fully explained before witnesses, then a duplicate copy shall be made - each remain with the employer and the other registered with some judicial officer of the state. The contract will be binding on a person of color unless made according to above	13 All labor contracts made between freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes and white persons for period over a month shall be in writing and in duplicate, attested and read to said freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes by some city or county officer in which the labor is to be performed.	14 Laborers in agricultural districts shall not be kept at hard work contracts in writing with the heads of families from contracts will be binding small members of said families.	
Travel	15 No persons who live under the protection of the U.S. and obey its laws can be hindered from traveling from place to place on lawful business.							16 Any civil officer shall and any person may arrest and carry back to his legal employer any freedman, free negro or mulatto who shall leave said employ before the expiration of his term without good cause.		
Arms	17 No person of color will be permitted, within of state to own shall without first written permission had from some justice of the peace, except the owner of a farm may keep proper for his property					18 It is unlawful for any freedman, mulatto or free person of color to own fire arms or carry about his person a pistol or other deadly weapon.	19 Any negro assembly or other unlawful arms or dangerous weapons without authority of the county judge may be whipped or made to stand with a piece of paper on the head to the informer.	20 No freedman, free negro or mulatto not in the military service of the U.S. government will be allowed to go to the board of police of his county shall keep or carry fire arms of any kind	21 No negro will a military service can leave y line until without special permission of his employer	
Right to Meet									22 Negroes must assemble after sunset To meet between sunrise and sunset they must have special permission in writing from the employer of person this does not affect church meetings	
Indigents	23 Paupers not able to work due to age of infirmity and children of paupers must have support from taxable property by their former masters until such are emancipated; can be made for them by the ordinary						24 Children of parents unable to provide themselves with support must support such families if they refuse to make such provision an order of apprenticeship may be made by the necessary amount	25 All free negroes, freedmen and mulattoes that is worth not more than $500 in money shall be sold by the highest bidder at public auction for cash		
Witnesses	26 No free person shall be incompetent as a witness against white person in any court of law.		28 All free persons of color are competent witnesses in all court cases where persons involved are colored.	29 All persons of African descent are competent witnesses in all court cases of this state, in all suits commenced or which may be commenced, and prosecuted by or on account of persons of color, or in which they may be interested, in all the courts of this U.S. provided that not does not give such persons the right to vote, hold office, or sit on juries in the state.	30 Colored persons are competent witnesses in all civil and criminal cases in which another person or persons of the party.	31 Any freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes can testify only in civil cases and in cases where persons of color are involved		32 Freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes shall be given protection in all criminal prosecution where the crime charged is alleged to have been committed by or upon person upon or against the person or property of freedmen, free negro or mulatto.		
Segregation		27 All steamboat, railway and street car companies engaged in common carriers must provide separate but equal accommodations for white and colored races.		33 No person engaged in driving the public in any, on railroads, etc. shall be bound to entertain, carry or admit any person whom he or she shall for any reason thinks not to entertain, carry or admit	34 Any intermarriage between the two races is forbidden	34B If any white person and any negro or descendant of any negro intermarry or live cohabitation with each other they must be punished	35 Any white female resident who shall attempt to marry a person of color or live in adultery with him shall be guilty of misdemeanor	36 No freedman, free negro or mulatto can intermarry with any white, nor any white with negroes. Those found marrying will be guilty of felony. 37 No negro can testify in any court where a white person is party, but such testimony must be given in the presence of the white person.	38 All railroad, steamboat and steam boat companies shall be prohibited from discriminating on account of race or color	
Right to Sue	40 All statutes and constitutional provisions concerning slaves are inapplicable to persons of color. They may acquire, own and dispose of property, make contracts, sue and be sued receive protection under law.		41 All persons of color shall have the right to make and enforce contracts, sue and be sued, give evidence, inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property.	42 Persons of color shall have the right to make and enforce contracts, sue and be sued, to be parties and give evidence, to inherit and have full and equal benefits of all laws.		43 All freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes can sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded in all courts to same & extent as white		44 Any freedman, free negro or mulatto may sue and be sued, acquire personal property and dispose of same in same manner as whites		
Marriage	39 Persons of color now living as husband and wife are declared to be so legally unless the man has two or more wives or vice versa. They shall legally marry the marriage ceremony as performed	38B In all cases where a man and woman have both been divorced, living together in relation of husband and wife the parties shall be deemed to have been lawfully married at the time of the commencement of such cohabitation.		44 All those persons of color who were living together as husband and wife during slavery are hereby declared man and wife.	45 Any person of color living in wedlock before this act is passed whether legally married or not, shall be considered legally man and wife and all the children of the union will be legitimate		46 All persons of color living in matrimony who have not been legally married shall within nine months after the passage of this act must appear before some magistrate and be legally married	47 All freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes having lived together previous to the passage of this act shall be considered legally married and the issues of such legitimate	48	
Miscellaneous	51 No person of color in the employment of a white person shall be boarding can sell any cotton, wool, hides, cotton, fodder, any cotton, stock meal of any kind or any farm product without written consent of his employer and in the case authenticated by him.	52 Any contract for sale and purchase when value of $100 or more between persons of color shall be in writing and witnessed by a white who can read and write.	53 Any person of color who shall be employed to maintain his or her children whether legitimate or illegitimate	54 All persons of color being blind deaf and dumb, lunatics, paupers or idiots shall have the full and perfect benefit of all laws passed providing for such white persons.			55 Schools for freedmen shall be established and supported by tax of $1 on all males persons of color between 21 and 45 and $3 on persons for collected from each child	56 All penal and criminal laws now in force concerning the mode of punishment for crimes and misdemeanors committed by slaves, free negroes and mulattoes be repealed and declared in full force against freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes.	57 No negro can sell intoxicating any articles of merchandise without the written permission of his employer.	

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PAMPHLETS AND LEAFLETS

THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMPANY

March 1, 1902
Published announcement

Afuca

The African Development Company.

It is proposed to form a company of the above name and style to be incorporated with a capital stock of Fifty thousand Dollars, divided into ten thousand shares of a par value of Five Dollars each.

The purposes of the said company shall be as follows: To acquire lands in East Central Africa to be used for the cultivation of coffee and other products; to establish and maintain the means for transport by land, river, lakes and ocean; to establish and maintain trading stations, and to develop the natural resources of the lands acquired.

The promoters having already in possession contracts with certain native chiefs for valuable concessions of land, it is proposed:—

That a fund of at least Two Thousand Dollars be guaranteed by twenty persons, that is to say, each guarantor to subscribe one hundred dollars, to be used in promoting the enterprise in the United States.

That each of the guarantors be assigned one hundred shares of the capital stock, fully paid, at twenty per cent. of its par value.

That four thousand of said shares be placed on the market for sale to the public.

That four thousand of said shares be retained in the treasury, for which the said guarantors shall have the first right to subscribe.

T. J. Minton, Chairman,
W. E. B. DuBois, Secretary,
H. T. Kealing, Treasurer,
} Committee.

Office: Room 23, No. 1200 Chestnut St.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

March 1, 1902.

I hereby subscribe the sum of One Hundred Dollars to the Guarantee Fund of the African Development Company, *fifty per cent. of said sum to be paid within thirty days, twenty-five per cent. within ..... days, and the remaining twenty-five per cent. within ..... days after said fund shall have been fully subscribed. One hundred shares of the capital stock of said company, full paid, are to be delivered to me on payment of One Hundred Dollars as above.*

..... 1902. .....

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE NEGRO FOLK SONG IN AMERICA

Draft for A Bibliography of Negro Folk Songs ??
1903 ??

A.H.B.—Can you give me a bibliography of Negro melodies?

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31-3-11

CREDO

Broadside, published by Ed. L. Simon and Company, 1904

CREDO

BY W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS

I BELIEVE in God who made of one blood all races that dwell on earth. I believe that all men, black and brown and white, are brothers, varying through Time and Opportunity, in form and gift and feature, but differing in no essential particular, and alike in soul and in the possibility of infinite development

Especially do I believe in the Negro Race; in the beauty of its genius, the sweetness of its soul, and its strength in that meekness which shall yet inherit this turbulent earth

I believe in pride of race and lineage and self; in pride of self so deep as to scorn injustice to other selves; in pride of lineage so great as to despise no man's father; in pride of race so chivalrous as neither to offer bastardy to the weak nor beg wedlock of the strong, knowing that men may be brothers in Christ, even though they be not brothers-in-law

I believe in Service—humble reverent service, from the blackening of boots to the whitening of souls; for Work is Heaven, Idleness Hell, and Wage is the "Well done!" of the Master who summoned all them that labor and are heavy laden, making no distinction between the black sweating cotton-hands of Georgia and the First Families of Virginia, since all distinction not based on deed is devilish and not divine

I believe in the Devil and his angels, who wantonly work to narrow the opportunity of struggling human beings, especially if they be black; who spit in the faces of the fallen, strike them that cannot strike again, believe the worst and work to prove it, hating the image which their Maker stamped on a brother's soul

I believe in the Prince of Peace. I believe that War is Murder. I believe that armies and navies are at bottom the tinsel and braggadocia of oppression and wrong; and I believe that the wicked conquest of weaker and darker nations by nations whiter and stronger but foreshadows the death of that strength

I believe in Liberty for all men; the space to stretch their arms and their souls; the right to breathe and the right to vote, the freedom to choose their friends, enjoy the sunshine and ride on the railroads, uncursed by color; thinking, dreaming, working as they will in a kingdom of God and love

I believe in the training of children, black even as white; the leading out of little souls into the green pastures and beside the still waters, not for pelf or peace, but for Life lit by some large vision of beauty and goodness and truth; lest we forget, and the sons of the fathers, like Esau, for mere meat barter their birthright in a mighty nation

Finally, I believe in Patience—patience with the weakness of the Weak and the strength of the Strong, the prejudice of the Ignorant and the ignorance of the Blind; patience with the tardy triumph of Joy and the mad chastening of Sorrow—patience with God

Written at Atlanta University and first printed in the New York Independent:
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36-48-1h

RACE RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES: AN APPEAL TO ENGLAND AND EUROPE

New York
October 26, 1910
Leaflet

Race Relations in the United

The Negro's Intolerable Condition pointed out by Professor Du Bois and other Eminent Afro-Americans.

Dr. Washington's Optimistic Utterances Repudiated

AN APPEAL TO ENGLAND AND EUROPE

Headquarters—NATIONAL NEGRO COMMITTEE,
20, Vesey Street, New York, U.S.A.

October 26th, 1910.

To the People of Great Britain and Europe—

The undersigned Negro-Americans have heard, with great regret, the recent attempt to assure England and Europe that their condition in America is satisfactory. They sincerely wish that such were the case, but it becomes their plain duty to say that if Mr. Booker T. Washington, or any other person, is giving the impression abroad that the Negro problem in America is in process of satisfactory solution, he is giving an impression which is not true.

We say this without personal bitterness toward Mr. Washington. He is a distinguished American and has a perfect right to his opinions. But we are compelled to point out that Mr. Washington's large financial responsibilities have made him dependent on the rich charitable public and that, for this reason, he has for years been compelled to tell, not the whole truth, but that part of it which certain powerful interests in America wish to appear as the whole truth.

In flat contradiction, however, to the pleasant pictures thus pointed out, let us not forget that the consensus of opinion among eminent European scholars who know the race problem in America, from De Tocqueville down to Von Halle, De Laveleys, Archer and Johnston, is that it forms the gravest of American problems.

We Black men who live and suffer under present conditions, and who have no reason, and refuse to accept reasons, for silence, can substantiate this unanimous testimony.

Our people were emancipated in a whirl of passion, and then left naked to the mercies of their enraged and impoverished ex-masters. As our sole means of defence we were given the ballot, and we used it so as to secure the real fruits of the War. Without it we would have returned to slavery; with it we struggled toward freedom. No sooner, however, had we rid ourselves of nearly two-thirds of our illiteracy, and accumulated $600,000,000 worth of property in a generation, than this ballot, which

gly necessary to the defence of our civil and property rights, y force and fraud.

nt States where the bulk of the Negroes live, Black men of property raining can be, and usually are, by law denied the ballot, while the White man votes. This attempt to put the personal and property rights of the Blacks at the absolute political mercy of the worst of the Whites is ch day.

with this has gone a systematic attempt to curtail the education of the . Under a widely advertised system of "universal" education, not one Black ree to-day has in the United States a chance to learn to read and write. rtion of school funds due to Black children are often spent on Whites, and n on private charity to support education, which is a public duty, has become intolerable.

every walk of life we meet discrimination based solely on race and colour, continually and persistently misrepresented to the world as the natural difference due condition.

We are, for instance, usually forced to live in the worst quarters, and our consequent death-rate is noted as a race trait, and reason for further discrimination. When we seek to buy property in better quarters we are sometimes in danger of mob violence, or, as now in Baltimore, of actual legislation to prevent.

We are forced to take lower wages for equal work, and our standard of living is then criticised. Fully half the labour unions refuse us admittance, and then claim that as "scabs" we lower the price of labour.

A persistent caste proscription seeks to force us and confine us to menial occupations where the conditions of work are worst.

Our women in the South are without protection in law and custom, and are then derided as lewd. A widespread system of deliberate public insult is customary, which makes it difficult, if not impossible, to secure decent accommodation in hotels, railway trains, restaurants and theatres, and even in the Christian Church we are in most cases given to understand that we are unwelcome unless segregated.

Worse than all this is the wilful miscarriage of justice in the courts. Not only have 3,500 Black men been lynched publicly by mobs in the last twenty-five years without semblance or pretence of trial, but regularly every day throughout the South the machinery of the courts is used, not to prevent crime and correct the wayward among Negroes, but to wreak public dislike and vengeance, and to raise public funds. This dealing in crime as a means of public revenue is a system well-nigh universal in the South, and while its glaring brutality through private lease has been checked, the underlying principle is still unchanged.

Everywhere in the United States the old democratic doctrine of recognising fitness wherever it occurs is losing ground before a reactionary policy of denying preferment in political or industrial life to competent men if they have a trace of Negro blood, and of using the weapons of public insult and humiliation to keep such men down. It is to-day a universal demand in the South that on all occasions social courtesies shall be denied any person of known Negro descent, even to the extent of refusing to apply the titles of "Mr.," "Mrs.," and "Miss."

Against this dominant tendency strong and brave American
are fighting, but they need, and need sadly, the moral support
Europe in this crusade for the recognition of manhood, despite adve
of race, and it is like a blow in the face to have one, who himself su
and humiliation in America, give the impression that all is well. It is o
optimistic, self-forgetful and forgiving, but it is quite a different thing, c
unconsciously, to misrepresent the truth.

(*Signed*)

J. MAX BARBER, B.A., Editor of *The Voice of the N*

C. E. BENTLEY, formerly Chairman of Dental Clinics, Exposition.

W. JUSTIN CARTER, Barrister, Harrisburg, Pa.

S. L. CORROTHERS, D.D., Pastor American M. E. Zion Washington, D.C.

GEORGE W. CRAWFORD, B.A., LL.B., Barrister, formerly of Court, New Haven, Ct.

JAMES R. L. DIGGS, M.A., President of Virginia Seminary College, Va.

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, Ph.D., Author of "Souls of Black Folk," &c., Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Member of International Law Society and Secretary of the National Afro-American Committee.

ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE, late U.S. Consul to San Domingo.

N. B. MARSHALL, B.A., LL.B., Barrister, Counsel in the Brownsville Soldiers Court Martial.

FREDERICK L. McGHEE, Barrister, St. Paul, Minn.

G. W. MITCHELL, B.A., LL.B.. Barrister, Philadelphia.

CLEMENT G. MORGAN, B.A., LL.B., Barrister, formerly Alderman of Cambridge, Mass.

EDWARD H. MORRIS, Grand Master of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows in America.

N. F. MOSSELL, M.D., Medical Director of Douglass Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.

JAMES L. NEILL, Recording Secretary of the National Independent League.

WILLIAM PICKENS, B.A., Professor of Latin, Talladega College, Ala.

WILLIAM A. SINCLAIR, Author of "The Aftermath of Slavery," and Field Secretary of the Constitution League, which represents nine-tenths of the American Negroes, and has 15,000 coloured Ministers in affiliated relations with it.

HARRY C. SMITH, Editor of *The Cleveland Gazette*, for six years Member of the Legislature of Ohio.

B. S. SMITH, Barrister, formerly Assistant States Attorney, State of Kansas.

WILLIAM MONROE TROTTER, B.A., Editor of *The Boston Guardian*.

J. MILTON WALDRON, D.D., Pastor of Shiloh Baptist Church, Washington, D.C.

OWEN M. WALLER, M.D., Physician, Brooklyn, New York.

ALEXANDER WALTERS, D.D., Bishop of the African M. E. Zion Church.

A HALF CENTURY OF FREEDOM

1913
Draft manuscript

1913

A Half Century of Freedom.

In 1863 there were about 5,000,000 persons of Negro descent in the United States. Of these 4,000,000 and more were just being released from slavery. These slaves could be bought and sold, could move from place to place only with permission, were forbidden to learn to read or write, legally could never hold property or marry. 90% were totally illiterate and only one adult in six was a nominal Christian. Until 1863 the total Negro population had been steadily increasing and the South was passing laws to enslave free Negroes. The three-quarters of a million of free Negroes had been equally divided between the North and the South. Those in the South were a wretched, broken-spirited lot for the most part and slaves in all but name. Here and there in cities there were a few among them who were prosperous mechanics and property holders to a small extent. The 250,000 Negroes of the North were the leaven of the whole lump and had been making for nearly a century a desperate struggle for survival. They aided in the anti-slavery movement, had a few newspapers, and had produced leaders like Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman. They had planned and carried through a systematic migration to Canada where several prosperous settlements sprang up. They started schools in a number of cities and founded the catering business in Philadelphia. They had held several general conventions appealing for justice. For the most part, these appeals fell on deaf ears, although Garrison, Sumner, Phillips, Harriet Beecher Stowe and John Brown had come to their aid.

38-2-177

Nevertheless, up to the time of the opening of the War, the Negroes in the North were forced to live in the worst slums and alleys,

were either excluded entirely from the public schools or furnished cheap and poor substitutes, and in three hundred years only twenty colored men had received a college education. Except in parts of New England and partially in New York, the Negro was disfranchised and largely without civil rights. Indeed, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 made personal freedom difficult, and in 1857 the Supreme Court had declared that Negroes were not citizens and that they had always been considered as having "no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

Then came the War which was not started with the idea of liberating the slaves but which soon showed the North that freedom for the Negro was not only a logical conclusion of the War but the only possible physical conclusion. Two hundred thousand black men were drafted in the army and the whole slave support to the Confederacy was threatened with withdrawal. Insurrection was in the air and the emancipation of the slaves saved the Union. Such, then, was the situation in 1863.

38-2-178

Fifty years later, in 1913, there are in the United States ten and a quarter millions persons of Negro descent, an increase of 105%. Legal slavery has been abolished leaving, however, vestiges in debt peonage and the convict lease system. The freedmen and their sons have -

(1) Earned a living as free men.
(2) Shared the responsibilities of men.
(3) Developed the of their race.
(4) Aspired to spiritual self expression.

The Negro was freed as a penniless, landless, naked, ignorant laborer. There were very few that owned property in the South; there were a larger number that owned property in the North; but 99% of the race in the South were field hands, servants of the lowest class. Today 50% are farm laborers and servants and over one-half of these are working as efficient modern workmen under wage contract. Above these,

to use the figures of 1890, there are 750,000 farmers, 70,000 teamsters, 57,000 railway hands, 36,000 miners, 33,000 saw mill employees, 28,000 porters, 21,000 teachers, 21,000 carpenters, 20,000 barbers, 20,000 nurses, 15,000 clergymen, 14,000 masons, 14,000 dressmakers and seamstresses, 10,000 engineers and firemen, 2,500 physicians, and above all 200,000 mistresses of independent homes and 3,000,000 children in school. Fifty years ago the overwhelming mass of these people were not only penniless but were themselves assessed as real estate.

By 1875, the Negroes probably had gotten hold of something between 2,000,000 and 4,000,000 acres of land through their bounties as soldiers and the low price of land on account of the War. By 1880 this was increased to about 6,000,000 acres, in 1890 to about 8,000,000 acres, and about 12,000,000 acres in 1900. In 1910 this had increased to over 18,000,000 acres.

38-2-179

In 1890 Negroes owned 120,738 farms; in 1900 they owned 187,799; in 1910, they owned about 2,200,000. Thus, over 25% of the Negro farmers owned their own farms, and the increase of farm owners between 1890 and 1910 has been over 83%. The value of land and buildings owned by Negroes in the South was in 1910 $272,992,238 This is an increase of nearly 90% in a single decade. This does not include land owned by Negro farmers but rented out.

If we include that and if the increase in the whole United States has been as great as in the South, which seems fair to suppose, then, the total farm property of Negroes in 1910 is $437,000,000 as compared with $230,000,000 in 1900. On a basis of the value of farm property in 1900, a committee of the American Economic Association estimated the value of Negro wealth in the United States at $300,000,000. On the same basis we can estimate the total Negro wealth today at $570,000,000.

THE AMENIA CONFERENCE

Troutbeck Leaflets Number Eight, Amenia, New York, 1925
Pamphlet and two draft manuscripts

1916

1916

Bot 32-3399

THE AMENIA CONFERENCE

IT was in August, 1916, and the place was Troutbeck, near Amenia. I had no sooner seen the place than I knew it was mine. It was just a long, southerly extension of my own Berkshire Hills. There was the same slow, rocky uplift of land, the nestle of lake and the sturdy murmur of brooks and brown rivers. Afar off were blue and mysterious mountains, and there was a road that rose and dipped and wound and wandered and went on and on past farm and town to the great hard world beyond.

There was the village, small, important, complete, with shadows of old homes; with its broad street that was at once thoroughfare, entrance, and exit. There were the people who had always lived there and their fathers before them, and the people merely passing.

Out from the town lay the farm. I saw its great trees bending over the running brook with a sense of utter friendship and intimate memory, though in truth I had never seen it before. And then one could trudge from the more formal home and lawn, by lane and fence with rise and fall of land, until one came to the lake. The lake, dark and still, lay in the

palm of a great, calm hand. The shores rose slowly on either side and had a certain sense of loneliness and calm beauty.

It was in 1916. There was war in Europe but a war far, far away. I had discussed it from time to time with a calm detachment. I had said: "A New Year, Comrades! Come, let us sit here high in the Hills of Life and take counsel one with another. How goes the battle there below, down where dark waters foam, and dun dust fills the nostrils, and the hurry and sweat of human kind is everywhere? Evil, evil, yes, I know. Yonder is murder: so thick is the air with blood and groans that our pulses no longer quicken, our eyes and ears are full. Here, to homewards, is breathless gain and gambling and the steady, unchecked, almost unnoticed growth of human hate."

Our own battle in America, that war of colors which we who are black always sense as the principal thing in life, was forming in certain definite lines. Booker Washington was dead. He had died but the year before, 1915. I remember the morning that I heard of it. I knew that it ended an era and I wrote: "The death of Mr. Washington marks an epoch in the history of America. He was the greatest Negro leader since Frederick Douglass, and the most distinguished man, white or black, who has come out of the South since the Civil War. His fame was international and his influence far-reaching. Of

the good that he accomplished there can be no doubt: he directed the attention of the Negro race in America to the pressing necessity of economic development; he emphasized technical education, and he did much to pave the way for an understanding between the white and darker races. On the other hand there can be no doubt of Mr. Washington's mistakes and shortcomings: he never adequately grasped the growing bond of politics and industry; he did not understand the deeper foundations of human training, and his basis of better understanding between white and black was founded on caste.

32.25.64

"We may then generously and with deep earnestness lay on the grave of Booker T. Washington testimony of our thankfulness for his undoubted help in the accumulation of Negro land and property, his establishment of Tuskegee and spreading of industrial education, and his compelling of the white South to think at least of the Negro as a possible man. On the other hand, in stern justice, we must lay on the soul of this man a heavy responsibility for the consummation of Negro disfranchisement, the decline of the Negro college and public school, and the firmer establishment of color caste in this land.

"What is done is done. This is no fit time for recrimination or complaint. Gravely and with bowed head let us receive what this great figure gave of good, silently rejecting all else. Firmly and unfalter-

ingly let the Negro race in America, in bleeding Hayti, and throughout the world, close ranks and march steadily on, determined as never before to work and save and endure, but never to swerve from their great goal: the right to vote, the right to know, and the right to stand as men among men throughout the world."

Already we had formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a precarious thing without money, with some influential members, but we were never quite sure whether their influence would stay with us if we "fought" for Negro rights. We started in tiny offices at 20 Vesey Street and then took larger ones at 26. Finally on the eve of the undreamed-of World War we had moved to 70 Fifth Avenue.

There have been many versions as to how this organization was born, all of them true and yet not the full truth. In a sense William English Walling founded it a hundred years after Lincoln's birth, because of his indignation at a lynching in Lincoln's birthplace. But in reality the thing was born long years before when, under the roar of Niagara Falls, there was formed the Niagara Movement by twenty-nine colored men. How they screamed at us and threatened! The *Outlook*, then at the zenith of its power, declared that we were ashamed of our race and jealous of Mr. Washington. The colored press unanimously condemned us and listed our failures.

Box 32, 32-33, 180

We were told that we were fighting the stars in their courses. Yet from that beginning of the Niagara Movement in 1905 down to the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1909, we were welding the weapons, breasting the blows, stating the ideals, and preparing the membership for the larger, stronger organization. Seven of the twenty-nine went on the first Board of Directors of the N. A. A. C. P., and the rest became leading members.

There came six years of work. It is, perhaps, hard to say definitely just what we accomplished in these six years. It was perhaps a matter of spirit and getting ready, and yet we established the *Crisis* magazine and had it by 1916 almost self-supporting. We had branches of our organization throughout the country. We had begun to move upon the courts with test cases. We had held mass meetings through the country. We had stirred up Congress and we had attacked lynching.

We said in the Sixth Annual Report: "The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was first called into being on the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln. It conceives its mission to be the completion of the work which the great emancipator began. It proposes to make a group of 10,000,000 Americans free from the lingering shackles of past slavery: physically free from peonage, mentally free from ignorance, polit-

ically free from disfranchisement, and socially free from insult.

"We are impelled to recognize the pressing necessity of such a movement when we consider these facts:

"The lynching of 2,812 prisoners without trial in the last thirty years.

"The thousands of unaccused black folk who have in these years been done to death.

"The widespread use of crime and alleged crime as a source of public revenue.

"The defenseless position of colored women, continually threatened by laws to make their bodies indefensible and their children illegitimate.

"The total disfranchisement of three-fourths of the black voters.

"The new attack on property rights.

"The widespread and growing discrimination in the simplest matters of public decency and accommodation.

"All these things indicate not simply the suffering of a people, but greater than that, they show the impotence of American democracy. And so the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People appeals to the nation to accept the clear and simple settlement of the Negro problem, which consists in treating colored men as you would like to be treated if you were colored."

Our six years of organized work did not by

Box 32, 32-33, 101

any means satisfy us. We wanted a bigger, stronger organization, and especially we wanted to get rid of the all too true statement that we were asking for things that colored people did not want or at least did not want with any unity. The wall between the Washington camp and those who had opposed his policies was still there; and it occurred to J. E. Spingarn and his friends that up in the peace and quiet of Amenia and around this beautiful lake, colored men and women of all shades of opinion might sit down and rest and talk and agree on many things if not on all.

The conference, as Mr. Spingarn conceived it, was to be "under the auspices of the N. A. A. C. P." but wholly independent of it, and the invitations definitely said this. They were issued by Mr. Spingarn personally, and the guests were assured that they would not be bound by any program of the N. A. A. C. P. Thus the conference was intended primarily to bring about as large a degree as possible of unity of purpose among Negro leaders and to do this regardless of its effect upon any organization, although, of course, many of us hoped that some central organization and preferably the N. A. A. C. P. would eventually represent this new united purpose.

One can hardly realize today how difficult and intricate a matter it was to arrange such a conference, to say who should come and who should not, to gloss over hurts and enmities. I remember Mr. Spin-

garn's asking me with a speculative eye and tentative intonation if the editor of a certain paper ought not to be invited. Now that paper had had an exceedingly good time at my expense, and had said things about me and my beliefs with which I not only did not agree but which gave rise in my hot mind to convictions of deliberate misrepresentation. But after all the editor must come. He was important, and Mr. Spingarn was pleased to see that I agreed with him in this.

About two hundred invitations to white and colored people were actually issued, and in making up this list the advice of friends of Mr. Washington, like Major Moton and Mr. Emmett Scott and Mr. Fred Moore, was sought. There were messages of good will from many who could not attend: from Taft, Roosevelt, Hughes, Woodrow Wilson, and others. But all this selection of persons was the easier part of the thing. The guests had, of course, to be induced to come; fortunately it was possible to accomplish this, and sixty or more persons expressed their willingness to attend. We were going to make for ourselves a little village of tents, and there we had to be fed and amused, while a discreet program was carried out and careful hospitality extended. At this Joel and Amy and Arthur Spingarn and their friends worked long and assiduously, and the result was beautiful and satisfying.

I remember the morning when we arrived. It was

misty with a northern chill in the air and a dampness all about. One felt cold and a bit lonely in those high grey uplands. There were only a few there at first, but they filtered in slowly, and with each came more of good cheer. At last we began to have a rollicking jolly time. Now and then, of course, there was just a little sense of stiffness and care in conversation when people met who for ten years had been saying hard things about each other; but not a false word was spoken. The hospitality of our hosts was perfect and the good will of all was evident.

There was a varied company. From the south came Lucy Laney, John Hope, Henry A. Hunt, and R. R. Wright of Georgia; Emmett J. Scott of Alabama, former Secretary of Booker Washington; J. C. Napier of Tennessee. From the west came Francis H. Warren of Detroit, Charles E. Bentley and George W. Ellis of Chicago, Mary B. Talbert of Buffalo, Charles W. Chesnutt of Cleveland, and B. S. Brown of Minnesota. Washington was represented by Mary Church Terrell, James A. Cobb, George W. Cook, Kelly Miller, L. M. Hershaw, Montgomery Gregory, Neval H. Thomas, and J. R. Hawkins. From Pennsylvania came Leslie Hill, L. J. Coppin, R. R. Wright, Jr., and W. Justin Carter. New York sent Fred Moore, Hutchins Bishop, James W. and J. Rosamond Johnson, Addie Hunton, W. L. Bulkley, William Pickens and Roy Nash, then secretary of the N. A. A. C. P. Baltimore gave us Mason Hawkins

and Ashbie Hawkins and Bishop Hurst. New England sent William H. Lewis, George W. Crawford, and Garnet Waller.

I doubt if ever before so small a conference of American Negroes had so many colored men of distinction who represented at the same time so complete a picture of all phases of Negro thought. Its very completeness in this respect was its salvation. If it had represented one party or clique it would have been less harmonious and unanimous, because someone would surely have essayed in sheer fairness to state the opinions of men who were not there and would have stated them necessarily without compromise and without consideration. As it was, we all learned what the majority of us knew. None of us held uncompromising and unchangeable views. It was after all a matter of emphasis. We all believed in thrift, we all wanted the Negro to vote, we all wanted the laws enforced, we all wanted assertion of our essential manhood; but how to get these things,—there of course was infinite divergence of opinion.

But everybody had a chance to express this opinion, and at the same time the conference was not made up of sonorous oratory. The thing was too intimate and small. We were too near each other. We were talking to each other face to face, we knew each other pretty intimately, and there was present a pervading and saving sense of humor that laughed

the poseur straight off the rostrum and that made for joke and repartee in the midst of serious argument. Of course and in fact let us confess here and now that one thing helped everything else: We were gloriously fed. There was a great tent with tables and chairs which became at will now dining-room, now auditorium. Promptly at meal time food appeared, miraculously steaming and perfectly cooked, out of the nothingness of the wide landscape. We ate hilariously in the open air with such views of the good green earth and the waving waters and the pale blue sky as all men ought often to see, yet few men do. And then filled and complacent we talked awhile of the thing which all of us call "The Problem", and after that and just as regularly we broke up and played good and hard. We swam and rowed and hiked and lingered in the forests and sat upon the hillsides and picked flowers and sang.

Our guests dropped by, the governor of the state, a member of Congress, a university president, an army officer, a distinguished grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, a Harlem real estate man, business men, and politicians. We had the women there to complete the real conference, Mrs. Terrell, Mary B. Talbert, Mrs. Hunton, Lucy Laney, Dr. Morton Jones of Brooklyn; Inez Milholland, in the glory of her young womanhood dropped by, in this which was destined to be almost the last year of her magnificent life. Mrs. Spingarn strolled over now and

then and looked at us quietly and thoughtfully.

The Amenia Conference in reality marked the end of an era and the beginning. As we said in our resolutions: "The Amenia Conference believes that its members have arrived at a virtual unanimity of opinion in regard to certain principles and that a more or less definite result may be expected from its deliberations. These principles and this practical result may be summarized as follows:

"(1) The conference believes that all forms of education are desirable for the Negro and that every form of education should be encouraged and advanced.

"(2) It believes that the Negro, in common with all other races, cannot achieve its highest development without complete political freedom.

"(3) It believes that this development and this freedom cannot be furthered without organization and without a practical working understanding among the leaders of the colored race.

"(4) It believes that antiquated subjects of controversy, ancient suspicions and factional alignments must be eliminated and forgotten if this organization of the race and this practical working understanding of its leaders are to be achieved.

"(5) It realizes the peculiar difficulties which surround this problem in the South and the special need of understanding between leaders of the race who live in the South and those who live in the North.

It has learned to understand and respect the good faith, methods and ideals of those who are working for the solution of this problem in various sections of the country.

"(6) The conference pledges itself to the inviolable privacy of all its deliberations. These conclusions, however, and the amicable results of all the deliberations of the conference are fair subjects for discussion in the colored press and elsewhere.

"(7) The conference feels that mutual understanding would be encouraged if the leaders of the race could meet annually for private and informal discussion under conditions similar to those which have prevailed at this conference."

It is a little difficult today to realize why it was necessary to say all this. There had been bitterness and real cause for bitterness in those years after the formation of the Niagara movement and before the N. A. A. C. P. had come to the front. Men were angry and hurt. Booker Washington had been mobbed by Negroes in Boston, Monroe Trotter had been thrown in jail; the lowest motives that one can conceive had been attributed to antagonists on either side—jealousy, envy, greed, cowardice, intolerance, and the like. Newspapers and magazine articles had seethed with threat, charge, and innuendo.

Then there had been numberless attempts at understanding which had failed. There was, for instance, that conference in Carnegie Hall when

Andrew Carnegie through Booker T. Washington financed a general meeting of Negro leaders. It was a much larger conference than that at Amenia but its spirit was different. It was a conference carefully manipulated. There was no confidence there and no complete revelation. It savored more of armed truce than of understanding. Those of us who represented the opposition were conscious of being forced and influenced against our will. Lyman Abbott of the *Outlook* came and talked with us benevolently. Andrew Carnegie himself came. Numbers of rich and powerful whites looked in upon us and admonished us to be good, and then the opposition between the wings flamed in bitter speech and charge. Men spoke with double tongues saying one thing and meaning another. And finally there came compromise and an attempt at constructive effort which somehow no one felt was real. I had proposed a Committee of Twelve to guide the Negro race, but when the committee was finally constituted I found that it predominately represented only one wing of the controversy and that it was financed indirectly by Andrew Carnegie, and so I indignantly withdrew and the Committee of Twelve never functioned but died leaving only a few pamphlets which Hugh Brown edited. There were other efforts, but it needed time and understanding, and when the Amenia Conference came the time was ripe.

We talked of many matters at Amenia—of educa-

tion, politics, organization, and the situation in the South. First of all we spoke of the former subjects of controversy; then we made the deliberations private, and to this day there is no record of what various persons said; and finally we declared for annual meetings of the conference, and then we got to the main subjects of controversy.

If the world had not gone crazy directly after the Amenia Conference and indeed at the very time of its meeting had not been much more widely insane than most of us realized, it is probable that the aftermath of this conference would have been even greater than we can now see. It happened because of the War that there was but the one conference held at Amenia. While we were there the world was fighting and had fought two long years. In another year America was destined to join the war and the Negro race was to be torn and shaken in its very heart by new and tremendous problems. The old order was going and a new race situation was to be developed.

Of all this the Amenia Conference was a symbol. It not only marked the end of the old things and the old thoughts and the old ways of attacking the race problem, but in addition to this it was the beginning of the new things. Probably on account of our meeting the Negro race was more united and more ready to meet the problems of the world than it could possibly have been without these beautiful

days of understanding. It was a "Close ranks!" before the great struggle that issued in the new world. How appropriate that so tremendous a thing should have taken place in the midst of so much quiet and beauty there at Troutbeck, which John Burroughs knew and loved throughout his life, a place of poets and fishermen, of dreamers and farmers, a place far apart and away from the bustle of the world and the centers of activity. It was all peculiarly appropriate, and those who in the future write the history of the way in which the American Negro became a man must not forget this event and landmark in 1916.

A Negro Conference

It was in August, 1916 and the place was Troutbeck near Amenia. I had no sooner seen the place than I knew it was mine. It was just a long, southerly extension of my own Berkshire Hills. There was the same slow, rocky uplift of land, the nestle of lake and the sturdy murmur of brooks and brown rivers. Afar off were blue and mysterious mountains and there was a road that rose and dipped and wound and wandered and went on and on past farm and town to the great hard world beyond. ¶ There was the village, small, important, complete, with shadows of old homes; with its broad street that was at once thoroughfare , entrance and exit. There were the people who had always lived there and their fathers before them, and the people merely passing ~~through~~.

Out from the town lay the farm. I saw its great trees bending over the running brook with a sense of utter friendship and intimate memory, though in truth I had never seen it before. And then one could trudge from the more formal home and lawn, by lane and fence with rise and fall of land, until one came to the lake. The lake, dark and still, lay in the palm of a great, calm hand. The shores rose slowly on either side and had a certain sense of loneliness and calm beauty.

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(Crisis Vol 11 h 132)

1915

47-3-44

Our own battle in America, that war of colors which we who are black always sense as the principal thing in life, was forming certain definite lines. Booker Washington was dead. He had died the year before, 1915. I remember the morning that I heard of it. I knew that it marked an era. Already we had formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a precarious thing without money, with some influential members, but we were never quite sure whether their influence would stay with us if we "fought" for Negro rights. We started in tiny offices, first at 20 Vesey Street and then at 70 Fifth Avenue. There have been many versions as to how this organization was born, all of them true and yet not the full truth. In a sense William English Walling founded it 100 years after Lincoln's birth because of his indignation at a lynching in Lincoln's birthplace. But in reality the thing was born in 1905 when, under the roar of Niagara Falls, there was formed the Niagara Movement by 29 colored men. How they screamed at us and threatened! The Outlook, then at the zenith of its power, declared that we were ashamed of our race and jealous of Mr. Washington. The colored press unanimously condemned us and listed our failures. We were told that we were fighting the stars in their courses. Yet from that beginning of the Niagara Movement in 1905 down to the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1909, we were welding the weapons, breasting the blows, stating the ideals and preparing the membership for the larger, stronger organization. Seven of the 29 went on to the first Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P. The rest became active members.

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began to move upon the courts with test cases. We had held mass meetings through the country. We had stirred up Congress and we had attacked lynching. We said in the Sixth Annual Report:

Copy & return to my files!

Now this did not by any means satisfy us. We wanted a bigger, stronger organization and especially we wanted to get rid of the all too true statement that we were asking for things that colored people did not want or at least did not want with any unity. The bridge between the Washington camp and those who had opposed his policies was still there and it occurred to Joel Spingarn and his friends that up in the peace and quiet of Amenia and around this beautiful lake colored men and women of all shades of opinion might sit down and rest and talk and agree on many things if not on all ~~things~~.

47-3-16

One ~~could~~ can hardly realize today how difficult and intricate a matter it was to arrange such a conference, to say who should come and who should not, to gloss over hurts and enmities. I remember Mr. Spingarn's asking me with a speculative eye and tentative intonation if the editor of a certain paper ~~should~~ ought not be invited. Now that paper had had an exceedingly good time at my expense and had said things about me and my beliefs with which I not only did not agree but which gave rise in my hot mind to ~~suspicions~~ convictions of deliberate lying. ~~deception.~~ But after all the editor must come. He was important and Mr. Spingarn was pleased to ~~know~~ see that I agreed with him in this. And so we culled lists until we had selected fifty or more persons. Their names are familiar even today. ~~Those who actually came were~~

And in addition to that we had the Governor of the State, Oswald Garrison Villard and Herbert Parons, Edward Ware of Atlanta University, John E. Nail and A. G. Dill. And there came to us also that beautiful woman with her fresh, fine enthusiasm and her splendid democracy, Inez Milholland, soon to die. All this selection of persons was, of course, but the easier part of the thing. We were going to make for ourselves a little village of tents, we must be fed and amused, there must be a discreet program and careful hospitality. At this Joel and Amy Spingarn and Arthur Spingarn and their friends worked long and assiduously and the result was beautiful and satisfying.

I remember the morning when we arrived. It was misty with a northern chill in the air and a dampness all about. One felt ~~chilly~~ cold and a bit lonely in those high grey uplands. There were only a few there at first, but they filtered in slowly and with each came more of good cheer. At last we began to have a rollicking jolly time. Now and then, of course, there was just a little sense of stiffness and care in conversation when people met who for ten years had been saying hard things about each other, but not a false word was spoken. The hospitality of the Spingarns was perfect and the good will of all was evident. There was a varied company. From the south came Lucy Laney, John Hope and Henry Hunt, of Georgia, Emmett J. Scott of Alabama, J. C. Napier of Tennessee. From the west came Francis H. Warren of Detroit, Charles E. Bentley of Chicago, Mary B. Talbert of Buffalo, Charles W. Chesnutt of Cleveland and ~~John~~ S. ~~Lost~~ of Minnesota. Washington was represented by Mary Church Terrell, James A. Cobb, George W. Cooke, Kelley Miller, L. M. Hershaw and J. R. Hawkins. From Pennsylvania came Leslie Hill, L. J. Coppin, R. R. Wright, ~~and his father~~ and W. Justin Carter. New York sent Fred Moore, Hutchins

Bishop, James W. and J. Rosamond Johnson, Addie Hunton, W. L. Bulkley, ~~Oswald Garrison Villard~~, William Pickens, Arthur Spingarn, and Roy Nash, then Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. Baltimore gave us Mason Hawkins and Ashbie Hawkins, and Bishop Hurst. New England sent William H. Lewis, George W. Crawford and Garnet Waller.

I doubt if ever before so small a conference of American Negroes had so many colored men of distinction who represented at the same time so complete a picture of all phases of Negro thought. Its very completness in this respect was its salvation. It it had represented one party or clique it would have been less harmonious and unanimous because someone would surely have essayed in sheer fairness to state the opinions of men who were not there and would have stated them necessarily without compromise and without consideration. As it was, we all learned what the majority of us knew. None of us held uncompromising and unchangeable views. It was after all a matter of emphasis. We all believed in thrift, we all wanted the Negro to vote, we all wanted the laws enforced, we all wanted assertion of our essential manhood; but how to get these things, there of course was infinite diversion of opinion. But everybody had a chance to express this opinion and at the same time the conference was ~~not to make~~ make up of sonorous oratory. We were talking to each other face to face, we knew each other pretty intimately and there was ~~prevalent~~ present a pervading sense of humor that ~~would have~~ saving laughed the poseur straight off the rostrum and that made for joke and repartee in the midst of ~~solemn~~ serious argument. Of course and in fact one thing helped everything else: We were gloriously fed. There was a great tent with tables and chairs which became at will now dining room, now auditorium. Promptly at meal time food appeared, steaming and ~~gloriously~~ perfectly cooked, out of the nothingness of the ~~great~~ wide landscape. We ate hilariously in the open air with such views of the good green earth and the waving waters and the pale blue sky as all men ought often to see, yet few men do. And then filled and complacent we talked awhile of the thing which ~~the~~ all of us called "The Problem", and after that and just as regularly

47-3-18

we broke up and played good and hard. We swam and rowed and hiked and lingered in the forests and sat upon the hill sides and picked flowers and sang. Our guests dropped by, the governor of the state, a member of the legislature, a university president, an army officer, a Harlem real estate man, business men and politicians. We had the women there to complete the real conference, Mrs. Ferrell, Mary B. Talbert, Mrs. Hunton, Lucy Laney, Nacz Milholland, in the glory of her young womanhood dropped by, in this which was destined to be almost the last year of her magnificent life. Mrs. Spingarn strolled over now and then and looked at us quietly and thoughtfully and Dr. Morton Jones of Brooklyn. The Amenia conference in reality marked the end of an era and the beginning. As we said in our resolutions (Page 276). (Crisis vol 12 pp 276-7)

a grandson William Lloyd Garrison

It is a little difficult today to realize why it was necessary to say all this. There had been bitterness and real cause for bitterness in those years after the formation of the Niagra movement and before the N.A.A.C.P. had come to the front. Men were angry and hurt. Booker Washington had been mobbed by Negroes in Boston, Monroe Trotter had been thrown in jail; the lowest motives that one can conceive had been attributed to antagonists on either side — jealousy, envy, greed, cowardice, intolerence and the like. Newspapers and magazine articles had seethed with threat, charge and innuendo. Then there had been numberless attempts at understanding which had failed. There was, for instance, that confere ce in Carnegie Hall when Andrew Carnegie through Booker T. Washington financed a general meeting of Negro leaders. It was ~~if anything~~ a much larger conference than that at Amenia but its spirit was different. It was a conference carefully manipulated. There was no confidence there and no complete revelation. It savored more of armed truce than of understanding. Those of us who represented the opposition were conscious of being forced and influenced against

4-3-19

our will. Lyman Abott of the Outlook came and talked with us benevolently. Andrew Carnegie himself came. Numbers of rich and powerful whites looked in upon us and admonished us to be good and then the opposition between the wings flamed in bitter speech and charge. Men spoke with double tongues saying one thing and meaning another. And finally when there came compromise and an attempt at constructive effort somehow no one felt it was real. ~~There was~~ I had proposed a Committee of Twelve to guide the Negro race but when the committee was finally constituted ~~it was~~ I found that it predominately represented only one wing of the controversy and that it was financed indirectly by Andrew Carnegie and so ~~in truth~~ I unhappily mistakenly the Committee of Twelve never functioned ~~by~~ but died ~~still born~~ leaving only a few pamphlets which Hugh Brown edited. There were other efforts but it needed time and understanding and when the Amenia conference came the time was ripe. We talked of many matters, education, politics, organization and the situation in the south. First of all we spoke of the former subjects of controversy; ~~and the conference declared (Copy 4 - 277).~~ Then ~~Secondly~~ we made the deliberations private and to this day there is no record of what various persons said ~~(Copy 4 - 277).~~ ; and finally ~~Then~~ we declared for annual meetings of the conference and ~~after words getting~~ we got down to the main subjects of controversy. ~~we made these deliberations (276-277).~~

4/7-3-20

If the world had not gone crazy directly after the Amenia conference and indeed at the very time of its meeting was much more widely insane than most of us realized, it is probable that the aftermath of this conference would have been even greater than we can now see. It happened because of the War that there was but one conference ever at Amenia. While we were there the world was fighting and had fought two long years. ~~In 1917 America joined the war.~~ In another year

America was destined to join the war and the Negro race was to be torn and shaken in its very heart by new and tremendous problems. The old order was going and a new race situation was to be developed. Of this the Amenia conference was a symbol. It not only marked the end of the old things and the old thoughts and the old ways of attacking the race problem but in addition to this it was the beginning of the new things. Probably on account of our meeting the Negro race was more united and more ready to meet the problems of the world than it could possibly have been without these beautiful days of understanding. It was a "Closed ranks" before the great struggle that issued in the new world. How appropriate that so tremendous a thing should have taken place in the midst of so much quiet and beauty there at Troutebeck where John Burroughs lived and loved, a place of poets and fishermen, of dreamers and farmers, a place far apart and away from the bustle of the world and the centers of activity. It was all peculiarly appropriate and those who in the future write the history of the way in which the American Negro became a man must not forget this event and land mark in 1915.

42-3-21

A NEGRO CONFERENCE

It was in August, 1916 and the place was Troutbeck near Amenia. I had no sooner seen the place than I knew it was mine. It was just a long, southerly extension of my own Berkshire Hills. There was the same slow, rocky uplift of land, the nestle of lake and the sturdy murmur of brooks and brown rivers. Afar off were blue and mysterious mountains and there was a road that rose and dipped and wound and wandered and went on and on past farm and town to the great hard world beyond.

There was the village, small, important, complete, with shadows of old homes; with its broad street that was at once thoroughfare, entrance and exit. There were the people who had always lived there and their fathers before them, and the people merely passing.

Out from the town lay the farm. I saw its great trees bending over the running brook with a sense of utter friendship and intimate memory, though in truth I had never seen it before. And then one could trudge from the more formal home and lawn, by lane and fence with rise and fall of land, until one came to the lake. The lake, dark and still, lay in the palm of a great, calm hand. The shores rose slowly on either side and had a certain sense of loneliness and calm beauty.

It was in 1916. There was war in Europe but a war far, far away. I had discussed it from time to time with a calm detachment. I had said:"A New Year, Comrades! Come, let us sit here high in the Hills of Life and take counsel one with another. How goes the battle there below, down where dark waters foam, and dun dust fills the nostrils and the hurry and sweat of human kind is everywhere?

Evil, evil, yes, I know. Yonder is murder: so thick is the air with blood add groans that our pulses no longer quicken, our eyes and ears are full. Here, to home-wards, is breathless gain and gambling and the steady, unchecked, almost unnoticed growth of human hate."

Our own battle in America, that war of colors which we who are black always sense as the principal thing in life, was forming in certain definite lines. Booker Washington was dead. He had died but the year before, 1915. I remember the morning that I heard of it. I knew that it marked an era and I wrote: "The death of Mr. Washington marks an epoch in the history of America. He was the greatest Negro leader since Frederick Douglass, and the most distinguished man, white or black, who has come out of the South since the Civil War. His fame was international and his influence far-reaching. Of the good that he accomplished there can be no doubt: he directed the attention of the Negro race in America to the pressing necessity of economic development; he emphasized technical education and he did much to pave the way for an understanding between the white and darker races.

On the other hand there can be no doubt of Mr. Washington's mistakes and short comings: he never adequately grasped the growing bond of politics and industry; he did not understand the deeper foundations of human training and his basis of better understanding between white and black was founded on caste.

We may then generously and with deep earnestness lay on the grave of Booker T. Washington testimony of our thankfulness for his undoubted help in the accumulation of Negro land and property, his establishment of Tuskegee and spreading of industrial education and his compelling of the white south to at least think of the Negro as a possible man.

On the other hand, in stern justice, we must lay on the soul of this man, a heavy responsibility for the consummation of Negro disfranchisement, the decline of the Negro college and public school and the firmer establishment of color caste in this land.

What is done is done. This is no fit time for recrimination or complaint. Gravely and with bowed head let us receive what this great figure gave of good, silently rejecting all else. Firmly and unfalteringly let the Negro race in America, in bleeding Hayti and throughout the world close ranks and march steadily on, determined as never before to work and save and endure, but never to swerve from their great goal: the right to vote, the right to know, and the right to stand as men among men throughout the world."

32-3-54

Already we had formed the National Association for the Advancemenet of Colored People, a precarious thing without money, with some influential members, but we were never quite sure whether their influence would stay with us if we "fought" for Negro rights. We started in tiny offices at 20 Vesey Street and then took larger ones at 26. Finally on the eve of the undreamed of World War we had moved to 70 Fifth Avenue.

There have been many versions as to how this organization was born, all of them true and yet not the full truth. In a sense William English Walling founded it 100 years after Lincoln's birth because of his indignation at a lynching in Lincoln's birthplace. But in reality the thing was born long years before when, under the roar of Niagara Falls, there was formed the Niagara Movement by 29 colored men. How they screamed at us and threatened! The Outlook then at the zenith of its power, declared that we were ashamed of our race and jealous of Mr. Washington. The colored press unanimously condemned us and listed our failures. We were told that we were

fighting the stars in their courses. Yet from that beginning of the Niagara Movement in 1905 down to the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1909, we were welding the weapons, breasting the blows, stating the ideals and preparing the membership for the larger, stronger organization. Seven of the twenty nine went on the first Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P. and the rest became leading members.

There came six years of work. It is, perhaps, hard to say definitely just what we accomplished in this six years. It was perhaps a matter of spirit and getting ready and yet, we established The Crisis Magazine and had it by 1916 almost self-supporting. We had branches of our organization throughout the country. We had begun to move upon the courts with test cases. We had held mass meetings through the country. We had stirred up Congress and we had attacked lynching. We said in the Sixth Annual Report: "The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was first called into being on the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln.

It conceives its mission to be the completion of the work which the great emancipator began. It proposes to make a group of 10,000,000 Americans free from the lingering shackles of past slavery: physically free from peonage, mentally free from ignorance, politically free from disfranchisement and socially free from insult.

We are impelled to recognize the pressing necessity of such a movement when we consider these facts:

The lynching of 2,812 prisoners without trial in the last thirty years.

The thousands of unaccused black folk who have in these years been done to death.

The widespread use of crime and alleged crime as a source of public revenue.

The defenseless position of colored women continually threatened by laws to make their bodies indefensible and their children illegitimate.

The total disfranchisement of three-fourths of the black voters.

The new attack on property rights.

The widespread and growing discrimination in the simplest matters of public decency and accommodation.

32-3-56

All these things indicate not simply the suffering of a people, but greater than that, they show the impotence of American democracy.

And so the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People appeals to the nation to accept the clear and simple settlement of the Negro problem, which consists in treating colored men as you would like to be treated if you were colored."

Now this did not by any means satisfy us. We wanted a bigger, stronger organization and especially we wanted to get rid of the all too true statement that we were asking for things that colored people did not want or at least did not want with any unity. The bridge between the Washington camp and those who had opposed his policies was still there and it occurred to Joel Spingarn and his friends that up in the peace and quiet of Amenia and around this beautiful lake colored men and women of all shades of opinion might sit down and rest and talk and agree on many things if not on all.

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Mr. Spingarn's asking me with a speculative eye and tentative intonation if the editor of a certain paper ought not to be invited. Now that paper had had an exceedingly good time at my expense and had said things about me and my beliefs with which I not only did not agree but which gave rise in my hot mind to convictions of deliberate lying. But after all the editor must come. He was important and Mr. Spingarn was pleased to see that I agreed with him in this.

And so we culled lists until we had selected fifty or more persons. Their names are familiar even today. All this selection of persons was, of course, but the easier part of the thing. We were going to make for ourselves a little village of tents, we must be fed and amused, there must be a discreet program and careful hospitality. At this Joel and Amy and Arthur Spingarn and their friends worked long and assiduously and the result was beautiful and satisfying.

I remember the morning when we arrived. It was misty with a northern chill in the air and a dampness all about. One felt cold and a bit lonely in those high grey uplands. There were only a few there at first, but they filtered in slowly and with each came more of good cheer. At last we began to have a rollicking jolly time. Now and then, of course, there was just a little sense of stiffness and care in conversation when people met who for ten years had been saying hard things about each other; but not a false word was spoken. The hospitality of the Spingarns was perfect and the good will of all was evident.

There was a varied company. From the south came Lucy Laney, John Hope and Henry Huht, and R. R. Wright of Georgia; Emmett J. Scott of Alabama, former Secretary of Booker Washington; J. C. Napier of Tennessee. From the west came Francis H. Warren of

Detroit, Charles E. Bentley of Chicago, Mary B. Talbert of Buffalo, Charles W. Chesnutt of Cleveland and B. S. Brown of Minnesota. Washington was represented by Mary Church Terrell, James A. Cobb, George W. Cook, Kelley Miller, L. M. Hershaw and J. R. Hawkins. From Pennsylvania came Leslie Hill, L. J. Coppin, R. R. Wright, Jr., and W. Justin Carter. New York sent Fred Moore, Hutchins Bishop, James W. and J. Rosamond Johnson, Addie Hunton, W. L. Bulkley, William Pickens, Arthur Spingarn and Roy Nash, then secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. Baltimore gave us Mason Hawkins and Ashbie Hawkins and Bishop Hurst. New England sent William H. Lewis, George W. Crawford and Garnet Waller.

I doubt if ever before so small a conference of American Negroes had so many colored men of distinction who represented at the same time so complete a picture of all phases of Negro thought. Its very completness in this respect was its salvation. If it had represented one party or clique it would have been less harmonious and unanimous because someone would surely have essayed in sheer fairness to state the opinions of men who were not there and would have stated them necessarily without compromise and without consideration. As it was, we all learned what the majority of us knew. None of us held uncompromising and unchangeable views. It was after all a matter of emphasis. We all believed in thrift, we all wanted the Negro to vote, we all wanted the laws enforced, we all wanted assertion of our essential manhood; but how to get these things, - there of course was infinite divergence of opinion.

But everybody had a chance to express this opinion and at the same time the conference was made up of sonorous oratory. The thing was too intimate and small. We were too near each other. We were talking to each other face to face, we knew each other pretty

intimately and there was present a pervading and saving sense of humor that laughed the poseur straight off the rostrum and that made for joke and repartee in the midst of serious argument. Of course and in fact let us confess here and now that one thing helped everything else: We were gloriously fed. There was a great tent with tables and chairs which became at will nowdining room, now auditorium. Promptly at meal time food appeared, miraculously steaming and perfectly cooked, out of the nothingness of the wide landscape. We ate hilariously in the open air with such views of the good green earth and the waving waters and the pale blue sky as all men ought often to see, yet few men do. And then filled and complacent we talked awhile of the thing which all of us call "The Problem", and after that and just as regularly we broke up and played good and hard. We swam and rowed and hiked and lingered in the forests and sat upon the hill sides and picked flowers and sang.

Our guests dropped by, the governor of the state, a member of the legislature, a university president, an army officer, a Harlem real estate man, a grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, business men and politicians. We had the women there to complete the real conference, Mrs. Terrell, Mary B. Talbert, Mrs. Hunton, Lucy Laney, Inez Milholland, in the glory of her young womanhood dropped by, in this which was destined to be almost the last year of her magnificent life. Mrs. Spingarn strolled over now and then and looked at us quietly and thoughtfully and Dr. Morton Jones of Brooklyn.

The Amenia conference in reality marked the end of an era and the beginning. As we said in our resolutions: "The Amenia Conference believes that its members have arrived at a virtual unanimity of opinion in regard to certain principles and that a more or less

32-3-50

definite result may be expected from its deliberations. These principles and this practical result may be summarized as follows:

(1) The conference believes that all forms of education are desirable for the Negro and that every form of education should be encouraged and advanced.

(2) It believes that the Negro, in common with all other races, cannot achieve its highest development without complete political freedom.

(3) It believes that this development and this freedom cannot be furthered without organization and without a practical working understanding among the leaders of the colored race.

(4) It believes that antiquated subjects of controversy, ancient suspicions and factional alignments must be eliminated and forgotten if this organization of the race and this practical working understanding of its leaders are to be achieved.

(5) It realizes the peculiar difficulties which surround this problem in the South and the special need of understanding between leaders of the race who live in the South and those who live in the North. It has learned to understand and respect the good faith, methods and ideals of those who are working for the solution of this problem in various sections of the country.

(6) The conference pledges itself to the inviolable privacy of all its deliberations. These conclusions, however, and the amicable results of all the deliberations of the conference are fair subjects for discussion in the colored press and elsewhere.

(7) The conference feels that mutual understanding would be encouraged if the leaders of the race could meet annually for private and informal discussion under conditions similar to those which have prevailed at this conference.

3A-3-60

It is a little difficult today to realize why it was necessary to say all this. There had been bitterness and real cause for bitterness in those years after the formation of the Niagra movement and before the N.A.A.C.P. had come to the front. Men were angry and hurt. Booker Washington had been mobbed by Negroes in Boston, Monroe Trotter had been thrown in jail; the lowest motives that one can conceive had been attributed to antagonists on either side - jealousy, envy, greed, cowardice, intolerence and the like. Newspapers and magazine articles had seethed with threat, charge and innuendo.

37-3-61

Then there had been numberless attempts at understanding which had failed. There was, for instance, that conference in Carnegie Hall when Andrew Carnegie through Booker T. Washington financed a general meeting of Negro leaders. It was a much larger conference than that at Amenia but its spirit was different. It was a conference carefully manipulated. There was no confidence there and no complete revelation. It savored more of armed truce than of understanding. Those of us who represented the Opposition were conscious of being forced and influenced against our will. Lymon Abott of the Outlook came and talked with us benevolently. Andrew Carnegie himself came. Numbers of rich and powerful whites looked in upon us and admonished us to be good and then the opposition between the wings flamed in bitter speech and charge. Men spoke with double tongues saying one thing and meaning another. And finally when there came compromise and an attempt at constructive effort which somehow no one felt was real. I had proposed a Committee of Twelve to guide the Negro race but when the committee was finally constituted I found that it predominately represented only one wing of the controversy and that it was financed

indirectly by Andrew Carnegie and so I indignantly withdrew and the Committee of Twelve never functioned but died leaving only a few pamphlets which Hugh Brown edited. There were other efforts but it needed time and understanding and when the Amenia conference came the time was ripe.

We talked of many matters, education, politics, organization and the situation in the South. First of all we spoke of the former subjects of controversy; then we made the deliberations private and to this day there is no record of what various persons said; and finally we declared for annual meetings of the conference and then we got to the main subjects of controversy.

32-3-62

If the world had not gone crazy directly after the Amenia conference and indeed at the very time of its meeting was much more widely insane than most of us realized, it is probable that the aftermath of this conference would have been even greater than we can now see. It happened because of the War that there was but one conference ever at Amenia. While we were there the world was fighting and had fought two long years. In another year America was destined to join the war and the Negro race was to be torn and shaken in its very heart by new and tremendous problems. The old order was going and a new race situation was to be developed.

Of all this the Amenia conference was a symbol. It not only marked the end of the old things and the old thoughts and the old ways of attacking the race problem but in addition to this it was the beginning of the new things. Probably on account of our meeting the Negro race was more united and more ready to meet the problems of the world than it could possibly have been without these beautiful days of understanding. It was a "Close ranks!" before the great struggle that issued in the new world. How appropriate that so tremendous a thing should have taken place in the midst

of so much quiet and beauty there at Troutbeck where John Burroughs lived and loved, a place of poets and fishermen, of dreamers and farmers, a place far apart and away from the bustle of the world and the centers of activity. It was all peculiarly appropriate and those who in the future write the history of the way in which the American Negro became a man must not forget this event and land mark in 1916.

37-3-63

THE NEGRO AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Unpublished pamphlet, 1936
Draft manuscript

BRONZE BOOKLET No. 4.

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THE NEGRO AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

by

W. E. B. Du Bois, Ph.D.
Professor of Sociology
Atlanta University

49-18-2

1936

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BRONZE BOOKLET No. 4 brings to the reader the timely subject of THE NEGRO and SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION. At this critical cross-roads, Dr. Burghardt Du Bois surveys for us the promise of three alternatives:- hope of social salvation by restored prosperity under capitalism, by radical labor reform and [redacted] working-class self-assertion or by a third path of racial solidarity and economic self-help. After reviewing the programs of the past, their gains and losses, the author advocates as the Negro's most immediate and practical program that of racial self-reliance and economic self-help. It is interesting to see the veteran spokesman [redacted] of the struggle for civil and legal rights turn to an economic program for the Negro's next step in his fight for an improved position in American life. The reader will naturally weigh the merits of the programs reviewed, and whether he agrees with Dr. DuBois or not, cannot but be enlightened by the analysis of the Negro's dilemma by the always eloquent and outspoken author of "Souls of Black Folk", "Darkwater", and recently, "Black Reconstruction". Dr. Du Bois, for so many years editor of "The Crisis", has now returned to college teaching as professor of sociology at Atlanta University. He is shortly to edit "The Encyclopedia of the Negro".

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THE NEGRO AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

By W. E. B. Du Bois

Introduction

In considering the problem of industrial depression and unemployment, it is natural to think of the Negro population of the United States simply as one part of the problem according to its numbers. Further thought, however, will modify this. First of all, because this population of ~~12~~ Twelve millions is but two generations removed from chattel slavery, it naturally has a greater percentage of poverty, dependency and delinquency and impaired physical health. This would immediately make the problem of relief and economic salvation more difficult in its case. The situation is further complicated by the fact that this portion of the American population has never been considered as an integral part of the nation, neither in industry nor in political and civil rights. Consequently, there is added to the economic problem a social problem of aims and ideals. If this part of our population is to be "restored" to prosperity, just what is the status to which it could be restored, or ought to be restored? What place should it be conceived of as able to occupy in the future United States, or permitted to occupy in accordance with public opinion?

49-18-3

These problems have always faced the American Negro in different guise, past and present; and it is the object of this ~~treatise~~ booklet to consider by what special planning the Negro and his friends have sought, past and present, to gain for him an assured status in the United States.

CHAPTER I.

VIOLENCE AND MIGRATION

The first effort to counteract violence is naturally violence in return, which means war, rebellion, or revolt. The Negro slave, seized in Africa between 1442 and the middle of the nineteenth century, fought for freedom against attacking black tribes or white slave raiders. The cost in life was very large and it was Stanley's estimate that for every slave actually captured by raiders four human beings were left lying dead in the villages.

Once captured and brought down to the coast, there was little chance for revolt on the slave ships, although some cases occurred.

Landed in the West Indies, the earliest slaves immediately sought to escape. "The Negroes were not docile like the Indians and were evidently considered as most dangerous people." (Helps, Spanish Conquest, Volume IV, page 372. Quoting from Ley.)

Most of the laws concerning Negroes drawn up in Spain for the government of the West Indies relate to the Cimarones or Maroons, the name given to fugitive Negroes.

Energetic measures for curbing slave revolts took place from the earliest times. They consisted, first, in so mixing the Negroes on plantations by tribe and language that communication between them was difficult; by severe laws against conspiracy or attempts ~~toward~~ at uprising; by ~~the~~ subduing the war-like ~~customs and freedom~~ habits of the African; by hard, manual toil. The Christian religion was ~~eventually~~ also used very successfully to induce submission and contentment.

The ~~plan~~ desire, therefore, to gain freedom through violence was pretty well curbed in the slaves that came to the American continent through the West Indian tutelage. Nevertheless, the plan of revolt was never wholly abandoned as is shown by the testimony of the slave codes. These codes were cruel and severe and give definite evidence that the American slaveholders were afraid of conspiracies among their slaves.

The actual revolts among American Negroes, from 1619 to 1863, were few in number, although there were a great many scares and rumors of conspiracies which spread panic for a time and then afterward were systematically minimized. The truth seems fairly clear, that every decade in the South there was some attempt somewhere of slaves

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to organize and escape their status by armed resistance, but the organization of the slave patrol held these attempts down to a few which were really dangerous. The slave patrol was an organization which included not simply the comparatively small number of slaveholders, but enlisted the interest of the mass of poor whites, so that actually the slaves were outnumbered by the whites, save in certain localities; and there it was possible to bring in wide outside assistance in a comparatively short time. ~~And~~ Of course ~~practically~~ all the arms and ammunition were in the hands of the whites. Moreover, the humanity of some slaveholders and the personal attachment of kind-hearted slaves, nearly always resulted in the betrayal of plots in order to save some particular white family.

A form of violence for the indirect purpose of achieving freedom ~~by proving patriotism~~ was the participation of Negroes in the various wars fought by the United States. Even in Colonial times, some Negro troops were used and it is well-known that the first violence of the Revolutionary War was led by a Negro, Crispus Attucks. A thousand or more Negroes fought on the colonial side during the war and several hundred among the British under Governor Dunmore. Negro sailors were prominent in the War of 1812.

What was really the largest and most successful slave revolt came at the time of the Civil War when nearly all the slaves in the vicinity of the invading armies left the plantations and rushed to the army; ~~and~~ eventually some 200,000 ex-slaves and Northern Negroes joined armies of the North, in addition to a much larger number of laborers and servants. It was this revolt of the slaves and the prospect of a much larger movement among the 4,000,000 other slaves, which was the real cause of the sudden cessation of the war.

~~Later, Negroes took part in the Spanish-American War and the World War.~~

Long before the spasmodic efforts at revolt ended in armed slaves helping to put down secession, other and more successful plans had been tried. Broadly speaking, they involved the running away of ~~individuals~~ slaves ~~and of gangs~~ individually and in groups and, in the case of free Negroes, migration to Canada, the West and Southwest and to Africa, and other destinations overseas.

How large a number of slaves escaped, it is impossible to say. Judging from

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the growth of the Negro population in the North and the complaints of the slaveholders, it must have been considerable. There were certainly 100,000 and possibly 200,000 fugitives from slavery, representing a loss of at least $25,000,000 capital invested in slavery and perhaps twice that sum. This was the economic loss that spurred secession.

The union of Negroes and Indians for resistance to the whites was long feared in the United States. Negro slaves took refuge among the Indians in Virginia in 1787 and about the same time began to escape among the Indians of Carolina and Georgia. The two races intermarried, making return of the fugitives difficult, as the Indians refused to surrender their Negro-Indian children. After the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, Americans accused the British of conniving at the escape of Negroes by means of their Indian allies.

In the South, Georgia from 1789 to 1813, accused the Creek Indians of encouraging the running away of slaves. The Creeks were attacked by Andrew Jackson and defeated in 1814, but in 1815, 1,000 Georgia Negroes took possession of the former British fort and together with the Creeks threatened the South. The Spanish refused to destroy the fort, but Jackson moved against it in 1816 and wiped it out with great barbarity. Then came the so-called Seminole wars, which were raids to secure fugitive slaves and drive out the Indians.

Gradually as the slave controversy increased, the chains of the slaves were drawn tighter and the free Negroes of the North found themselves in a more precarious position. Plans for migration beyond the borders of the United States began to mature. Indeed, from the earliest times, the thought that the Negro population of the United States would eventually be repatriated in Africa was widespread among whites and also among Negroes.

~~Liberia was the final result of the efforts of the American Colonization Society.~~

The Civil War stopped thoughts and plans for emigration for many years, although there were small internal movements of freedmen from Carolina to Florida, from the Gulf states to the Southwest and from Virginia to the South in search of better working conditions and free land. When the Negroes began to pour in on the Union Army, Abraham Lincoln proposed to carry out his own long cherished plan of colonization. He consulted foreign

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countries and secured an appropriation of $100,000 from Congress in 1861 and a further appropriation of $500,000 in 1862. He favored compensated emancipation in the Border States on condition that the Negroes should move beyond the limits of the country.

It was not until the withdrawal of Federal troops in the South in 1876 that widespread plans of migration from the South to the North took place. There had been some migration of freedmen from the South immediately after the war, but the difficulty of getting work in the North and the prospect of greater freedom in the South, held this to a minimum. The terrorism of the Ku Klux Klan and the forced disfranchisement of the Negroes in 1875 and 1876 led to widespread plans for migration into the West and particularly into Kansas.

Discussion and Reading

1. How could black Africa have defended itself against European slavetraders?
2. Did the slaves have a right to revolt?
3. Did the American Colonization Society want to send all Negroes to Africa?
4. Did the Negroes help win the Civil War?

(Consult Help's "Spanish Conquest", Volume 4; Bryan Edwards' "History of the West Indies", 4th Edition, Volume I, Appendix, and Volume 4; T. G. Steward, "The Haitian Revolution"; Du Bois, "Black Reconstruction".)

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CHAPTER II.

[redacted] POLITICAL POWER.

The Civil War sent through the Negro population a new thrill and vast hopes for emancipation and progress. These hopes were nourished by the promises held out to Negroes when they fought in the ranks and in labor for the Northern armies. They came to seeming fruition in the ~~Civil Rights~~ Reconstruction Legislation of 1867. Not until these ~~civil~~ gains were blasted by the reaction of ~~Reconstruction~~ 1876 did the Negro masses again take up their old weapon of migration to any great extent.

From 1867 to 1876 Negroes placed their whole hope of full emancipation and economic security upon their political power. This was of course putting the cart before the horse. Their political power could only have been permanently sustained by economic security,--ownership of land, control of some capital and education. They sought education and began to get it through their establishment of the public school in the South. Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner and others tried to give them peasant-proprietorship and they themselves sought this through legislation in South Carolina and elsewhere. But the power of the Southern landholders and capitalists hindered this and their efforts were reinforced by Northern capital; this economic combination ruined the political as well as the economic hopes of the Negroes.

49-18-13

Between 1876 and 1890, political power gradually dwindled until the Negroes were practically disfranchised and unrepresented in Congress, the state legislatures, ~~the~~ city councils and the county administrations. In addition to this, their loss of political power went to increase the political power of Southern capital which established a vast "rotten borough" called the "Solid South", and threw the whole democratic balance of the nation out of gear.

Meantime, political organization, chiefly within the Republican Party, tried to restore the ballot, achieve legal defense and new civil enactments. The Republican Party of the various Southern states consisted during this period almost exclusively of Negroes, which meant that they had some right to share in and direct the distribution of Federal appointments to office. In the North, the support of the Negro voters helped

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to keep the Republicans in power for many years after the Civil War.

The annual conventions, therefore, of the Republican Party became centers of the fight for restoring Negro political and civil rights.

In all the national conventions from 1876-1900, the Negro delegates from the South usually held the balance of power between contesting Republican candidates. But since they had back of them no effective voting population, men were able to secure the position of delegate by manipulation and bribery. For the most part, both colored and white delegates gradually came to be for sale to the highest bidder. Soon, the first solicitude of prospective candidates for the Republican nomination was to buy up the Southern delegates before the convention. Venal whites drifted into the party and controlled the Negroes; venal Negroes were easily induced to forget their higher mission in a scramble for money and place, and venal friends of candidates thus bought the presidential nomination. This bribery of Southern delegates at national conventions became an intolerable scandal and resulted not in any attempt to restore the ballot to the Negro masses, but rather in recognizing their disfranchisement by cutting down their representation in the councils of the Republican Party; a situation which still obtains.

49-18-14

Co-incident with this has come a change in the party platforms. The Republican platforms from 1868 until 1900 invariably complained about the disfranchisement and civil disabilities of Negroes, but the party in Congress after 1896 made no attempt to follow up these provisions. In later years, less and less has been said about the Negro until lately only a perfunctory protest against lynching has been included in the party platform.

In the National Government for a long time, the Negro received important representation in the executive branch. Once Theodore Roosevelt was about to appoint a Negro as Treasurer of the United States, but was thwarted by the race prejudice of his Secretary of the Treasury. Collectors of Customs have been

appointed in Charleston, New Orleans and Atlanta in the earlier days, but no important Federal position has come to Negroes recently in those states. In Washington, the Registrar of the Treasury has usually been a colored man until quite recent times; and the Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia almost invariably. In recent administrations, it has been customary to appoint some prominent colored men as assistants in the District Attorney's office and under the New Deal, a number of advisory positions have been given to colored men of education and ability. One of the municipal judges of the District of Columbia is usually a Negro.

In 1900, it was claimed that there were 58 colored men in the higher Federal employ, including 11 in diplomatic and consular service and several Collectors and Postmasters. In the clerical service and the army, there were 15, 868 Negroes. In 1912, 19,729 such positions were claimed, including 8,000 in the army and navy. In 1916 and 1924, the number of presidential appointments of Negroes decreased, but the colored Federal employees were reported to have increased [redacted] to 51,882 in 1928. Most of these were in the Postoffice Department. It was said that the Negroes, constituting 9.9% of the population in 1920, occupied slightly more than 9.1% [redacted] of the positions in the Federal Executive Civil Service.

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From 1871 to the present, 24 Negroes have sat in Congress, including 2 Senators. Most of these came during Reconstruction, but one Negro Congressman is still serving. In at least three other cases, there is no doubt but that colored men actually were elected to office, but were counted out.

In several Northern congressional districts, the Negro vote by 1924 had reached such a size that the possibility of a

Negro representative was manifest. For this reason, the white congressmen from one district in Illinois and from one in St. Louis, became practically representatives of the Negro race and worked for such bills as the Negroes demanded, especially the anti-lynching bill. When [redacted] Congressman Madden of the Chicago black belt died, a colored man, Oscar De Priest, was elected to succeed him in 1928 and re-elected in 1930 and 1932. He was defeated in 1934 by a colored Democrat named Mitchell, showing that the Democratic Party was compelled to take a colored candidate in order to defeat the Republicans. In 1928, in St. Louis, a colored candidate was defeated, but made a strong showing.

In the states, the Negro served in the legislature of Georgia until about 1910, but in most of the other Southern states they were eliminated by 1890. In the Northern states, they began to appear as members of the legislature about 1900. Illinois has usually 3 or 4 members of the Lower House and 1 colored Senator. There are usually one or two Negro members of the legislature in Kansas, Nebraska, Michigan, California, Missouri, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, New Jersey and New York. Once or twice there have been members of the legislature in the New England States. Some of these legislators, like Harry Davis of Ohio, have made distinguished records. It was often said that had Davis been white, he would have been Speaker of the House.

There are no Negro municipal or local officials in the South, except a few notaries. In the North, there have been some important offices held. Chicago has had a Superior Court judge and there are 2 Superior Court judges in New York City. Massachusetts once had a judge and there have been colored police magistrates in several [redacted] states. Some important commission-

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erships are held as in the Civil Service Commission and the Tax Commission in New York City and the Civil Service Commission of Cleveland, Ohio [redacted].

¶ On the whole, however, while office holding by American Negroes has been creditable, it has been disappointing since it has mainly served to further the political, social and economic position of a few individuals. They have seldom reached positions of real influence where they could take any decisive action to better the status of their people.

Finding that office-holding and affiliation with the Republican Party was disappointing in its results, the Negro lately attempted to divide his vote both for the President and for congressmen and members of the legislature so as to reward and punish friends and enemies. Negroes largely supported President Wilson in 1912 and he promised them "justice". A smaller number supported Smith and Davis in 1920 and 1924 and a larger number, Roosevelt in 1932. Negroes have also in considerable numbers supported the Socialists. The result of this split vote has been to give Negroes considerable influence in local municipal politics in certain cities like Boston, New York and Chicago. Perhaps this municipal political power in the larger Northern cities is the greatest source of influence which remains to the Negro in politics, together with a considerable balance of power vote in the border states.

49-18-17

The greatest single triumph of Negro voters was the defeat of Parker of North Carolina for confirmation to the Supreme Court. He had been an opponent of Negro suffrage and was named by Hoover; but his record in regard to organized labor

was bad and the influence of the labor vote and of the Negroes combined led to his failure to be confirmed.

The drive of Negroes for legislation through political power has had some measure of success. Appropriations for Howard University, for instance, were long limited and provided for by questionable legislative methods. In the 68th Congress, the appropriation was ruled out on the point of order and finally, in 1930, the legality of the appropriation was fixed by act of Congress and Howard became assured of a Federal subsidy, with an initial appropriation of $1,249,000. The Federal appropriations for education have benefited the Negro, although he has been unsuccessful in his attempt to have them pro-rated according to his numbers in the population. The division, ~~however,~~ has been left entirely to the states and has been notoriously unfair throughout the South.

81-81-64

In another direction, Negroes have succeeded in having laws defending their civil rights put on the statute books. The first case was the celebrated civil rights law of 1875 so long advocated by Charles Sumner, which was eventually emasculated by decisions of the Supreme Court in 1883 and 1913. State civil rights legislation guaranteeing the legal right of Negroes to service in public places has been enacted in 16 states since 1884:

Connecticut	1884 and 1905
Iowa	1884 and 1892
New Jersey	1884
Ohio	1884 and 1894
Colorado	1885
Indiana	1885
Illinois	1885
Michigan	1885
Minnesota	1885, 1897 and 1899
Nebraska	1885 and 1893
Rhode Island	1885
New York	1893, 1895 and 1913.
Pennsylvania	1887 and 1935
Washington	1890
Wisconsin	1895
California	1897

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However,

A wave of "Jim-Crow" legislation, including disfranchisement and requiring separation in cars, street cars and education, swept over the South from 1890 to 1910 and Negroes could do little to oppose it. They did succeed, however, in confining separation in Maryland to local trains and to defeating separate car laws in Missouri and West Virginia.

On the other hand, the Negro has succeeded in some cases in keeping discriminatory legislation off the statute books. In 1913, after Wilson and the Democrats came to power and because of Jack Johnson's victory, a determined drive was made to spread laws against the inter-marriage of Negroes and whites on the statute books of the Northern states.

Anti-intermarriage bills were introduced in Congress and in California, Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington and Wisconsin. Only one passed when Nebraska strengthened an existing statute.

On the whole, however, the social and economic emancipation of the Negro race by means of the ballot has failed of any great success, but perhaps the failure has been no greater in the case of Negroes than it has in that of whites. It has simply made the fact more clear that without economic Reconstruction political freedom and power is impossible.

61-81-44

Discussion and Reading

1. Could the Negro laborer have survived without the vote?
2. Which was of greater importance; the right to vote, or land ownership?
3. Was it fair to fight Southern corruption by cutting down the Negro vote in the Republican conventions?
4. Should Negroes hold office?

(Consult Brawley, "Social History of the American Negro"; Woodson, "The Negro in Our History"; Merriam, "The Negro and the Nation".)

CHAPTER III

CAPITAL AND LABOR

During the sway of the Negro's plan of gaining full American citizenship by political power, and explaining and supplementing that effort from 1867 to 1930, came two other movements: one from 1896 to 1920 which sought firmly to integrate the American Negro into American industry as farmer, laborer, skilled artisan and capitalist; and the other movement, from 1876 to 1930 which sought by agitation and legal defense to clear away race discrimination and allow untrammeled advance of black folk according to chance and ability. One plan was emancipation by labor power under capitalistic auspices and the other by appeal to legislation and democratic ideals.

These two latter movements began in bitter controversy; the first ended with the World War and the second declined with the depression and merged with movements to stop discrimination in the NRA.

Despite political power and legal defense and whatever might be accomplished by migration, it was evident from the first that economic power must underlie all efforts of the American Negro to establish himself. The fact was that the Negro was a poor and ignorant laborer, and his exploitation, which began in slavery, was not ended by emancipation. How, then, should he establish himself as an effective and decently paid laborer?

The first clear and coherent plan to this end was presented by Booker T. Washington and enunciated in his celebrated speech at the Cotton States' Exposition, Atlanta, in 1896.

This occasion had been carefully planned beforehand and was not at all a spontaneous event. William H. Baldwin, a young railroad executive and far-sighted industrial statesman, knew by personal experience Southern labor conditions. He was rapidly coming to the front, having been made President of the Long Island Railroad and slated for the presidency of the Pennsylvania System. He knew that Negro labor with proper training and treatment could be made effective and he and other industrialists also feared the new demands and growing organization of unionism among white craft laborers. As a firm believer in capitalistic exploitation, Baldwin thought that in the South there could be built up two laboring classes who would naturally supplement each other and together make for the economic development of the New South. He wanted the black laborers trained in skilled industry. He wanted the white laborers well-paid, but curbed in their increasingly intolerant demand for a voice in industry. Here was the developing Negro race, increasing in intelligence,

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distressed by its partial deprivation of political power and civil rights and needing new incentives and practical ideals. Here, also, was an extraordinary man; a self-made Negro, trained at Hampton, who had been brought down to take charge of a small school in Alabama, started by a young colored woman named Davidson.

Mr. Washington was an opportunist, slow but keen-witted, with high ideals. He believed in political rights for people who could exercise them, but in the case of the Southern Negroes, he knew that the attitude of the white South was against their political activity and he, therefore, took the position that the Negro must first gain an industrial status before he could ask for the exercise of political rights. He knew that the Negro needed civil and social rights. No one suffered more than he from the existence of discrimination in schools, on the railroads, in hotels and otherwise. But he believed that if the Negro showed the people of the United States that they could advance despite discrimination, that the inherent justice in the nation would gradually extend to deserving Negroes the rights that they merited.

Above all, Mr. Washington had not the slightest doubt that the current organization of industry in the United States was normal and right; that capital was accumulated by thrift; that labor was rightfully bought and fed and that profits were rightly the result of buying the product of labor. He, therefore, proposed that the Negro take this path toward eventual equality, ~~and~~ working hard and skillfully to earn a living, ~~[illegible]~~ and beyond that to accumulate in the hands of his more thrifty and gifted individuals, enough capital to hire employees and make money. He expected that the black owners of property would thus gain recognition from other propertyholders and gradually rise in the scale of society. As a first step toward this new capitalism, Washington especially stressed landholding--wide-spread peasant proprietorship and even large-scale farming among Negroes.

As a practical path toward these things, Mr. Washington's program ~~[illegible]~~ included the giving up of political rights, at least temporarily; the giving up of agitation for civil rights; and the insistance upon training young Negroes for farming and industry through industrial schools and a vocational program of education. This plan, launched in 1896, and triumphant from that date until about 1910, was in reality an alliance with white capital and was rewarded by large contributions toward Negro education, especially to such schools as conformed to the Hampton and Tuskegee type. It was rightly regarded as a clever and far-sighted compromise which, if it would not solve, would at least peacefully postpone the solution of

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a baffling internal problem of race conflict. Mr. Washington, between 1900 and 1910, became one of the most popular men in America, in constant demand North and South, as a speaker, adviser and referee.

There resulted a new understanding between the leading elements of the North and South with regard to the Negro. Agitation for voting was frowned upon and skilled labor was encouraged. The Negro college, while not entirely discouraged, was looked upon with some suspicion and careers for Negro college graduates became difficult. To some extent, appointments and opportunities of young Negroes were carefully censored and referred for approval to Tuskegee, over a very wide extent of country.

As the white opinion of the land became unified behind Mr. Washington, colored opinion began to become uneasy and suspicious. The best white Southern opinion certainly supported Mr. Washington, but the politicians and the poor rabble got out of hand. A wave of "Jim-Crow" legislation and disfranchising bills swept over the South and border states from 1890 and 1910--at the very time when Negro political power and agitation had been lulled to its lowest by the Washington compromise. Mississippi in 1890, South Carolina in 1895, Louisiana in 1898, North Carolina in 1900, Alabama in 1901, Virginia in 1902, Georgia in 1908 and Oklahoma in 1910 disfranchised Negroes by adroitly drawn illiteracy and property tests.

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The result of this was not on the whole encouraging. Evidently despite their premises, the better white South could not protect the voteless Negro. Moreover, the attempt to set up a Negro labor class in rivalry to white laborers led to increased race hatred and lawlessness in the South between white and black labor. Separation of the races in travel had been made compulsory in Tennessee, Florida, Mississippi, Texas, Kentucky, Georgia and Louisiana by 1891. It then paused, but a new wave of legislation began in 1898 and covered South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland and Oklahoma. Determined and repeated efforts were made in Missouri, West Virginia and Delaware. Other laws and ordinances completed the program of racial caste and convinced increasing numbers of Negroes that the only result of the Washington compromise was going to be a permanent caste-system in the United States acquiesced in and condoned by Negroes themselves.

In the North, results were no better. White labor inherited from before the Civil War a fear of the competition of slave labor and of the competition of the free blacks. They finally but grudgingly, encouraged them in separate labor organizations and a Negro trade union movement began and was headed toward success when it became a part of the new

political organization which swept the Negroes into Reconstruction.

After this, however, the craft unions began to exclude Negroes, but when the new Knights of Labor were organized, earnest attempt was made to bring the Negroes in. This, however, was stopped when the American Federation of Labor, the organization of the skilled crafts, came into power in 1886. Most of the constituent organizations excluded Negroes either openly, or by secret policy, so that the division between black and white labor gradually became wider.

This triumph of the radical anti-Negro South, the continued prevalence of lynching and the anti-Negro labor policy in the North, greatly embarrassed Mr. Washington. He hated caste and lawlessness and wanted the best for his people, but he believed implicitly in his economic program and made the fatal mistake of trying to forestall criticism from Negroes and to disparage and if not to oppose Negro colleges. The result was an outburst of wrath and criticism led by the younger college-bred group which split the Negroes into two opposing camps.

Mr. Washington's work, however, was not all lost. It first was shown in the ownership of land. Negroes owned 97,458 farms in 1890. This number increased rapidly until it reached a total of 218,467 in 1910. Then forces over which Washington had no control manifested themselves and land ownership decreased to 181,016 in 1930, which meant a loss of at least 4,000,000 acres of land; and since 1930, nearly a million acres more have been lost. In other words, Negroes bought land just at the time when land ownership was losing its security, so that the Negro landholder was caught in the depression, which so overwhelmed the farmers of the world, that he could not by his unaided efforts hope to make economic improvement on Southern farms. The same difficulties in lesser degree faced the white farmer and the result was that the farm population moved to the city in large numbers and entered industry. Most of these migrants from country to city were white, but a large and increasing number were Negroes. Between 1910 and 1920, the center of the Negro population in the United States moved 19 miles North.

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Negro farmers and farm laborers for this reason decreased from 56.6% to 36.7% of the working population from 1890 to 1930. On the other hand, Negroes in transportation, manufacturing and mechanical industries, and in business and clerical work, increased in the same period from 10.3% to 29.9%. But they did not become as Washington had hoped, to any great extent, skilled workers and business leaders. Manifestly, this was not merely the result of lack of skill or unwillingness to work. It was partly the result of race

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prejudice and partly a change in the whole industrial system of the nation and the age of which Booker Washington did not dream.

Discussion and Reading

1. Was Booker T. Washington's plan best for the Negro?

2. What was the real motive for Negro disfranchisement?

3. Does the future of the Negro lie on the farm?

(Consult Washington, "Up From Slavery"; Du Bois, "Souls of Black Folk"; Johnson, "Negro in American Civilization".)

49-18-25

CHAPTER IV.

AGITATION AND LEGAL DEFENSE

The disfranchisement of Negroes was clearly illegal and a nullification of the Civil War amendments. It therefore became after 1876 and down to our own day, a settled plan among Negroes to reassert their political power through systematic appeal on the basic questions of their legal status before the highest tribunals of the land. This was also buttressed by efforts at new legislation which would secure their civil rights. These efforts were carried on by individual action and group movements.

And these groups and leaders were for the most part no clearer than Mr. Washington in their conception of fundamental economic forces and impending industrial changes. Essentially they were advocates of eighteenth century "freedom" and wanted "laissez-faire" and traditional American free competition in work and wage, but without a Color Line.

The earlier court cases which involved the interpretation of the war amendments were brought before the courts by officials or parties who had no particular interest in securing favorable decisions for Negroes. Thus, the Slaughter House cases of 1873 which emasculated the 14th Amendment; the decisions of 1876 which declared the Force Act of 1870 unconstitutional and denied the right of the Federal government to protect its own voters at the polls; and the decision of 1883 which destroyed the civil rights bill; all these cases were not brought by Negroes nor were the cases prepared primarily in their interest.

49-18-22

Unless now the Negro bestirred himself, a legal basis of color caste in constitutional law would be laid. Various conventions and organizations for protection of Negro rights had been held in the North before the Civil War; the conventions of 1830-1836 beginning in Philadelphia; national colored conventions which met in Troy, New York, in 1847 and in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1848; in Cincinnati in 1852. The movement culminated in a great meeting in Rochester, New York in 1853, which laid plans for industrial education and a National Negro Council. Here a dissenting group despairing of justice in the United States, called an Emigration Convention in 1854.

In 1864, a National Convention of Colored Men was held in Syracuse, New York with Frederick Douglass as president.

Interest was now transferred to the South and the political and civil rights struggle there. It was not until after 1876 that the plan of national Negro organization was resumed, first, in the attempts to form a labor organization which resulted in national and state meetings from 1867 to 1871. A National Convention of Colored Men met in Louisville, Kentucky in 1883 and a National League was formed in Boston a little later.

In 1887, T. Thomas Fortune, editor of what is now the NEW YORK AGE, issued an appeal for a national organization and repeated this in 1889. The so-called Afro-American League, afterward changed to Afro-American Council, met in Chicago with 21 states represented in January, 1890. J. C. Price was President and Mr. Fortune, Secretary. The League held another meeting in Tennessee and then died until Bishop Walters revived it in 1898. It met that year in September at Rochester and later in November in Washington. The object of the organization was to investigate lynching, to test the constitutionality of discriminatory laws, to secure civil rights legislation, to promote migration from the South and to encourage organization. It met afterward annually for several years and practically died with a final meeting in St. Paul, Minnesota about 1900. Its weakness was that it consisted simply of an annual meeting without a continuous working organization. The result was that it did little more than meet, organize and pass resolutions. In the year 1905, a new aspect came over the plans for American Negroes for social Reconstruction.

The new disfranchisement laws and the wave of discriminatory legislation, coupled with Mr. Washington's concessions, alarmed the colored people. Particularly the young colored college man began to fear the dictatorship of the Tuskegee machine and the difficulty of expressing even legitimate criticism. This opposition was crystalized by the jailing of Monroe Trotter in Boston for trying to heckle Mr. Washington during a speech at a ~~of the~~ colored church. This was going too far, and while Trotter was much more bitter and outspoken than was necessary, yet he did have a right to talk even though he criticized Mr. Washington. The result was that a call was issued in June, 1905, signed by 59 men from 17 states. In July, 1905, 29 of these men, representing 14 states, met at Niagara Falls and formed the Niagara Movement. The movement grew and in 1906 held a significant meeting at Harpers Ferry. The Manifesto which it sent out was plain and bitter:

~~In 1906, they held another significant meeting at Harpers Ferry and issued a ringing manifesto.~~ "The men of the Niagara movement coming from the toil of the year's hard work and pausing a moment from the earning of their daily bread, turn toward the nation and again ask in the name of ten million the privilege of a hearing. In the past year the work of the Negro hater has flourished in the land. Step by step the defenders of the rights of American citizens have retreated. The work of stealing the black man's ballot has progressed and the fifty and more representatives of stolen votes still sit in the nation's capital. Discrimination in travel and public accommodation has spread, that some of our weaker brethern are actually afraid to thunder against color discrimination as such and are simply whispering for ordinary decencies...

"Against this the Niagara Movement eternally protests. We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all true Americans. It is a fight for ideals lest this, our common fatherland, false to its founding, become in truth the land of the thief and the home of the Slave--a [redacted] by-word and a hissing among the nations for its sounding pretentions and pitiful accomplishment...

"We do not believe in violence, neither in the despised violence of the raid nor the lauded violence of the soldier, nor the barbarous violence of the mob; but we do believe in John Brown, in that incarnate spirit of justice, that hatred of a lie, that willingness to sacrifice money, reputation and life itself on the altar of right. And here on the scene of John Brown's martydom we reconsecrate ourselves, our honor, our property to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free."

In 1907, the Niagara Movement developed organizational difficulties mainly because Mr. Trotter, its guiding spirit, was despite his courage, not a good organizer. The movement, moreover, met the opposition of influential white opinion which at the time was backing Hampton and Tuskegee. A year later, a lynching occurred at the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln, and Wm. English Walling and his wife, Anna Strunsky, visited the city. ~~pilgrimaged there.~~ Walling wrote a fiery article in The Independent, suggesting that something ought to be done to finish the emancipation that Abraham Lincoln started. Mary White Ovington, Oswald Garrison Villard,

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[redacted] and others suggested such a conference to be held in New York on the hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's birth. Thus the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was born. After this, the Niagara Movement held no further meetings. There was no formal merger, but seven of its charter members became directors of the new organization. Thus out of the impulse of the Niagara Movement, the N.A.A.C.P. was formed and in November 1910 the Crisis first appeared as its organ.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People seeks to uplift the colored men and women of this country by securing to them the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens, justice in all courts, and equality of opportunity everywhere. It favors and aims to aid, every [redacted] kind of education among them save that which teaches special privileges or [redacted] prerogative, class or caste. It recognizes the national character of the Negro problem and no sectionalism. It believes in the holding of the Constitution of the United States and its amendments, in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. It upholds the doctrine of "all men up and no man down." It abhors Negro crime, but still more the conditions which breed crime, and most of all the crimes committed by mobs in the mockery of the law, by individuals in the name of the law.

"It believes that the scientific truths of the Negro problem must be available before the country can see its way wholly clear to right existing wrongs. It has no other belief than that the best way to uplift the colored man and best way to aid the white man to peace is social content; it has no other desire than exacting justice, and no other motive than patriotism." (First Annual Report, January 1, 1911.)

The work of the N.A.A.C.P. in the succeeding 25 years is well-known. Its greatest triumph has been in the field of legal defense of Negroes and Negro rights. With the help of the foremost legal talent of the nation, it has secured from the U.S.Supreme Court decisions which in principle establish:

1. Recognition of the validity of the 15th Amendment.
2. The unconstitutionality of the "Grandfather"Clauses in Southern State constitutions.
3. The unconstitutionality of residential segregation laws and ordinances.
4. The right of Negroes to sit on juries.
5. The dictum that "due process of law" may be violated by the threat of mob violence.
6. The denial of the right of a state to segregate primary elections by race.

In addition, scores of individuals have been defended, and sustained and the most effective anti-lynching campaign in the history of the country has been carried out,-though not yet to the successful passage of a Federal anti-lynching law.

Though the N.A.C.P. began through philanthropic aid from wealthy liberals, it became in its best years more and more of a Negro supported effort. Contrary to general opinion, the amount of money received from wealthy whites was small, and its withdrawal would have made little difference except at the start of the project. From 1912 to 1927 Negroes were making substantial advance along economic lines. It is no accident that Negro organization especially for self-improvement and defense was at its peak during that period. By 1928, the economic progress of the Negro was beginning to be slowed down by the depression. Philanthropic gifts to Negro education were lessened, the industrial rivalry of white and black labor increased and Negro organizations began to decline in strength as resources and revenues declined. The N.A.A.C.P. and The Crisis were no exception and faced declining income and support. This should not be interpreted as the Negro's unwillingness to fight discrimination and lynching. It was due primarily to the fact that the colored people, economically hard pressed, were unable to sustain the program financially, especially any needed expansion.

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From 1910 until the depression, the N.A.A.C.P. was the most effective militant organization in Negro life and its success was unquestioned. Its history, however laid bare two basic facts:- first, white America, even though sympathizing somewhat with the difficulties and handicaps in the path of Negroes, was not ready to grant them anything like substantial equality; and secondly,

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the difficulties which faced the Negroes in the basic matter of earning a living were still so large and went so deep that the Negroes themselves did not have the power to make effective their demands for their rights.

Discussion and Reading

1. Was Booker T. Washington responsible for "Jim-Crow" legislation?
2. Why was not the Niagara movement more effective?
3. How far should the Negro seek freedom and equality through the courts?

(Consult Donald Young, "American Minority Peoples"; Herbert Miller, "Races, Nations and Classes"; ~~#~~ Stephenson, Race Distinctions in American Law)

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CHAPTER V.

WORLD WAR AND DEPRESSION

The situation of the American Negro at the outbreak of the war seemed favorable. His higher schools were increasing in efficiency and the elementary school system in the South, while still bad, was improving. His political power, curtailed as it was, was increasing and beginning to be used with some intelligence in the North and in the Border States. Determined agitation was beginning to decrease noticeably the annual number of lynchings which had reached the astonishing total of 235 in 1892, and began now with some exceptions to fall below 75 a year.

The Negro press began to increase in efficiency and boldness. Negroes had taken prominent part in the great Races Congress held in London in 1911 and begun to visualize the problems of other groups. In the election of 1912, a considerable number of Negroes supported Wilson in an effort to divide the Negro vote and put the Democratic Party and the "Solid South" under obligations to the Northern Negro voter.

The outbreak of the World War did not at first greatly interest American Negroes. In 1914, 49 Negroes were lynched and the agitation to segregate Negroes in residential sections increased. Negro tenants were bombed in Philadelphia. A corporation was formed to segregate them in New York and the Smith-Lever Bill to assist education in the South went through without safeguards for Negro children. In North Carolina, a leading journal was offering prizes for essays on the segregation of Negroes on farms. In the 67th Congress, some 20 bills against Negroes were introduced and in September of 1915, the United States seized Haiti, the very year that Booker T. Washington died. There were 53 lynchings that year and the only favorable occurrence was the Supreme Court decision which overthrew the "Grandfather" Clauses. St. Louis and Dallas, Texas in 1916 decided to segregate Negroes. In May, a Negro was publicly burned in Waco, Texas under circumstances of horrible brutality and in November, in South Carolina, a well-to-do Negro was publicly lynched for demanding the current price for his cotton.

In 1916, in the midst of a controversy between the Methodists as to whether or not they should get rid of Negroes in order to unite with the Methodist Church South, a migration of Negroes North began to take place. It was induced, first, because of an unusual demand for labor in the North due to the stopping of immigration by the World War. And, on

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the other hand, crop failures in the winter of 1915, together with the ravages of the boll weevil, decreased the demand for labor in the South. A mass of Negroes began to move North, estimated between 250,000 and 500,000 for the year.

February 3, 1917, the United States entered the World War. During that year, a series of events exasperated the colored people. First, came riots and massacres: in July, the city of East St. Louis destroyed $400,000 worth of property, killed between 100 and 200 Negroes and drove 6,000 people out of their homes. In September, colored soldiers of the regular army and citizens broke out into a riot at Houston, Texas. In August, there was trouble at Chester, Pennsylvania and elsewhere on account of the invading Negro laborers.

The South began propaganda. They magnified the riots and bad conditions of labor; they stopped labor agents by requiring high licenses and they used violence in refusing to sell tickets and driving Negroes from railway stations.

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Thus, when unexpectedly the United States was swept into the World War, a sudden crisis faced the American Negro. How far could a black man fight loyally for this country and why should he, in the face of disfranchisement and lynching? Persistent rumors of German propaganda among Negroes were flying here and there, perhaps with some small basis of fact, but little tangible result. It would be futile for Negroes to oppose the war and any suspicion of "disloyalty" on their part would be followed by increased discrimination and mob violence, visited particularly on their most helpless classes. On the other hand, there was in the very conduct of the war abundant chance to make this crisis in the national fortunes an occasion for bettering the Negro's condition. If, for instance, they were not included in the draft, this would be a denial of their American citizenship. If they could not be soldiers but only laborers, this would deny their manhood. If they could not be officers as well as soldiers, this would be an attack on their ability. The inclusion of Negroes in the draft and volunteer Negro soldiers. N. A. A. C. P. took leadership and fought for Then the first difficulty came in the matter of officers for Negro troops.

The N. A. A. C. P. was immediately put in curious dilemma. It had been agitating against all discrimination and it first asked for the admission of Negroes to officers' camps on the same terms as whites. This was peremptorily denied. Thereupon, the Chairman of the Association, abetted by some of the other officers, asked for a separate camp to train Negro officers and received in this plan the enthusiastic support of students of

Howard University and other institutions. The result after some hesitation was that a camp was established at Fort Des Moines, Iowa and 700 Negro officers trained.

Then came further delay. According to the draft law, Negro and white troops were to be separated. Were these officers to lead Negro troops exclusively or were there to be white officers mixed with them? Were they to be in one division or ~~indispersed~~ interspersed among white troops? The final compromise, arranged with some hesitancy, was to form a division of Negro troops known as the 92nd Division with white field officers and Negro line officers. A second divsion, called the 93rd Division, was projected, but never actually ~~formed~~ functioned as a division.

Meantime, in the Draft, the difficulties of racial discrimination came up. In the South, despite widespread allegations that Negroes were physically inferior to whites and manifestly were poorer and more needed by their families, a larger percentage of Negroes were drafted than among whites. In the training of drafted troops there was a great deal of difficulty. In the North, single Negroes drafted, appearing in white camps, were refused or tossed about until they could be put in a Negro camp. In the Negro cantonments, especially those in the South, there was a great deal of discrimination and threats of mob violence. As the war wore on, much bitterness was aroused by the treatment of Negro troops in France and the attitude of white officers toward black officers.

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The government did considerable to counteract these difficulties. It called together the editors of the Negro press; it appointed a representative of the Negroes to consult with the Secretary of War. He had no power but he could bring things directly to the ear of the Secretary. There was even a plan to put one or more Negro officers in the Intelligence Service, but sudden caution stopped this. On the whole, however, the conduct of Negroes led mainly by the N. A. A. C. P. and other organizations, resulted in giving the Negro a better status during the war, with black officers over his troops and with some chance to show his prowess. It was, however, in his services as laborer that he did the greatest work in the war. His stevedore units made extraordinary records in the movements of goods and did brave work behind the lines. ~~In the United States, the Negroes rushed North to take the place of drafted men and of skilled labor. They met difficulties, riots broke out, but the economic status of the Negro was distinctly better.~~

These matters occupied the attention of Negro leaders, but beneath all this There were vast changes in the economic condition of Negroes to which they gave but passing notice.

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First came the northward migration. Before 1914, not more than 10,000 Negroes a year were going North because of the competition of foreign emigrants. The addition of emigrants from abroad each year for 10 years preceding the war was equal to the entire Negro population of the North and this fact made the Negroes unimportant to trade unions who kept them out. ~~Foreign laborers competed with Negroes as laborers and servants.~~ Since 1820, 36,000,000 European immigrants had come to the North and industries had absorbed this common labor. In 10 years, from 1900-1910, over 7,000,000 immigrants arrived. The World War brought sudden change. Immigration was checked and new industries established because of the demand of war. Later, legislation restricted immigration to a 3% quota and finally to a 2% quota based on the census of 1890. As a result, Italy, Austria, Hungary and Russia, which in 1910 were sending 600,000 a year, were reduced to less than 6,000. ~~Between 1915 and 1928, 1,200,000 Negroes moved from the South to the North. What work did these Negroes find?~~

Ira De A. Reid says: "Before the World War Negroes could not get into industrial positions. European immigrants were used. This immigration was suddenly checked. The demand for labor was high and the Negro was most available. Labor agents began to bring Negro workers into Northern industries in great numbers. Unskilled workers were especially in demand in the steel and iron industries and building construction, in the stock yards and for road maintenance and construction on railroads. In many cases, these men were brought in as strikebreakers and between 1915 and 1928, 1,200,000 Negroes came from the South to the North. Now for the first time, the Negro had to be considered in the problems of Northern capital and labor. The United States Department of Labor reported a 34% increase in skilled labor among Negroes and in some cases this increase went to 186%. In Pittsburgh, Negro steel and iron workers were 100 in 1910 and 16,900 in 23 plants in 1923. The Ford Automobile plant employed 11,000 Negro workers. Chicago employed Negroes in iron and steel and in the packing industries."

The first result was physical conflict. White workers threatened to quit if Negroes were employed and many did. Southern whites were imported to Northern mills as foremen. Many trade unions began to seek Negro members, but Negroes were not always willing to join. There was much discussion as to the efficiency of Negro labor. Came the bitter year, 1919.

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"Serious mob outbreaks against Negroes and clashes between the races were reported from 26 cities. The most spectacular of these outbreaks and riots were those occurring in Washington, D. C.; Chicago; Omaha, Nebraska; Knoxville, Tennessee (the latter two were in reality attempts at lynching which precipitated the race riots which followed); Longview, Texas (also an outgrowth of a lynching); and the widely heralded 'uprising against whites' at Elaine, Phillips County, Arkansas. Serious riots occurred also at Charleston, S. C.; Norfolk, Va.; Philadelphia and Bisbee, Arizona.

"Six persons were killed outright in the Washington riots, from July 19 to July 23. These riots were begun and carried on by uniformed soldiers and sailors. Fifty persons were seriously injured and a hundred or more less seriously wounded. Order was restored only by the intervention of United States troops." (Tenth Annual Report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1919, p. 34.)

During the war, union labor was triumphant. The President of the American Federation was on the Council of Defense and the War Labor Board. He pledged the co-operation of the unions to win the war. While on the one hand, the unions promised not to strike, on the other hand, the government gave recognition to collective bargaining, the 8-hour day and a high standard of living. Union membership increased between 1917 and 1920 by almost 2,000,000.

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Union labor had not welcomed Negro workers since the collapse of the Knights of Labor. The new American Federation of Labor passed through this evolution: in 1881, it declared "the working people must unite and organize irrespective of creed, color, sex, nationality or politics." This was re-affirmed in 1897 after opposition; but in 1902, it was voted that separate charters might be issued to Central Labor Unions, local unions or Federal Labor Unions composed exclusively of colored members. This, in fact, recognized the legality of excluding Negroes from local unions and City Central Labor bodies.

From 1910-1914, the Federation allowed organizations which excluded Negroes to affiliate with them, but hired 3 Negro organizers and proceeded to organize separate local and Federal unions. When Negro workers in the North began to increase between 1916-1920, the matter of organizing was pushed in the conventions of the A. F. of L., but no machinery was provided.

As a result of all this, the A. F. of L. had before the depression less power and influence among the Negro group than it did at any other time.

Most Negro union members are in the Hod-Carriers' Union, the carpenters, the bricklayers and masons, the plasterers, the longshoremen, the international seamen, the United Mine Workers and the Ladies' Garment Workers.

Reid reports 3,523 Negro members in American trade unions in 1890; 32,769 in 1900; 57,662 in 1910; 61,032 in 1926-1928. To this last number, if we add independent Negro unions and organized Negro workers, the total would be 81,658.

Reid says: "Today 24 national unions exclude us from their ranks and proscribe us in our employment."

Monroe N. Work shows that the World War sharply divides Negro population trends. In the period before the World War, the trend of the Negro population was determined mainly by the demand in the South for labor in the production of staple crops. In the period since the World War and up to the present depression, the trend of Negro population has been mainly determined by demands by industry for Negro labor, particularly in the North.

As a result of this, the black belt areas;--that is, counties in which half or more of the population were Negroes increased from 244 in 1860 to 300 in 1880 and then decreased to 189 in 1930. With this has come an extraordinary urbanization of population; 80% of the Negro population was rural in 1890; 73% in 1910 and only 56% in 1930. In 9 main metropolitan regions in the North, over 2,000,000 Negroes were living; 1,500,000 more in metropolitan districts of the South. In occupation, the change has been great. During slavery, the Negro was chiefly engaged in agriculture and in domestic and personal service. As late as 1890, of the Negro population 10 years of age and over, 56% were in agriculture and 31.2% in domestic and personal service. On the other hand, in 1930, 36.7% were in agriculture, 28.6% in domestic and personal service, 29.2% in manufacturing and mechanical industries and trade and transportation.

This indicates almost an economic revolution. The most striking changes being the decrease of the farmers and servants, the increase of those in the professions, trade, transportation, manufacturing and mechanical industries. If we take up the manufacturing and mechanical industries, we find that the increase in building trades from 1890-1930 was over 500% and the cloth and allied industries 270%. The food in the allied industries 473%, lumber and furniture industries, 418% and the metal industry over 1,000%.

The building trades and the metal industries showed the largest relative increase. The increased effort to earn is shown by the percentage of population 10 years of age and

over who are gainfully occupied. For the entire population of the United States this percentage changed but slightly between 1890-1930. For the Negroes, it increased from 57.6% to 59.2%.

When the war was over, the government largely withdrew its support of labor, There were a number of strikes and employers began to push for the open shop. They began to to undermine the labor unions by company unions, stock sales to employees and profit-sharing. In the steel and coal strikes, public opinion upheld the steel trust and the failure to organize Negroes in the industry helped to break the strike. In the coal strike, court injunctions were used to break down the resistance of labor although in this strike numbers of Negroes were members of the unions. By 1923, therefore, labor had lost most of its war gains.

Rising business prosperity, due to an extraordinary profits psychology, took place, which swept up to 1929, but labor did not gain equally. Even at the peak of prosperity, there were many workers who had lost their jobs because of new machinery and efficiency schemes. Membership in the unions declined and almost disappeared in the steel and automobile industry and the textile industry. The miners' union was torn with internal strife. Then came the depression with its vast unemployment, reduction of wages and standards of living. Masses of men were competing for the few jobs that remained.

Certain basic difficulties had appeared before the war. The machine in the great industries, like coal, petrolem, steel, textiles, automobiles and railroads which are the chief industries of America, was replacing human labor, not only skilled labor, but even that of digging and lifting. The coal industry was collapsing from waste, exploitation and competition. The oil wells were run largely by machines. The automobile industry, especially the Ford plant, began to use Negro labor and Negroes got into the steel mills, both South and North, as semi-skilled and skilled laborers. But the Southern textile industry was practically monopolized by whites, a part of the tacit understanding which was one of the earliest results of the Booker Washington compromise.

Occasionally the struggle against Negro labor took the form of intimidation and, in some cases, of actual violence. The most notable recent illustration was a series of assassinations

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of Negro locomotive firemen in Mississippi and Louisiana, evidently with the purpose of running all Negro trainmen off their jobs. Idleness on the part of both races has been conducive to unrest, ill temper, crimes against property and other irritating conditions. Certain efforts to lead Negroes to revolutionary violence have fomented mutual distrust, fear and potential hostility and have developed a number of threatening situations.

From the time of Emancipation down until the World War, the Negro had a monopoly on certain jobs in the South that were poorly paid and involved menial service. As Alexander says, it used to be true that "A Southern white man will curry a mule but he will not brush a gentleman's coat. He will drive an ox wagon, but he will not act as coachman." These so-called Negro jobs were the jobs of servants and laborers, but they were fairly permanent and the workers received certain perquisites in food, in clothes and had personal relations with employers that gave them a degree of legal and social protection. The money which built homes and churches for Negroes, educated Negro children and saved sums for capital investment, came largely out of this wage.

Gradually, however, toward the time of the World War and markedly thereafter, this situation changed. In most Southern hotels, the sons of poor whites are today the bell boys and their daughters — the waitresses. This class has pressed into the cities and competes with the Negro as a porter, a garbage mover, a newsboy and a day laborer. It became more and more definitely believed that no Negro should have a job as long as a white man was unemployed and the division of labor by race almost completely disappeared.

The white laboring class in the South was competing for Negro jobs and pushing Negroes from nearly all lines of work, except farming and domestic service. There was severe competition in agriculture and Negro migration to cities was holding down wages and increasing the opposition of white labor.

On the other hand, the change in industrial techniques, the widespread use of machines and mass production, made the effort of the industrial schools to train skilled labor among Negroes extremely difficult, while the situation of the farmer, both white and black, in the presence of new problems of labor, machinery and markets, made the advance of the Negro farmer almost impossible. It was thus that by the time of the World War, the Washington

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program for the economic emancipation of the Negro had met insuperable difficulties. The small black capitalist or capable college graduate found no place or welcome to the vast machine which controlled capital and credit and directed industry. He could only hover on this fringe of exploitation which the whites neglected, using color discrimination as a sort of protective tariff for his [redacted] lack of capital and training.

In the South, white organizations, like the Blue Shirts of Jacksonville, Florida, the "Black Shirts of Alabama", and the revived Ku Klux Klan and "Sons of Justice" of Georgia, tried to drive Negroes out of jobs.

A basic
~~The great~~ difficulty which Negroes encountered was impossibility of promotion to any positions of authority or supervision and the practical impossibility of technically trained Negroes in the higher lines of engineering ~~w~~ get-ting any work. The engineering schools themselves discouraged Negroes from taking the courses because of this. In business, Negroes made repeated efforts, but there again the great concentration of capital and credit, the severe competition brought by chain stores and similar enterprises, the tremendous cost of advertising, was the undoing of most Negro enterprises. Taking advantage of the discrimination against Negro risks, several large Negro insurance Companies were started, but the depression brought the failure of two of the largest and while the others are maintaining themselves and in some cases with considerable success, they are more or less at the mercy of white investment concerns. Twenty-one Negro companies had in force in 1930 policies aggregating $260,000,000 and assets amounting to $18,445,000.

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These difficulties more particularly
~~This was~~ illustrated in the case of the banks; the Binga Bank of Chicago was a strong institution, but when the pressure came, it was among the 200 small banks which the larger banks of Chicago crushed and it was more easy to sweep away this colored bank than most of the white banks. An effort was made to start a Negro chain of grocery stores, but it began at a time when it had to depend upon wholesale dealers who were themselves being pushed to the wall by the larger chains. It was impossible during the depression for ~~the~~ This Colored Merchants Association chain ~~C.M.A. enterprises~~ to break through this cordon of competition.

In education, Negro colleges increased in number and stability. In ten years, the enrollment had increased from 5,000 to 20,000, and the total income of these colleges was in 1931, $9,317,764. On the other hand, the public schools and high schools which were the basis of this pyramid, are not strong. Rural schools have been closed or cut down by the depression and the city schools seriously curtailed in efficiency.

While the crass discrimination in teachers' wages and buildings and equipments as between whites and blacks has continued, and even widened.

The whole economic situation of American Negroes has thus been greatly complicated by the present depression. In almost every city in the country, the rate of unemployment and the amount of dependency among Negroes has, for the past three years, been greater than among white people. This has meant the loss of homes, disappearance of savings, bankruptcy of Negro business and further handicaps all along the line. When better conditions come, the masses of Negroes will face the task of beginning again to lay foundations for their economic life.

Discussion and Reading

1. Should the American Negro have fought in the World War?

2. Should he have submitted to a separate draft and separate camp for officers?

3. How was the Negro soldier and stevedore treated?

(Consult Emmett Scott, "The American Negro in the World War"; Hunton and Johnson, "Two Colored Women with the A.E.F."; Heywood, "Negro Combat Troops"; Niles, "Singing Soldiers"; 10th Annual Report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1919".)

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CHAPTER VI.

THE NATIONAL RECOVERY PROGRAM

In such depression, the National Recovery Program offered a single ray of hope.

But the real basic problem of the New Deal was whether an effort was going to be made to restore former prosperity or whether a more fundamental effort was to be put forth to change the economic structure of the nation in essential particulars. In the first case, there was not much hope for the Negro. He simply could look forward to being "restored" to a situation in which to say the least his prospects for economic development were growing less and less. If Southern agriculture was to be put on its feet by government aid, the Negro would remain mainly the tenant-farmer and casual laborer. If the great industries were to be restored by the same means, the Negro would still be the labor reserve with uncertain employment and low wage; and the restoration of [redacted] banking and credit meant comparatively little to a poverty-stricken horde of laborers.

1-19-44

On the other hand, if the relation of industry to labor in general was to be overhauled and readjusted; if the whole relation of the farming industry to the other industries of the land and the world was to be carefully studied and readjusted with regard to prices, methods, machines and markets; if unemployment was to be eradicated by shorter hours, a minimum wage, the forbidding of child labor and old-age security; if new housing and other public works were to be inaugurated; in fine, if these and other similar reforms were going gradually to change the basis of American industry, then as Americans, [redacted] Negroes, barring gross discrimination, were going to have a new chance in industry.

The National Industrial Recovery Act was designed to raise the buying power of workers in industry and employ those that had lost their jobs because of the depression. This would be accomplished by increasing wages and changing the number of hours worked. This would mean some increase in the price of products, but the increase in cost would not be as great as the increase in wages.

It is not easy to say with accuracy just what the effect of the New Deal has been on the American Negro. In a large way, however, we may be sure of certain things. The Negro felt the coming depression as early as 1927 and by 1929, at least

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300,000 Negroes in the industries were unemployed. This unemployment has increased until there are from 30 to 60% more Negro workers in proportion to their numbers, unemployed than white workers. Moreover, when the Federal government attempted to deal with unemployment among Negroes there were certain developments that had to be expected. The representatives in Congress from the South elected on a basis which includes the Negro population and yet practically excludes Negro voters, form the most substantial ~~bulk which~~ support of the present administration. The House leader of the Democratic Party comes from Arkansas. The Vice President is from Texas and the Speaker of the House is from Tennessee. This means that as a matter of practical political strategy, the President and his advisers could not affront the South. This not only explains the failure of the anti-lynching bill which commanded a majority in the Senate, but it also explains some peculiar results of the New Deal.

The execution of all the main measures of the New Deal was left to the states, which meant that in the South the race pattern had to be followed in the matter of wages, relief and public work. Even in the North, the administration dealt in labor matters primarily with the American Federation of Labor. Twenty-four of the constituent international unions in this organization exclude Negro workers either by direct provision in their constitutions or by the invariable action of the local bodies. The result of all this was that in the very midst of the effort to raise wages and relieve unemployment there existed a large body of laborers whose position either could not be bettered at all or had to be ameliorated with compromise and finesse.

Let us note some effects of this on Negro labor.

The first blow to Negroes was that farm laborers and servants were not to be subject to codes. These form about two-thirds of the Negro workers of the South, ~~and~~ 60% of the Negro workers in Georgia, and Alabama, and 80% in Arkansas, South Carolina and Mississippi. As Ira Reid said:

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THE NATIONAL RECOVERY PROGRAM

> "Three million Negro workers, more than half of the total number of Negroes who must labor for their livelihood, will not be covered by the industrial codes now being formulated by the NRA.
>
> "These three million black workers are the backbone of the Negro consumer market. For them there is no immediate rise in wages. For them an immediate rise in prices will mean additional insecurity and suffering. Furthermore, in certain areas where there have been uniform minimum wages established for white and black workers, employers have replaced Negroes with whites rather than pay them the same wages."

The first code of fair competition was that of the cotton textile industry and took effect July 17, 1933. It provided a minimum wage for all workers in the cotton textile industry except those occupied as outside workers or cleaners. The wage was $12 a week for the South and $13 a week for the North and the maximum hours of work was 40 hours, except for the "outside workers and cleaners." Of the 14,000 Negroes in the industry in 1930, 10,000 were employed as outside workers and cleaners. This meant that for them there was no increased buying power and no new jobs. Objections were made to the code on the ground that wage increase should be parceled out to all workers in the industry and that the unemployment among the Negro workers was in every respect more serious than that among the whites. The only answer to this was that the President in approving the code made it mandatory that the textile industry should establish minimum wages and maximum hours of service for the exempted classes.

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December 27, 1933, an executive order providing that the minimum weekly hours for outside workers and cleaners should be 44 and that they should be paid a minimum wage of 75% of that set in the code. In the South, the minimum wage would thus be $9 a week for 44 hours' work. Also, the entire industry was put on half-time, which meant, of course, that the minimum wage was cut in two.

A colored investigator made a trip to the South in November, 1933. He visited more than 200 mills and interviewed workers trying to find out what the situation was among these Negroes. His conclusions were that there was widespread unemployment due to poor business conditions and labor discrimination; that Negroes had been discharged in numbers of cases and their places given to whites; no mill work and very little domestic work was available to Negro women, and the unemployment of white mill

families had seriously decreased the demand for domestic labor.

The relief funds in these localities were small and the distributors local white persons; the relief agencies, therefore, attempted to supply to the full extent the needs of white families often before caring for Negro families. The communities where Negro workers lived were unhealthy and in ghettoes with bad water supply and usually no inside plumbing. Family after family was in debt to the company stores, due not only to their low earnings, but to the excessive prices and there was no escape from this. Negro labor was not organized and the result of the code was in some cases to reduce the wages of Negroes rather than increase them.

In the laundry code, which affected 30,000 Negro women, a differential wage was established giving Northern workers a minimum of 17¢ an hour and Southern workers a minimum of 14¢ an hour. This was finally modified so as to fix Southern wages at $1 a week below the national average.

Such decisions brought up the whole question of difference of pay between white and Negro workers. This has been customary in the South since emancipation and has been defended on various grounds: the Negro was supposed to have a lower standard of living and to be able to live on less; and on the other hand, the white man not only demanded more, but "in the interests of race equilibrium ought to have more." On the other hand, the lower Negro wage brought down and kept down the wages of the whites. Nearly half the laundry workers in the South were white, yet their minimum wage was fixed by the theory of what Negroes ought to receive. In other codes, these same differentials were made. Workers in iron and steel received a minimum of 40¢ an hour in Pennsylvania, but of 27¢ an hour in Alabama. Workers in the fertilizing industry got 40¢ an hour on the Pacific Coast and 25¢ an hour in the South.

In the lumber code there came another type of discrimination. Twenty-three cents an hour was established for the Southern branch of the industry where Negro labor was used and 40¢ an hour for the North and West where white labor was used.

Moreover, the word "South" is flexible. In some industries, it included 16 or 17 states and in others, 9 or 10. Possibly the number of states included depended upon the extent to which Negroes were working at particular industries; although this cannot, of course, be proven.

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In the tobacco industry where a large number of Negro employees were at work, there was for a long time no code at all, due to the disinclination of this prosperous industry to pay its workers, and particularly its colored workers, a living wage. In the contractors' code, the minimum wage which was set could be evaded by provisions which did not let the minimum apply to wages settled in the past by Federal consent.

A typical case that came early to notice was that of a garment making company in Arkansas which employed 450 persons, of whom 200 were colored women. In flat defiance of the code, these women were paid $6.16 a week instead of $12 a week. Finally, rather than pay the increased wages, all of the women were dismissed and long continued effort failed to get them a refund of back pay due. When finally the courts decided that nearly $7,000 in back wages must be repaid, a decision of the United States Supreme Court gave this bonus to the employers.

Even the low rates established brought protests and considerable discharge of Negro workers by employers who refused to pay Negroes wages equal to whites in the cases where this was required. Many employers of labor in the South began a determined drive for differential wages for Negroes in all lines.

The Philadelphia Tribune, a Negro weekly, reported equally bad conditions in that city, as "the forty hour week and the minimum wage scale of $12 to $15 per week are raising havoc with Negro workers." Businesses that used Negro labor, because it would accept longer hours and less money, were displacing it with white labor, since a higher wage scale had become obligatory.

The Baltimore Afro-American cited instances in Maryland and Virginia where white employers discharged colored workers, rather than pay them the minimum wage of $15, and placed white workers in their places. It insisted that the employers, who justified their action by saying that Negro workers were not worth $15 a week, were violating both the letter and the spirit of the National Recovery Act. It held out the hope, however, that with the creation of millions of new jobs, the black workers would eventually find new openings to take the place of those lost.

Some white persons, North and South, joined in the general protest. The

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Norfolk Virginia-Pilot, a white daily, appealed to the moral sense of the white employers in the following fashion:

> "If in the pre-code days an employer made use of Negro workers because he could hire them at low wages, there is a moral obligation on him to retain their service now that a national code requires that they be paid a little more money. It would be a grim and tragic commentary on the national recovery effort if a business and industrial regimentation directed to lifting the people out of depression should operate to plunge the most depressed of them in a worse depression still."

A white man writing in the Nashville Daily Tennessean in October, 1933, declared that Negroes of Nashville and southern cities were not being benefited by the NRA but that Negro help was being replaced by white; that the Negroes of Nashville had been given an economic set-back by the NRA. In October, 1933, the Associated Negro Press declared that Memphis employers were discharging Negroes [redacted] wholesale because they were not worth $14 a week. In one county of Georgia where the population was 40% Negroes, 300 Negroes who were receiving 50¢ a day, were discharged because the code required 30¢ an hour. In Birmingham, white retail grocers drew up a code of $6 a week for Negro porters and delivery boys. In Arkansas, white farmers sent their sons to the CCC where they received $30 a month and replaced them with Negroes at $10 and $15 a month.

Beyond the letter of the law, undoubtedly, many Negroes consented to wages lower than the minimum and went on working in order to keep their jobs. On the other hand, there were cases where they shared in the benefit of shorter hours and increased wages. In some instances, they were displaced by white workers: for instance, in Columbus, Georgia, large numbers of Negroes lost jobs to whites. In mills, garages, department stores, filling stations and small businesses, a hundred or more Negro workers were displaced. At Montgomery, Alabama, colored girls in the cotton fabric factory lost their jobs. A large factory in St. Louis employed white women instead of 75 colored women.

However, the greatest loss of Negro labor under the NRA was the discontinuation of marginal work. Small businesses closed, small grocery stores stopped delivery service, and office boys and casual workers were laid off. Bootblacks were told that they were

not hired by the job, but that they rented the equipment and were in business for themselves. Sometimes where wages were increased, most of the increased wage was paid back to the employer for food and "breakage." In the lumber industry, shorter hours were accompanied by a forced increased output.

An official news release from the Department of Commerce says:

"A special word should be said concerning operations of the National Recovery Administration in connection with Negro employees in the coded industries. A great deal has been said about the displacements of Negroes from jobs; however, investigations that have been made so far indicate that there have not been so many proven cases of displacements exposed as there have been cases of violations of code wages. This is serious, but no more serious than the fact that these wage differentials are a continuation of differentials that have been in vogue for sixty-five years and constitute one of our national interracial problems that call for untiring and vigilant effort towards adjustment. It is encouraging to know, however, that investigation in a limited number of industries indicates that the 'spread' or the gap between Negro and white wages has tended towards a narrowing process, i.e. to become less."

Again, a peculiar difficulty with regard to the Negro worker arose in the project to manufacture power in the Tennessee Valley. Within the 112 counties and 4,000 square miles of the area in 7 states are 2,335,907 whites and 268,048 Negroes. These Negroes are mostly in Northern Alabama and West Tennessee and only a few of them in Virginia, North Carolina and East Tennessee. In this region are coal, phosphates and other minerals with abundant plant life, excellent climate and the possibility of generating 3,000,000 horse power of energy. The TVA is not merely to build dams and transmission lines, but also " to provide for the agricultural and industrial development of said Valley," and to "foster an orderly, physical and social development of such areas." What now has the TVA done with regard to the Negro?

After some initial difficulties, the TVA has been employing unskilled Negro labor at something like its proportion in the population, but when it comes to the main work of the project, as for instance, in the planning of the model town of Norris, these 450 homes built and rented by the Federal Government, were not open

to Negroes. There is no objection or legal obstacle to Negro towns which would share in the cheap power and opportunities of the farmer. Yet here again comes the problem. Should Negroes accept the principle of segregation, with almost legal sanction, for the sake of possible industrial development, or should they insist upon being allowed to enter such towns as Norris?

The proposed subsistence homesteads involved similar problems. With the present attitude of Americans, it was simply impossible to conceive that in the South or in most places of the North, Negroes were going to be welcomed in the new towns or subdivisions laid out. On the other hand, as I took occasion to say at Swarthmore, in 1933, subsistence homesteads were a necessary present step to help unemployed Negroes ward off starvation; and that through them there could be begun an inner co-operation for the Negro group between farmers and industrial workers. But no sooner had proposals been made for Negro subsistence groups than the N.A.A.C.P. and the Negro Joint Committee for Recovery vehemently opposed the move. They wanted no such homesteads organized for Negroes and they were not even willing that Negroes should themselves organize such homesteads. They congratulated themselves when homesteads were planned with no mention of restriction, although they knew that this meant exclusion by local administration. Against independent, self-governing Negro projects, they set a stern, unyielding countenance.

The result was that nearly all the various projects for Negroes were held up. This was called a triumph of the anti-segregation policy of some Negro leaders, when in fact it was nothing but a triumph of the policy of giving prejudice a freer hand in starving American Negroes.

Despite internal differences of opinion among Negroes, 3 subsistence homesteads in the South were agreed upon in Alabama.

At Tuskegee "three projects are under way here, one involving a Self-Help Cooperative Association in which 60 colored farm families have combined to develop a cooperative farm community a few miles from the school. Sixty-seven thousand dollars capital has been granted by the FERA. Another is the Tuskegee Homestead Unit which comprehends three different projects; one near the school, another at Lowdnes County, and still another at Montgomery. The third is the 'Tuskegee Planned Land Use Demonstration'

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in which approximately 600 Negro farm families residing in Macon County [redacted] will be affected. As approved, the plan calls for the expenditure of $200,000 to purchase of some 60,000 acres of sub-marginal and resettlement lands."

¶ The Emergency Housing Project brought the same difficulty about race segregation. Housing areas for Negroes, North and South, are notoriously bad and unsanitary. When the housing project was first proposed, the colored people of Atlanta came forward and secured a site near Atlanta University where $2,100,000 is to be furnished to provide 617 living units for Negroes.

Projects for slum clearance were eventually planned in eight cities: Atlanta, Cleveland, Detroit, Indianapolis, Montgomery, Chicago, Nashville, Washington, D. C. and New York. Whether all of these projects can be finished or not depends largely upon the future decisions of the Supreme Court.

¶ In the Public Works administration, the Federal Government has usually insisted that there be no discrimination, but they had to deal with the problem of local administrative policies. Usually, what happend was that Negroes were employed in the unskilled jobs, but had no chance for skilled work.

The relief program of the New Deal can be illustrated by these facts: in 1932, $300,000,000 was made available for the states and territories to be used for furnishing relief and work relief to native people and relieving hardship resulting from unemployment. Not more than 15% of this sum could go to any single state and the money was lent to the states with interest.

Five hundred million dollars was made available under the relief act of 1933 and was to be furnished to the states as gifts. Half of the fund was available at the rate of $1 to every $3 of public relief furnished in the state during the preceding quarter; the second was a discretionary fund.

In October, 1933, there were 2,117,000 Negroes in families receiving relief, or 17.8% of the total number of Negroes in the 1930 census. In January, 1935, the FERA reports 3,500,000 Negroes in families receiving relief, or 29% of the toal 1930 population.

There is no doubt but that the portion of American Negroes on the border line

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of starvation was dangerously large and the figures of relief do not reflect all the facts. For instance, in Mississippi, where the white and colored population is about even and the Negroes without doubt in the greatest economic need, only 9% of the Negroes were receiving relief, as compared with 13.7% of the whites. On the other hand, in cities where Negroes were getting a fair deal, the proportion of them on relief shows their desperate situation: in New York City, the Negroes, forming less than 5% of the population, received in 1933 13% of the relief. In Detroit, forming 7.6% of the population, they formed 29.6% of the relief load.

In the whole Federal Relief Administration, of the total money expended between May 23 and December 31, 1933, 60.6% was furnished by the Federal Government, 14.2% by the state, and 25.2% by local authorities. The way in which the South has evaded responsibility and relied upon the Federal Government is shown by the fact that in 10 Southern states, 95% or more of the relief funds have come from the Federal Government.

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Mr. Arthur Raper of the Commission for Inter-Racial Co-operation, reports details with regard to the state of Georgia:

> "Taking the state as a whole, three racial differentials stand out: first, in nearly half of the counties in August and in more than half in March, a larger proportion of the total white population than of the total Negro population was on relief. This is especially meaningful when seen in the light of the fact that the white people own practically all of the lands and other productive properties in nearly every county in the state, whereas, the Negroes generally account for an excessive proportion of the propertyless and poorly remunerated agricultural laborers, farm tenants, casual day laborers and domestics; second, in eight per cent of the counties, the amount spent upon the white person for direct relief in March exceeded the amount spent upon the Negro; third, of the 1,214 CWA teachers in Georgia in mid-March, 1934, only 204, or 16.8 per cent were Negroes, despite the fact that in 1930 the Negroes accounted for 36.8 per cent of the state's total population and 77.5 per cent of the state's total illiterates had no white CWA teacher, while 72 counties, with a total of 56,877 Negro illiterates, had no Negro CWA teachers; in the 154 counties with white CWA teachers there was one teacher to every 45 white illiterates, while in the 87 counties with Negro CWA teachers, there was one teacher to every 521 Negro illiterates."

Not only was there this discrimination as to the number of families given relief, but much discrimination in the South as to the amount given each family. For instance, in Jacksonville, Florida, in October, 1933, there were 5,493 white families on relief and 15,175 Negro families. Yet the Negro families got 45% of the relief and the white

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families 55%.

In the matter of schools, the Emergency Federal Aid follows the same pattern as the states were accustomed to. The money was allotted to the state and spent as the state decided. Georgia, for instance, despite the fact that colored children formed 39.1% of the school population, spent in 1929-1930, $23,000,000 of state money for schools and of this $21,000,000 went to the white schools. In 1933-1934, the Federal Government granted to Georgia $4,981,881 for education, and of this $4,338,148 or 87.3% went to white schools.

Not only was there this discrimination in the distribution of the Federal funds, but in a large number of cases, white teachers were designated to teach colored children despite the fact that colored teachers were largely out of work. The government was finally compelled to send out a memorandum on this subject saying that Negro teachers should always be employed for Negro pupils in states maintaining segregated schools.

During the year 1935, 2,780 colored students were given employment under the FERA in colored colleges in 20 states. They were paid in all $377,145 for repairs and equipment for school buildings and equipment for athletic and recreational facilities in connection with schools and playgrounds.

In the Civilian Conservation Corps, there were early in 1935, 14,858 in the all Negro camps and a few in white camps, out of a total of 370,000, or about one-half the Negroes proper proportion.

A part of the far-reaching plan of the Roosevelt administration was not only to restore normal working conditions, but to provide for the future. The Committee on Economic Security, established June 29, 1934, was assisted by an Advisory Council, but no Negro had a place on that council, nor so far as can be learned, was the advice of Negroes sought in any way.

The Wagner-Lewis Bill for social and unemployment insurance expressly eliminates domestic and agricultural workers, thus leaving 15 out of 23 Negro workers unppovided for. It will at the same time allow individual states to enact almost any type of discriminatory legislation so far as races are concerned.

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George E. Haynes pointed this out January, 1934 in the hearing on the Economic Security Bill. He argued that unless there was expressed provisions in the bill prohibiting discrimination on account of race and color, that Negroes could receive less compensation than whites and no minimum wage need be set upon which the earnings taxes were based. Appropriations from the Federal Treasury were to be given to the boards in the various states with no conditions ~~as to~~ eliminating discrimination in their distribution.

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CHAPTER ~~X~~ VII

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THE BLACK FARMER

The most vital matter which the New Deal has touched so far as the Negro is concerned is the agricultural situation. More teaching and propaganda has been used to encourage and force the Negro into agriculture than in any other matter. It was the chief burden of Mr. Washington's program. It was long the chief object of ~~Howard~~ Hampton and Tuskegee and the various state agricultural schools. It has been encouraged by the national government and by all of the philanthropic agencies.

On the other hand, the Negro farmer has been terribly handicapped. He was emancipated practically without land and capital. The little land actually given him was all taken away after an astonishing breach of faith on the part of the government for the attempt to make ~~him~~ the Negro a peasant-proprietor by giving each Negro family 40 acres was defeated by the greed of Southern planters and the stinginess of Northern manufacturers.

Notwithstanding ~~this~~ by thrift and private effort, landholding among Negroes increased and the farm attained some prosperity. ~~This was again negatived~~ But these gains were cancelled out not only by the world-wide subjection of agriculture to industry, but also by lynching and lawlessness, especially in the small towns which dominated the country districts.

Negro landholding reached its peak in 1910 when there were 218,467 Negro (including other colored) landholders in the South owning about 16,000,000 acres of land. The number of owners dropped a little in 1920, and in 1930 to 182,019 holding 11,478,898 acres. In 1935, Negroes lost another million acres and the value of their holdings between 1930-1935 decreased from $339,242,651 to $207,932,597. In 1920, nearly 24% of the colored farmers owned land, and in 1930, this had dropped to a little over 20%.

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The Agricultural Adjustment ~~Authority~~ Administration by its cotton crop control program closed foreign markets to this greatest export crop and gave it over to cotton producers in other lands, and on the other hand, it increased the misery of the sharecroppers and led to bloodshed in Arkansas and elsewhere, because the planters dominated the execution of its policies in the South and ~~Wallace~~ the Secretary of Agriculture was so afraid of the Southern contingent in Congress that he suppressed ~~the~~ one report of his own investigator.

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A government spokesman says:

"Probably the most difficult governmental service, to analyze from the viewpoint of the Negro, is that of agricultural adjustment. Negro farmers, of course, have had access to all of the benefits offered, but because of the large proportion of Negro tenant farmers many of these citizens have been deprived of their rights through unscrupulous landlords who have schemed to appropriate for themselves the benefits of land rental and reduced acreage to the exclusion of their tenants. This practice the government discourages and seeks to prevent. However, Negro farm owners generally have taken advantage of their privilege of securing agricultural loans and have cashed in on cotton acreage reduction in the same way that other farm owners have exercised their options. As a whole, government officials report that the credit record of the Negro farm owners has been highly commendable."

~~In the Agricultural Adjustment Administration there is no Negro representative, except a few colored men employed as messengers, porters and card punchers.~~

A Commission of Three, consisting of W. W. Alexander, Charles S. Johnson and Edwin R. Embree, has for the past year been working on problems of the Negro in the emergency and the recovery ~~administration~~ programs financed by a special grant from one of the New York foundations. One of the major efforts of this Commission was to explore the Southern farm problem. ~~Starting~~ Their study started from interest in the plight of the rural Negroes, ~~but~~ led directly into the general question of tenants and sharecroppers regardless of race.

From these studies, ~~which were carried on under the immediate direction of Dr. Johnson,~~ it becomes clear that the depression brought Southern agriculture very near to complete collapse and that the AAA program, necessary and useful as it was to farm economy as a whole, has made the plight of the tenant still more desperate. Pegging the cotton price and payments for crop reduction, ~~while saving~~ they saved the land owner, but decimated the ranks of the tanant-croppers. Owners found naturally that they did not need so many worker families on the reduced acreage. Furthermore with cash in hand, they began to hire labor simply for the active months and to discontinue the system of supplies to tenants throughout the year. The result was that tens of thousands of families, both white and colored, who heretofore had been getting a living, however meager, were thrown off the plantations and

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[redacted]f. These families will probably never be taken back as tenants or croppers, [redacted]he owners have found a new and cheaper way of working their cotton through temporary hiring of cheap labor during the active work seasons, some three or four months a year. The movement away from dependent living on farms into the ranks of casual labor and relief has already involved probably three hundred thousand to four hundred thousand families and is steadily continuing. Of course it will not wipe out all or probably even a majority of the tenants and croppers. But it may easily run to six hundred thousand families in the Southern states, or to about thirty per cent of this dependent farm population.

Unfortunately, because of the old race bugaboo, the South is peculiarly incapable of handling problems of disrupted economic systems and floating populations or casual workers. Great bands of Negroes unattached to the soil, unaccountable to regular bosses, are a new and unmanageable problem. These Negro hordes, competing with poor whites for such casual labor as appears, competing with whites for relief while it lasts, possibly raiding fields or stores if they begin to starve--all this may easily lead to hysteria, terrorizing, lynchings and race riots of unprecedented scope and violence.

An effort is being made to correct these evils by re-distributing land among peasant owners. This was the basic thought of the Bankhead Bill, which has not yet been passed, and of the Resettlement Division in the WPA. Some work has been done along these lines, but the whole future of the New Deal and the funds at its disposal, are at present too uncertain to begin a broad, definite program.

Discussion and Reading

1. What is the future of the Negro farmer?
2. Should Negroes buy land?
3. How can the rural Negro be assured of law and order?

(Consult Johnson, Embree and Alexander, "Collapse of Cotton Tenancy"; Johnson, "Shadow of the Plantation".)

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Chapter ~~XXI.~~

THE NEGRO ADVISERS, 1934

At the Inter-Racial Conference held in Washington in May, 1933, a Negro representative in the New Deal was proposed. A committee went to the Secretary of the Interior and asked for the appointment of a Negro Adviser in his department. They recommended three candidates: two white and one colored. The Secretary chose Clark Foreman, a white man, from Atlanta, Georgia. He was "attached to the Interior Department where his duties entail special attention to the manner and extent to which Negroes are sharing in the results of the operation of the National Recovery Act."

The first appointee ~~of this sort~~ aroused a great deal of criticism because a Southern white man was to represent the American Negroes in the Administration instead of a colored man. Foreman's salary was met from philanthropic sources and he had a difficult time between the fire of the blacks on the one hand and the reluctance of the officers of administration, on the other hand, to touch the delicate subject of Negro leadership. After a while, however, as the fire of general criticism increased, colored appointees were added and eventually in 1935 Foreman was replaced by Robert C. Weaver, a colored Ph.D. of Harvard, while he himself was promoted to a higher position in the Interior Department.

The status and work of this Adviser is thus outlined by Dr. Weaver:

> "The Adviser on the Economic Status of Negroes in the Department of the Interior is responsible to the Secretary. His duties are to acquaint the Secretary with the effect of the agencies of the Department upon Negroes, to suggest measures intended to increase the benefits to Negroes under the various programs administered by the Secretary and to integrate Negroes into the activities of the Department and the Public Works Administration. In doing these things, he is in constant touch with the Divisions of the Department of the Interior and with the Office of the Secretary. The Adviser is also a consultant to the Housing Division of the Public Administration."

In September, 1933, a conference of 10 prominent Negroes was called together by the Secretary of Commerce, Daniel C. Roper, to advise with him on the action which might be taken by the Federal Government to advance the economic life of the Negro.

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[redacted]ult of this, on November 1, the office of Adviser on Negro Affairs to the [redacted]ary of Commerce, was established and E. K. Jones, head of the National Urban [redacted]gue, was appointed to that office.

Pressure still continued for appointment of Negroes as administrators and especially as investigators to learn the real truth about conditions. A meeting was held September 18 of what was said to be the "Special Industrial Recovery Board." There were present Secretary Ickes, chairman of the Board, Secretary Perkins, General Hugh Johnson, Judge Stephens, Dr. Ezekiel and Dr. Dickinson. What was said and done has never been officially reported, but an alleged transcript of the remarks was published which we reproduce in part without vouching for its absolute accuracy:

Secretary Perkins: Are you all so situated that every day brings demands from a group of Negroes to be appointed to something or other?

Chairman Ickes: I do not see how we can appoint them as Negroes. If we did that we would have to appoint women as women and nationalities as nationalities.

Secretary Perkins: I do think there should be in my department a division studying the problems of Negroes.

Chairman Ickes: Has Mr. Foreman been up to see you yet?

Secretary Perkins: Yes, sir. I have eight or ten others. These Negroes do not agree with each other.

Chairman Ickes: I was criticized for appointing Foreman. It seems to me that he will give them better service than a Negro would in his position.

Secretary Perkins: You have to watch your assignments very closely.

Chairman Ickes: I think Negroes have to be dealt with as individuals.

Secretary Perkins: The Negroes are treated differently as workers than any other group of people and it is just possible that one who has experienced discrimination against Negroes and who has the necessary training in other fields is not qualified to follow up their complaints. Other things being equal, a Negro investigator sent out would be able to bring back the facts better than anybody else.

General Johnson: If the Board thought well of it, we could appoint a Negro Advisory Committee. They are becoming very clamorous.

Secretary Perkins: A Negro (John P. Davis) made a good statement of the case. He pointed out that for the most part in the South where Negroes are not factory workers, they were domestics and that the domestics' wages are not increasing and that there is no likelihood of a code for domestics. I agreed with him that there would not be. He explained that in the meantime they are being paid $2.00 a week wages with no chance of raising them and that the price levels are increasing, perhaps by only small fractions, but

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still sufficient to make it difficult for those getting only $2.00 a week to get along.

Dr. Dickinson: Might I say that the units of the NRA--the Research Unit, I believe--was about to send down into the South a colored female research worker, who comes from Oregon, I believe; and who has done very competent work at the University of Chicago; but the thought is that the selection of the research worker from the Negro race to go down and make that investigation would perhaps meet with difficulties that would not be met by a research worker of some other race, and that if it were desired to win the confidence of the Negroes in the result of a research investigation, that purpose could be accomplished in a more tactful way which would be, instead of sending a research worker from their race, to put the investigation in the hands of some outstanding Negro, like Mr. Moton, or somebody of that kind; and then if he wanted, to let him employ the research worker. That was my suggestion, but the point here is whether this research worker shall be given her ticket and sent down there this afternoon.

General Johnson: I stopped that. I think it was very unwise.

Dr. Ezekiel: We would be playing with fire to send a Northern trained Negro to the South and certainly anyone trained in Chicago.

All this complaint and agitation brought further efforts by Negroes. First of all, a number of Negro organizations united under two young men in Washington and formed a Joint Committee on National Recovery which proceeded to agitate for better conditions and to interrogate leaders of the NRA. This committee formed in July, 1933, included twenty-four member organizations.

Of these organizations, ~~10~~ ten were religious, ~~4~~ four academic fraternities and sororities, ~~1~~ one a fraternal order, ~~1~~ one an organization for agitation and reform, ~~4~~ four organizations of professional men, ~~1~~ one an organization for club work and ~~3~~ three industrial organizations.

If we divide these organizations according to their outlook on economics and industry, we find that half are reactionary in outlook or believe in the essential soundness of the present capitalistic system. Of the other ~~12~~ twelve, ~~8~~ eight may be classed as liberal in their economic outlook, while ~~2~~ two are distinctly labor organizations and ~~2~~ two organizations of capitalists. Under these circumstances, it was naturally impossible that the Joint Committee should attempt to lay down any guiding program.

There was only one matter on which all the organizations could agree, and that was that in the administration of the recovery program there should be as little color discrimination as possible. But as to the program itself, its general objectives and measures, it had nothing to say and it certainly had no desire to consider or lay down

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distinct program for the guidance and protection of the Negro race in industry.

The Urban League did not join the Joint Committee, but attempted to set up an Emergency Advisory Council. T. Arnold Hill, acting executive secretary, in sending out an open letter to Negro workers urging them to organize Workers' Councils, wrote in part:

> "For fourteen months we have been witnessing in the United States a most unprecedented effort at economic stabilization. The cause of labor is riding 'high, wide and handsome,' with the possibility for attaining many desirable goals. Yet the cause of Negro workers has not been one with labor's general aims. The appeals of social organizations in your behalf to the National Recovery Administration, the American Federation of Labor, independent labor organizations and many persons of influence and prestige, while partially successful, have fallen far short of the desired goal. These shortcomings have convinced us that the position of Negro workers will strengthen only if they themselves realize the necessity for action."

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Apparently this proposed organization has never actually functioned, and the Secretary, E. J. Jones, Adviser in the Department of Commerce, seems to have turned to the movement for fully restored capitalism. On the other hand, the NRA, stirred by the investigator's complaints and pitiless publicity of John P. Davis and Robert Weaver, who headed the Joint Committee, executed an adroit flank movement and invited Dr. Weaver to join Clark Foreman as Adviser on Negroes in the Department of the Interior. Davis and others protested against Weaver's acceptance, but nevertheless, he eventually accepted.

August 9, 1933, the FERA authorized funds to be used for the hiring of unemployed teachers. Dr. Ambrose Caliver, from the Office of Education in the Department of the Interior, was put in charge of Educational Relief for Negroes in December, 1933.

When conditions got worse in October, 1933, the FERA inaugurated a Civil Works program, November, 1933. This was to provide work at once for 4,000,000 unemployed persons on short-time public projects and $400,000,000 was allocated to finance this plan.

A Negro, Forrester Washington of the School of Social Work in Atlanta, Georgia, was appointed as Director of Negro Work in the FERA. He selected a tentative

body of welfare workers to help him, but after a few months, resigned, because he found he was to be given no real power. His assistant was named as his successor, but instead of being designated as "Director of Negro Work," he was called the "Colored Assistant in the Correspondence Division." He received complaints from Negroes concerning the administration of relief funds by local authorities and communicated with the state administrator.

The Farm Credit Administration was created by Executive Order and is under a Governor appointed by the President. The purpose is to provide a complete and coordinate credit system for agriculture. One colored man, Henry Hunt, is assistant to the Governor and has an office with a secretary and stenographer. He receives complaints from the colored farmers and makes every effort to remedy injustices placed upon Negroes in the administration of the funds. He has no administrative responsibility, but makes observation tours and inquiries at the offices of the Federal Land Banks.

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~~The Federal Credit Union act is to make available to people of small means credit for provident purposes.~~

Among the Negro appointments eventually made in the New Deal administration were 2 in the Department of Labor, 9 in the Department of the Interior, including the re-assignment of Ambrose Caliver from his office as Specialist in Negro Education to Specialist in Educational Relief among Negroes under the FERA, 3 in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, 1 of whom resigned after 7 months' experience, 1 publicity man who filled Negro newspapers with rosy reports about the New Deal and was reassigned to the FERA, 1 in the Farm Credit Administration, 1 in the Public Health service, 1 in the Bureau of the Census, an old employee who was given work as Specialist on Negro Statistics, 1 in the Department of Commerce and also 1 appointee to the Consumers' Advisory Board, but he soon resigned.

Beside these appointees, there are many subordinate and clerical appointees, as for instance, some 20 in the FERA.

The result, then, of Negro criticism was a corps of Negro advisers and a few Negroes in subordinate, administrative and clerical positions. The adviser could exercise much influence or none, according to his own training, ability and personality and according to the character of the administrative official whose case he has. A subservient Negro and an official disposed to ignore or merely pacify Negroes renders as the system ineffectual and this was true in the case of several appointees. On the other hand, a conscientious cabinet officer who could depend on the knowledge, courage and tact of his Negro adviser could accomplish much and this was proven in at least 2 cases.

Many conferences between Negroes and New Deal officials were had. December 14, 1933, there was a conference in the Carnegie Library building at Howard University, attended by 50 or more Negroes, to consider the differentials in the NRA code. Twenty Negroes and 30 whites were there. They adopted no resolutions and came to no conclusions.

Official reports tells us of other conferences held in Washington under Government auspices. "These gatherings include such interests as Child Welfare, Code Hearings of various industries and relief problems. Special conferences on Negro welfare have been held in connection with subsistence homesteads and an Interdepartmental Group has discussed agricultural adjustments, labor in general and employment in Government buildings in the interest of the Negro. This Interdepartmental Group is made up

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hand, a conscientious cabinet officer who could depend on the knowledge, courage and tact of his Negro adviser could accomplish much, and this was proven in at least two cases.

Many conferences have been held between New Deal officials and representative Negro leaders. There was a conference held December 1933 in Washington, attended by 20 Negroes and 30 whites, to consider the differentials in the N.R.A. codes. However, this conference came to no official conclusions. Many other conferences have been held under Government auspices. These gathering have included such interests as Child Welfare, Code Hearings of various industries, Relief programs, Subsistence Homesteads, Agricultural Adjustment and the like. An "Interdepartmental Group", made up of representatives of the various departments and administrations whose interests touch the Negro, has been appointed by cabinet officers to coordinate Negro activities. Special mention should be made to an important conference held in Washington, May 1934 to survey the state of Negro education, at which Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt made a memorable address favorable to the Negro and the principle of social justice. Other conferences have been called by Secretary Roper of the Department of Commerce to discuss the economic situation with respect to the Negro.,

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Thus the New Deal has given more attention to Negro affairs and welfare than previous administrations and has had the advice and assistance of trained, non-partisan Negro leaders and men of affairs rather than professional politicians, but ~~with~~ good intentions and ~~professional~~ ~~handicapped~~ have been seriously handicapped in the practical results by inability or lack of courage to insist ~~upon~~ no discrimination in the local administration of its remedial measures and by the presence of reactionary officials within the government ranks.

of representatives of the various departments and administrations, appointed by the cabinet officers and administrators, to coordinate Negro activities in the various departments and administrations. In this connection, special reference should be made to the educational conferences held in Washington last spring for the purpose of advancing education among Negroes at which Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt made her memorable address favorable to the Negro; and to the conference of Negro leaders called last fall by Secretary Daniel C. Roper of the Department of Commerce to discuss the economic welfare of the race."

Discussion and Reading

1. Should Negro appointees of the New Deal have been given real authority?
2. Should the Codes have omitted servants and laborers?
3. Can a white or colored ~~appointee~~ administrator best serve Negro interests?

(Consult Reports of the Joint Committee on National Recovery," files of Colored periodicals and D Shricker: "Alien Americans")

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Chapter ~~X~~ IX

THE PROMISE OF RESTORED CAPITALISM

Reaction against the effort of the New Deal ~~to~~ to radically re-organize the basis of American industry has now set in due to the decisions of the Supreme Court and will probably swell to an increasing if not irresistible current. While something will doubtless remain of the effort to compel by Federal action the conduct of industry for the public benefit rather than for private profit, it does not seem at present as though these efforts were going to be widespread or fundamental.

If, now, instead of reform in industry, we are going to have the restoration of the capitalistic regime, what hope in that restoration is there for the American Negro? One gets an idea of what is in the mind of capital by studying the efforts of the Department of Commerce. The Department of Commerce has definitely conceived itself as the organ of American business and the present secretary, Daniell C. Roper, has been devoting something of his time to the situation of the American Negro. In a nation-wide broadcast September 23, Mr. Roper called attention to Negro business and some of its accomplishments.

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"From my study of the Federal Census statistics as they reveal the Negro's progress in business, I cite one significant feature, seldom stressed. I refer to your successful commercial ventures in the larger urban communities. Negro merchants, operating retail stores in fifteen of our largest cities, are said to thus serve about two million people. There are in these fifteen cities over 5,700 retail stores with approximately 10,000 colored proprietors and employees. The net sales of these retail stores have run as high in a given year as $27,000,000. This appreciable expansion in business indicates the vast potentialities for future developments in this field. I feel that this feature in business for Negroes should be stressed along with agricultural pursuits, dentistry, medicine and such other industrial and professional lines as required for complete service to the race by representatives of the rade when and if desired by colored people.

"One of the most important objectives to be attained by the colored race today is the establishment of the Negro business man in his rightful place in our economic system, thus enabling him to operate his business efficiently, multiply his resources and earnings and expand his buying power to such an extent that it will be of even greater

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help and influence upon himself and the economic life of our country...."

The result of Mr. Roper's activity was the appointment of E. K. Jones of the Urban League as the Adviser on Negro Affairs, November 1, 1933. Mr. Jones has prepared a bibliography on Negro business; has furnished information to persons planning to go into business; has held conferences with the Farm Credit Administration and Federal Housing Administration. In many cases, he has acted as liaison between Negro business and the Department of Commerce, and encouraged lecturers and writers. Work has been secured for a thousand or more trained Negroes.

Here, we have clear vision of a return to the earlier ideas of Mr. Washington and the long stressed program of the National Negro Business League. Is this a real way of escape for American Negroes? It is not. In the first place, the old idea of accumulating small capital by thrift and going into business is largely unreal today. Capital is concentrated in immense amounts and the credit agencies monopolize its division and allocation. This means that the small business man is being largely forced out of business.

The individual grocery store cannot maintain competition with the chain store, particularly when the chain store becomes a vertical organization, buying its own raw material and manufacturing and preparing its goods. The small bank will be more and more forced to be part of a large chain. The small insurance organization will not be able to stand up in resources or guarantees of security against the great aggregation of capital in the larger associations. There may be limits beyond which this concentration and monopoly of capital will not go, and many persons expect by use of the vote and political power, not to displace the private ownership and control of capital, but to supplement them by careful public control. This is the program of the greater nations in the world,--the United States, Great Britain and France. It is not a program, however, that seems to promise success. The utmost that it is apparently able to do is to produce a series of cycles of prosperity and depression with the well-grounded fear that the length and time between depressions will not increase and the eras of prosperity will not really restore and rebuild the economic organization.

But whatever the facts may be so far as these nations are concerned, when it comes to a minority and disadvantaged group like that of the American Negro, a restoration

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of the full power of the capitalistic system in the United States can mean to them little more than a restoration of their former unfortunate condition. They may be restored as small landholders and farm tenants, but with the control over machines and markets which capital has in the United States, there is no real prosperity for the Negro farmer. They may retain their place as servants in low-paid positions with the social stigma which menial service carries. The place which they secure in industry will depend upon their relation to the labor movement and to the plans of the leaders of organized labor.

There is, therefore, only one real opening and real plan in the restoration of complete capitalism for the Negro and that is the old plan which seeks to admit to the ranks of capitalists enough of the Negro bourgeoisie to enable them to share in the exploitation chiefly of Negro labor and to some extent of white labor. So far as the attitude of white capitalists is concerned, it is very doubtful if they will be more minded tomorrow than today to admit the Negro capitalists, save to small, outlying fields where the chances of success are very small.

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This means that young men who have received in Northern and Southern colleges the prevailing economic training will be forced by severe competition to resort in the future, as they have to some extent in the past, to all of the worst forms of exploitation. They will incur, therefore, the resentment and hatred of their own labor classes and any hope of solidarity in the fight of American Negroes against race prejudice or for their own material advancement will be gone. Furthermore, the laboring classes which the colored business man can exploit will be those receiving the least wages and working under the worst conditions. The possibility of exploiting them will depend upon unfair laws and administration and inevitably the class interests of colored business men will be thrown with those very elements that today make capitalistic methods disreputable and harmful. In the South, particularly, the methods of taxation, the fines and penalities, the laws for the collection of debts, the system of installment paying, the irresponsible advertising, the agents and collectors, who swarm in Negro homes, all those must inevitably have back of them the support of Negro business; who will either resort to these methods themselves or fail. There is, then, under ordinary and probable circumstances, no chance for an ultimate economic emancipation of Negroes through the ordinary working of Negro business.

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Discussion and Reading

1. Can Negro business develop in competition with white business?

2. Will the philanthropy of the wealthy solve the Negro problem?

3. Does the depression emphasize or disprove the theories of Booker T. Washington?

(Consult Harris, "Black Capitalism"; United States Bureau of the Census, "Negroes in the United States, 1920-1932".)

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CHAPTER X

THE PROMISE OF LABOR ALLIANCE

Because of the facts marshalled in the last chapter, it has been the growing hope of many thinking American Negroes that the future advance of Negro must be an alliance with the labor movement in the United States. This is a revolution in thought from the earlier generations. The legacy of slavery was an abject admiration of aristocracy, wealth and power. The ordinary descendant of Negro slaves had the ambition to be rich and powerful and gain his livelihood through the hiring and use of laborers. It has taken hard experience and careful thought for a considerable number of American Negroes to see that they are an integral part of the labor movement of the world, logically, if not actually.

If, corresponding to this, there had been the feeling on the part of white labor in the United States that Negroes did belong in the organized labor movement and if Negroes had been welcomed into it and given their chance to work at a decent wage, the history of the United States would have been different. Far from this being so, the experience of the Negro laborer confirms him in the belief of the Negro bourgeois; namely, that capital is his friend and organized labor his enemy.

Personal experiences of laborers emphasize this attitude far beyond the actual facts. The employer who dangerously foments race prejudice and uses its results to cut down the wages of labor and make the conditions of work administer to his greater profit, can easily hide behind anonymity, pursue his aims through agents or even accomplish the results unconsciously. But the laborer who hates Negroes or fears their competition or the undercutting of wages, works personally and openly by means of strikes, mobs and violence. Thus the Negro worker in the United States can not forget the attitude of organized labor toward him for well-nigh two centuries.

It happens, however, that today the labor movement is bringing changes in the attitude of organized labor. The movement toward shop unions and vertical unionization within the factories and the so-called left-wing unions, all these have worked to break down the Color Line and to admit Negro labor where the Negroes apply and are willing to abide by union rules. But this movement is still small as compared with the craft unions represented by the American Federation of Labor. There comes, therefore, a practical matter of policy. How far can Negro labor unite with a minority of

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white laborers and work with them toward the emancipation of labor regardless of race? Manifestly, so far as the labor movement in the United States is working toward the goal of increasing wages and limiting profits; of maintaining the political power of the labor vote and using it for such reorganization of industry as will limit exploitation and divide the national income on some basis of reason and desert rather than by chance and uncurbed power. So far as this is true, the Negro must more and more become a part of the labor movement if he expects to be a modern citizen of a modern country.

If we include agriculture, the wage earners of the United States in 1930 were 10 9/10 per cent organized as compared with an organization of 35% which Germany used to have and an even higher percentage in Great Britain. Even if we exclude agriculture and domestic service and clerks, labor in the United States is only 1/5 organized. Further than this, 4/5 of this organized labor is in craft unions which are seeking the advance of small groups of skilled labor without regard for the situation of the mass laborers.

The conscious labor movement in the United States which is seeking the uplift of the laboring classes, consists of 1/2 million workers to whom may be added, however, those in the American Federation of Labor who are rebelling against the craft organization system.

These rebels have been increasing in number and power, but they are still considerably in the minority. In practically all the craft unions, with a few exceptions, Negroes are excluded, either by constitutional provision or by the invariable vote of local unions and even those Negroes in the union are liable to discrimination and refusal of recognition. Here, manifestly, there is as yet only a small basis of opportunity for the Negro to co-operate with the union labor movement. A practical labor alliance in his real mass interests is not at present available to the Negro.

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provision or by the invariable vote of local unions. Even those Negroes in separate locals are liable to discrimination and refusal of recognition. Here manifestly, there is a small basis of opportunity for the Negro to cooperate with organized labor. Yet Negro labor ought by all means to unite in union membership with their fellow workers North and South, and take part in worker's councils. But to say that a common front of American Negro labor with a half million out of five million organized laborers constitutes a real labor alliance seriously overstates the case.

The Radical Labor Movement - Suppose, now, that the Negro turns to the promise of socialism whither I have long looked for salvation. I was once a member of the celebrated Local No. 1. in New York. I am convinced of the essential truth of the Marxian philosophy and believe that eventually land, machines and materials must belong to the state, that private profit must be abolished, that the system of exploiting labor must disappear, that people who work must have essentially equal income and that in their hands the political rulership of the state must eventually rest. But notwithstanding the fact that I believe that this is the truth and that this truth is being gradually exemplified by the Russian experiment, I must nevertheless ask myself seriously, as must every American Negro: "Is there any automatic power in socialism to override and suppress race prejudice"? This has not been proven in America. The analogy of the Jews in Russia does not parallel our case and may easily be misleading.

On the other hand, the tendency of the radical labor movement is not to stop with the socialistic outline, but to embrace communism and that extreme form of it which believes in revolution as the only solution of our present problems. There can be no

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doubt of the great contribution which Karl Marx has made to civilization; of his indefatigable industry, his broad knowledge and keen insight into the ills of the economic world. But along with this went his transformation of Hegelian philosophy into a complete system of economic determinism, and an integral part of this system as laid down by the celebrated 'Communist Manifesto' was that the breaking up of the capitalistic system must come by inevitable revolution through which the exploited proletariat would violently take complete charge of the state and conduct it in its own interests.

Most American communists have become dogmatic exponents of the inspired word of Karl Marx as they read it. They believe, apparently in immediate, violent and bloody revolution and make it one of their main objectives. This is a silly program even for white men. For American colored men, it is suicidal.

In the first place, its logical basis is by no means sound. The great and fundamental change in the organization of industry which Karl Marx foresaw must, to be sure, be brought about by revolution; but whether in all times and places and under all circumstances that revolution is going to involve violence, war and bloodshed, is a question which every sincere follower of Marx has a right to doubt.

4 [redacted]-Here then is the chance for two points of view. Liberals and Socialists may agree with Marx in his terrific arraignment of capitalistic exploitation. They may believe firmly that the industrial organization which divides society into two main classes,-one of laborers without capital who must sell their labor, and the other of the owners of machines and materials who get their chief income not from their work, but from ownership of the products of labor is wrong. They may firmly believe that this system must be changed into a state where the political power is in

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the hands of the masses and the state is conducted in the interests of those who work and not in the interests of the owners of capital. But these same persons may not believe that this development is coming by inevitable violence. They may, on the contrary, insist that great and fateful economic changes have come in the world since 1848. Increased concentration of capital has not brought universal poverty and despair among laborers, but higher wages and better standards of life. Universal suffrage, including that of women, is widely exercised. While these great changes do not essentially alter the basic conflict, they do make it possible to believe fundamental reform may be brought about by methods of peace and reason, if the masses interested work for this end.

In any real social revolution, every step that saves violence is to the glory of the great end. We should not forget that revolution is not the objective of socialism or communism rightly conceived, the real objective is social justice, and if haply the world can find that justice without blood, the world is the infinite gainer.

Leaving out for the moment the grave question whether or not, with the race hate now prevalent, the Negro in the case of a violent social revolution might not stand between the two factions as buffer and victim, it is clearly the part of wisdom for the American Negro to make social justice and not revolution the objective of his social effort and loyalty. The first duty of workers is not to fight but to convince themselves that union of workers, class solidarity, is better than force and a substitute for it.

The real problem, then, is this concert of the workers. The real emphasis today should be not on revolution but on class consciousness. and labor's uplift. This is the job of socialism, and the first proof of conversion is the abolition of color and race prejudice among the laboring class.

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Discussion and Reading

1. Should Negroes join trade unions?

2. Should Negroes become strikebreakers?

3. Is white labor the enemy of Negro labor?

(Consult Spero and Harris, "The Black Worker"; Wesley, "Negro Labor".)

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CHAPTER XI.

CONSUMER'S ORGANIZATION

Growing industrialization and the unfair use of the Negro as a poorly paid and irregularly employed labor reserve, checked the economic possibilities of Booker Washington's plan. The attitude of labor leaders, lack of education and vision among the laboring classes and the monopoly of certain lines of employment made possible by excluding Negro labor, ruined the chances of raising Negro labor through trade union organization. The present radical and revolutionary program lacks both the logic and power to emancipate the Negro.

The gravity of the Negro's condition is shown in the small success of the current reconstruction efforts of the Federal Government. Wherever relief is to be administered by state and local agencies, wherever work is to be allocated, wherever codes are to be administered, the Negro must depend absolutely upon the good-will of his white neighbors and unless public opinion is unusually favorable, relief will come to him after everyone else has been served; jobs will be given him after all others are at work, and his wages will be held at the lowest point.

This situation cannot last forever. The labor movement will see sooner or later that the black worker is absolutely essential to its success. Radical communists will learn that the Negro has too much sense to become the shock troops of its revolution. But meantime, while the nation is regaining its balance on new foundations, and while the labor movement is ridding itself of caste, the Negro is compelled to live and work, and his efforts should begin with the undoubted power of the Negro as a consumer. Two million eight hundred thousand Negro families must spend at least two billion

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dollars a year. There can be no reasonable doubt but that proper adult education and economic organization among intelligent American Negroes can so direct this spending as gradually to accomplish the following results:

1. More effective spending so as to secure better goods and services for less money, releasing some surplus for a higher plane of living and for increased social effort.
2. An organization of spending power so as to increase the employment of those Negroes who already produce goods and services which Negro consumers use, thus making Negro employment more secure.
3. A plan to induce Negroes of the requisite training to furnish other goods and services beside what they are now furnishing, backed by a definite organization of Negro consumers who would guarantee the sale of such goods and services regularly; [redacted] thus expanding Negro production.
4. Continued effort to compete with national industry only in those lines and under those circumstances where the level of Negro efficiency is so raised that the total effect upon national welfare would be to increase and not diminish it.
5. Continued effort to integrate this organization of consumers' co-operation with the efforts of white consumers and producers [redacted] no Color Line is drawn and to the extent that integration of the Negro [redacted] industry under the best industrial conditions is allowed and encouraged.

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These are the general outlines for a sound recovery of Negro industry, or perhaps one would better say, of initiation of the Negro into modern industry, with intelligent comprehension of the industrial process and a plane of living enabling him to become an integral part of the nation's life and of modern human culture.

There are those who insist that the American Negro must stand or fall by his alliance with white Americans; that separation in any degree, physical or social, is impossible and that either, therefore, the Negro must take his stand with exploiting capitalists or with the craft unions or with the communists. To such people it is not convincing to point out that a poor group, like the American Negroes, cannot gain any effective admission to the ranks of capitalism, even though they wish to and thought it was the wisest thing; and secondly, that they cannot co-operate with such craft unions as will not admit them to membership; and that it is suicidal for them to try to lead violent revolution in the United States. Moreover, and in addition to this, whether Negroes can act separately or not is settled by the fact that in so large a measure they already do.

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[redacted] We hardly need to remind ourselves of the degree to which we form ourselves today a separate nation within a nation. Most of us are in separate churches and separate schools; we live largely in separate parts of the city and country districts; we marry almost entirely within our own group and have our own social activities; we get at least a part of our news from our own newspapers and attend our own theaters and entertainments, even if white men run them.

In our economic life, the separation is not so complete and yet it is considerable and much more thorough-going than we are apt to remember. I pointed out in 1907 what I then called the "Group Economy" among American Negroes. It consists of such an arrangement

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of industries and services within the Negro group that the group tends to become a closed economic circle somewhat independent of the surrounding white world. The recognition of this fact explains many of the anomalies which puzzle the student of the Negro American.

"You used to see numbers of colored barbers;you are tempted to think they are all gone--yet today there are more Negro barbers in the United States than ever before, but also at the same time a larger number than ever before cater solely to colored trade where they have a monopoly. Because the Negro lawyer, physician and teacher serve almost exclusively a colored clientage, their very existence is half forgotten. The new Negro business men are not successors of the old; there used to be Negro business men in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore catering to white trade. The new Negro business man caters largely to Negro trade. So far has this gone that today in every city of the United States with a considerable Negro population, the colored group is serving itself with religious ministration, medical care, legal advice and education of children: and to a growing degree with food, houses, books and newspapers. So extraordinary has this development been that it forms a large and growing part in the economy in the case of fully one-half of the Negroes of the United States."

What was true in 1907 is even more true in 1935. A great deal of this segregation is not only unnecessary but harmful and all of it ought sometime to disappear. But it will not disappear immediately, nor [redacted] in our day; and it looks distinctly to me as though we will see more race segregation in the United States in the near future than in the past.

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(91) ~~The Anti-Segregation Right.~~ It has long been the object of Negro organizations to get rid of this segregation by agitation, appeal, recourse to the courts, new legislation and even direct action. After the Reconstruction Acts and for fifty years up until the New York Civil Rights Bill, we united to put upon the statute books bills which would forbid this kind of segregation and discrimination in public places. Charles Sumner, perhaps our greatest friend, died pleading for this civil emancipation. The movement failed, yet it did not all fail. We have today appreciably wider range of civil rights than we had fifty years ago; nevertheless, we still are discriminated against in school and church, in travel and theater, in parks and playgrounds, in work and wage. We recognize from this experience, that back of law must lie public opinion. ~~and~~ It was the basic thought that lay back of the Niagara movement and the N.A.A.C.P. that if once we could bring the facts of our desert and suffering before influential portions of the American public, that we would receive enough co-operation and ~~xxx~~ sympathy to break down the main lines of segregation.

We have worked at that program for a quarter of a century, more continuously and assidiously and with larger expenditures of money than the Negro ever before put into one line of reform action. The result has not been complete failure. The legal defense work has a splendid record of accomplishment; the agitation has made millions listen; but we cannot point to substantial and undoubted advance against the general policy of race ~~segregation~~ discrimination in this land. The work, of course ought to go on. There never ought to be a time ~~xxx~~ when in the United States, both by organized effort and by individual protest, we should not continue to say to this nation that a separation of men simply by race and color is not only illogical but a distinct slap in the face of civilization.

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~~Communistic segregation~~ But our program in the future cannot be confined to this. It has got to be changed from one mainly of agitation and appeal to one of inner organization for self-defense. Not for offense, not for blind Chauvinism, but for sheer existence. If we were today earning a living; if we had average incomes which would support life on a plane that meant health, education and the essentials of culture, we could sit down before the ramparts of race hate and continue our slow, determined, unceasing undermining of the walls. But we are on the edge of starvation and we do not need to be. Most persons writing concerning the present depression seem to regard the Negro as utterly helpless; and even in normal times the current philosophy is that both in the United States and elsewhere, we are absolutely at the mercy of the surrounding economic organization. This assumption arises from the fact that we believe that no group can approach economic independence or a position of self-sustaining inter-dependence unless it is organized as a nation with law-making powers, armies and police.

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On the other hand, we should remember that the American Negro numbers about 12,000,000 and thus we are much larger than either Denmark, Greece, Hungary, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal or Sweden and very nearly the size of Egypt, half the size of Spain, and one-third the size of Brazil. This surely indicates that we must have great economic power. This power is curtailed by the fact that we have no decisive economic place in production or transportation, in commerce or credit, or in government; we sell our labor and farm produce at prices determined by a market in which we have little influence; and we must buy what is offered to us at prices determined by others.

~~Consumer Power. Yet~~ Here is food for thought. The economic process today does not logically begin with production, ~~but~~ but with consumption. We do not consume in order to produce. We produce in order to consume. We are misled as to this basic fact, because for two centuries emphasis has been put upon the production of goods and their transportation and their sale. In the next few centuries this is going to be changed and we are going to look more toward the welfare and power of the buyer. As a buyer, the Negro spends something like two thousand million dollars each year. How much exercise of judgment has he in this buying? At first, it may seem that he has a little. ~~In fact~~ However, he has a great deal. He has a wide choice of stores which he will patronize. He has a wide choice of articles of food and clothing. He has some choice in the selection of housing material. In fact, in nearly everything that he buys, either of goods or services, he has a power which today is not organized and which he does not use.

Recently, we have had some intimation of what he can do. The American Negro can, to a large extent, confine his patronage to such retail stores as employ colored people and treat colored customers with honesty and courtesy. This was shown by campaigns in Chicago, Washington and New York. The net results in actual employment has not been large, but the total effort has been limited and spasmodic. There can be little doubt but that the five million Negroes living in cities could by quiet mass pressure compel the employment of 10 to 15 thousand Negroes next year in the retail stores where they buy goods.

In the matter of public service agencies, like telegraph, telephone, electric power, railroads and the like, the Negro, through

his political power and his power as a consumer, can compel a wider employment of colored people and greater courtesy and consideration in the treatment of colored customers. This has already been shown by increased use in instances of colored collectors, messengers, ticket-takers and ushers. The possibilities here reach into many tens of thousands, once Negroes realize their power.

¶ Such mass and racial demands have, of course, difficulties and invite retaliation. The campaign of the Chicago Whip to put Negro clerks into Southside chain stores led to the collapse of the paper through withdrawal of advertising. Conceivably a racial demand for employment might lead to discharge of colored workers in concerns with a white clientele. But surely Negro papers cannot be independent and rely on inimical advertising; and white concerns hiring Negroes after all, are thinking of profits and not of race.

¶ [redacted]-There is a vast field for the organization of mutual services among Negroes which has been almost untouched. Negroes raise and prepare foods; they buy it and eat it. Much of the food which they buy and eat is raised and prepared by Negroes. Much more might be. Much of the raw material raised on Negro farms and prepared by Negro workers is consumed by Negro buyers. In addition to this, many services which are rendered Negroes by white people and many services which Negroes render to white people could by thought, training and organization be rendered to Negroes, thus inducing more sympathetic service and more regular employment. By group buying at wholesale instead of [redacted] retail, by organized and country-wide effort instead of by single stores, and by turning the profits back to the buyer to secure his interest and educate him in economics, a great deal could be saved and many Negroes lucratively employed.

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The people who can buy, build and maintain church edifices to the value of $60, 000,000, could do the same thing with regard to homes and tenements, if they were organized and trained to do it. In fine, by co-operative effort in doing their own laundry, making their own bread, preparing most of their food, making a considerable part of their clothes, doing their own repairing of all sorts, printing their own papers and books and in hundreds of other ways, the colored people of the United States ~~could~~ if they put their mind to it and secured the proper training, could spend a considerable part of two thousand million dollars each year in hiring themselves at decent wages to perform services which the Negro group needs; and they could do this without antagonism to the white group, without any essential change of law and without a national organization involving army and police. They could even do it without the help of a protective tariff because color prejudice and race loyalty furnishes a certain amount of the same kind of protection to the Negro which the tariff furnishes manufacturers.

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~~Standing here, a new school of Negro thought is arising.~~ Of course, we believe in the ultimate uniting of mankind and in a unified American nation with economic classes and racial barriers leveled; but we believe that this ideal is to be realized only by such intensified class and race consciousness as will bring irresistible force rather than mere sentimental and moral appeal to bear on the motives and actions of men for justice and equality.

~~[redacted]~~ The peculiar situation of Negroes in America offers an unusual chance. Negroes cast today probably two million votes in a total of 40 million and their vote will increase. This gives them, particularly in Northern cities and at critical times, a chance to hold a very considerable balance of

power and the mere threat of this being used intelligently and with determination may often mean much. Again, the consuming power of 2,800,00 Negro families has recently been estimated at 166 million dollars a month--a tremendous power when intelligently directed. Their man-power as laborers probably equals that of Mexico or Yugoslavia. Their illiteracy is much lower than that of Spain of Italy. Their estimated per capital wealth ($215 according to the Tuskegee Year Book) about equals that of Japan (~~$~~ 44 according to the Encyclopedia Britannica).

For a nation with this start in culture and efficiency to sit down and await the salvation of a white God is idiotic. With the use of their political power, their power as consumers and their brains, added to that chance of personal appeal which proximity and neighborhood always gives to human beings, Negroes can develop in the United States an economic nation within a nation, able to work through inner co-operation, to found its own institutions, to educate its genius and at the same time, withoug mob violence or extremes of race hatred, to keep in helpful touch and large co-operation ~~xxfxundxxxxxwxxxxx

it. They think that we have only silently to wait for the white people to settle the problem for us; and finally and predominantly, they think that the problem of 12 million Negro people, mostly poor, ignorant workers, is going to be settled by having their more educated and wealthy classes gradually and continually escape from their race into the mass of American people, leaving the dregs to sink, suffer and die.

Such persons claim with much right, that the plight of the Negro masses is not the fault of the ~~Emerging Elite~~ Talented Tenth; that the slavery and exploitation which has reduced Negroes to their present level or at any rate hindered them from rising, is the fault of the white world; and that the age-long process of raising a group is through the escape of its upper class into welcome fellowship with risen peoples; that for the intelligentsia among Negroes to bend their backs to the task of lifting the mass of people would mean their own ultimate submergence. There is logic in this answer, but futile logic.

If the leading Negro classes cannot assume and bear the uplift of their own proletariat, they are doomed for time and eternity. It is not a case of ethics; it's a plain case of must.

And the method by which this may be done is, first, for the American Negro to achieve a new economic solidarity. This is not turning back to the older program of Booker T. Washington, although Mr. Washington envisaged something of this in collusion with the capitalist system and with its philanthropic cooperation. ~~cooperation of white capitalists.~~ He thought Negro capitalists would gain the opportunity to exploit their own masses and that the mutual interests of capital would integrate these black masters of industry into the group of the ruling captains of industry throughout the nation. This plan failed and can never be restored. But just as

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the Jews in the dawning of the new capitalism had a chance to enter the new organization of industry and become intrenched there before the masses of the world ~~f~~ foresaw the trend, just so today there is a chance for the Negro to organize in fact the co-operative and socialistic state within his own group by letting his farmers feed his artisans and his technicians guide his home industries and his thinkers plan this integration of cooperation, while his artists dramatize and beautify the struggle to achieve economic independence. To doubt that this is possible is to doubt the essential humanity and the quality of brains which American Negroes ~~have~~ possess.

~~The Fear of Segregation~~ No sooner is this proposed, however, than a great fear sweeps over the older group of Negroes. They cry "No Segregation," no further yielding to prejudice and race separation." It is true that such effort at group planning for the benefit of American Negroes does imply organized and deliberate self-segregation. And there are plenty of people in the United States who would be only too willing to make a plan of this sort an excuse to increase such legal and customary segregation between the races as already exists. This threat which many Negroes see is no mere mirage. What of it? It must be faced. If the salvation, economicand spiritual, of the American Negro calls for an increase in American race segregation and prejudice, then increase must come. Notwithstanding this, American Negroes have got to plan for their economic salvation and ~~t~~ This social survival of colored folk in America means in a real sense the survival of colored folk in the world and the building of a full humanity instead of a petty white tyranny.

The immediate reaction of most white and colored people to

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this suggestion will be that the thing cannot be done. Negro scholars have from time to time emphasized the fact that no nation within a nation can be built because of the attitude of the dominant majority and because all legal and ~~the~~ police power are out of our hands and because large industry, like steel and electric power, are organized on a national basis and impenetrable by small groups. White folk, on the other hand, simply say that granting certain obvious possibilities, the American Negro has not the ability to engineer so delicate a social operation calling for such self-restraint, careful organization and ingenious leadership. In answer to both these groups, it may be said that this matter of a nation within a nation has already been partially accomplished in the organization of a Negro church, the Negro school and retail Negro business; and with all the justly due criticism, the result has been astonishing.

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It is becoming clearer to larger groups of American Negroes that, through voluntary and increased segregation, by careful autonomy and planned economic organization, we can build so strong and ~~an~~ efficient a group of 12 million men that no hostile group can continue to ~~to~~ refuse them fellowship and equality.

In round numbers, American Negroes were thus employed in 1930:

2,000,000	farmers
1,500,000	common laborers
1,000,000	servants
800,000	skilled and semi-skilled workers
150,000	in public and professional service
50,000	in commercial employment

Only the 800,000 skilled and semi-skilled laborers,--the miners, steel-workers, automobile workers, tobacco workers and the like--are integrated in basic industry and could not easily find support otherwise. But the farmers and farm laborers, the

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common laborers and most of the servants are ready and eager for any work which guarantees a living wage, continuous employment and decent treatment. Any subtraction from the mass of half employed and exploited workers, any new line of work for 50,000 or 500,000 of these marginal workers would not only directly save them but indirectly raise the wage and thus better the treatment of all other Negro workers. Is it really impossible for us to employ 500,000 in ministering directly to our own needs? The Negro professional and business men are already so employed for the most part and some of the builders and mechanics.

Never before since the abolition of slavery have the Negroes of the United States had such motives for uniting in a desperate effort to save themselves. If they have the guidance of educated thought and of honest character, there are certain things that they can do as easily as they can eat and sleep and perhaps in these days more easily. The Negroes who eat food can arrange to buy a large part of it from those Negroes who raise food on their farms; the Negroes who use towels and sheets can buy them of Negroes who raise cotton and spin and weave it on machines which can be bought at public sale; the Negroes who wear clothes can have those clothes made, not by individual tailors and dressmakers, but by Negro members of the various clothing unions which have welcomed them and this effective demand can supply the necessary sewing and cutting machines; the Negroes who wear shoes can make those shoes on machines of the United Shoe Machinery just as easily as white workmen can make them; the homes that Negroes live in can be built by Negro carpenters and masons; and so on. This list could be carried out almost endlessly and in most cases, the actual exchange of goods

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and services thus indicated are already to some degree being carried out among Negroes; but the chief difficulty, now, is that the work has not been systematized, the advantages of the new highway transportation has not been taken into account, and the whole arrangement has been accidental and spasmodic rather than a carefully thought out and planned racial economy.

But, there is even a greater drawback and cause of failure than this lack of organization. It is that such co-operation as we have carried out within the race has been carried out in accordance with the private profit idea; that is, we have tried to make the incentive success and the enriching of our own owners of capital. What I propose is a complete revolution in that attitude; that we begin the process of training for socialism which must be done in every labor group in the world and in every country in the world, by organizing a nationwide collective system on a non-profit basis with the ideal that the consumer is the center and the beginning of the organization; and that to him all profits over the cost of production shall be returned. In these costs of production, however, we should provide not for starvation wages, not for the waste of advertising and not for goods that are merely cheap; we should be able to say to the man who pays at a Negro co-operative $1 instead of the 95 cents, which he might pay at the white chain store,-we could say to him: that small difference which you have paid insures the employment of Negroes at a decent living wage throughout the country; it insures you getting standard goods and pays for popular education of the people in the meaning and expansion of co-operation.

The real difficulty of any such organization would be the competition and undermining retaliation of surrounding capitalism, and above all, the question of brains and character among the Negroes

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who organize it. Of the competition of capital there can be no doubt. It would consist not simply in underselling, but in deception, in propaganda, in unjust laws and mob violence. In the end, it could only be counteracted by unusual race loyalty and by such combining of political power with the laboring classes of America as they could be made to agree to.

¶ The education of the leaders in the economic re-building of the American Negro group is also difficult. You cannot get honest business with dishonest men; you cannot get social planning with every person struggling for his own advancement.

The matter of character is difficult. A generation ago, character, honesty, straight-dealing, was emphasized in Negro schools and in public. But for twenty-five years and more, we have said little about it. Following the lead of white America and of the white world, we have put the stress upon intellectual sharpness; upon accomplishment regardless of methods; upon efficiency, even though it was immoral and destructive. We have got to turn about and while it is much easier to say this than to show how it can be done, the necessity of doing it is absolutely prerequisite to any plan for the rescue of American Negroes under any circumstances.

¶ Unless the present generation of Negroes can have their path lighted by some vast vision of unselfish accomplishment, our planning will be in vain. There is no doubt of the fact that those Negroes who have learned their economics in Northern institutions and those who are learning them today in most Negro institutions, are imbibing a reactionary capitalistic way of thinking which is directly opposed to the interests of American Negroes and of the laboring class in general. They come out of college knowing nothing of the issues of the modern crisis, knowing nothing of the labor movement, lightly criticizing Marx, Russia and communism. The process of securing among these men and among other persons who have the knowledge and the courage to teach a new system of Negro economics is, I admit, a discouraging one, but I believe nevertheless that in the near future we are going to have a body of economic leadership in the United States that can undertake the organization of the consumers' power among American Negroes and lead them to success.

¶ The attitude of our professional group must be changed. Already they are the center of a large co-operative movement. But they seek to monopolize this for

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private profit. We need socialized medicine, law and dentistry designed to preserve group health and prevent disease, and sustained by regular fees and limited and adequate salaries. 143

Especially must come planning for Negro health. The general medical practitioner among American Negroes, running an individual enterprise for private profit, must make way for the medical social worker and the nursing home. We must have health surveys, visiting nurses and hospitalization, and if we cannot get admission and decent treatment in public hospitals, we must have our own hospitals. Disease and death cannot wait for justice.

There is a further suggestion which I cannot refrain from making. It will be asked immediately: what social units or beginnings of organization can undertake this vaster regimentation of consumers' power? I answer: it can begin with the Negro church, which is the most complete and oldest and in some respects the most effective Negro institution. Without it, Negro business would be largely helpless and the connection between the church and the school is historic. But the Negro church today has come upon difficult days. Its theology and creed are no longer compelling; the training of its ministers is poor and ill-adapted to the function of the church. The housing of the church is often elaborate beyond its necessary social function, and to put it baldly, the Negro church needs something to do and someone to do it.

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But why would it not be possible for the Negro church to add to its organization a business manager: a man trained in business methods, particularly in a knowledge of non-profit business methods, who had studied the work of consumers' co-operation throughout Europe and in the United States. If ~~any~~ the church today furnishes recreation and information to its members, there is no reason why tomorrow it should not furnish coal, food, houses and clothes. A trained business manager, either running an organization under the auspices of the church, or taking charge of the whole business of the church, could accomplish this and eliminate the private profit motive from Negro economic organization. This would leave a chance for the Negro minister to be an ethical leader and source of intellectual information for his people, just as the Jewish rabbi is today in the reformed Jewish church. But, of course, it would mean also a new type of pastor. It would mean

that young men of high character and brains ~~would~~ going to theological schools where the whole course of study would be changed. There would be an end to liturgics, homiletics, ~~and~~ exegesis and Hebrew; and a stressing of economics,

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sociology, history, modern languages, music and art. Such young, vivid and honest men, freed from the necessity of these endless collections from the poverty of the poor, could talk about things that they were interested in on this earth, instead of confining themselves to heaven and hell.

I know how difficult and seemingly impossible this program appears in the mere stating. It would involve the elimination from the present church organization just as far as possible, of theology and supernaturalism. It would relegate miracles to the lore of fairy tales and prayer would become earnest and purposeful effort. Nevertheless, the Negro church and even the white church, faces grim alternatives: either it becomes a great social organ with ethical ideals based on a reorganized economics, or it becomes a futile and mouthy excrescence on society which will always be a refuge for reaction and superstition. Yet this change need be nothing revolutionary or sudden. The co-operative enterprise could be grafted on the church in the same way that organized charity and [illegible] and the visiting of the sick [illegible] a part of its present program. It could gradually be incorporated into the church organization and the business manager become the manager of the church along with the minister as ethical leader. This method would save a great deal of expense and difficulty of an entire new organization, in expenditure for housing, group organization and propaganda.

[illegible] On the other hand, if the Negro church cannot do this, co-operatives can and must be set up as organizations entirely distinct from it, which means that they would have to compete in a way that would eat into the church organization even more than the fraternal lodges have, since the program of the co-operatives would be more [illegible] vital and the results more satisfactory.

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While we are organizing for our own industrial development largely along segregated lines, there is no reason for giving up our fight for equality. On the contrary, the fight against discrimination must be emphasized, but at the same time rationalized. We must provide for immediate and long-term programs, for programs that can be reasonably attained in a decade and for other programs which may take centuries to obtain, but nevertheless must be continually followed.

The short-term program must concentrate upon the education of Negro children and the discovery and support of Negro ability and genius. The children must be educated whether this is done in the public schools or in separate Negro schools: the object being not to use the school as a base of operation for or against segregation, but to use the school as a means of education and to oppose any system which ruins and discourages our children, even though it is called an unsegregated school. But above all, the immediate program must begin with the economic foundation of Negro work through the organization of their consuming power.

With this must go a long-distance program,--the training of children and adults in race relations along the lines of the program so finely worked out by Rachel Davis Du Bois in "The Service Bureau of Human Relations" and so inexplicably neglected by American Negroes. This is an attempt to make all children, youth and adults calmly face the facts of race discrimination, study the results, get some acquaintance with the history of races, and then leave them to work out in their own minds and souls the line of action which they think is decent and just. In the same way, a much more careful plan for bringing the question of Negro citizenship and political power before the higher courts must be laid out. We must not for a moment be discouraged by one adverse decision, like that in the Texas Primary case, however disappointing as that may be. Even a reactionary body of old men can in the long run be made subservient to the demands of poverty and right. Repeated and carefully planned attacks all along the line, including the "Jim-Crow" cars and discrimination in school funds, must be carried on despite its great expense and long, drawn-out litigation. The Board of Legal Strategy which does this must be headed by men of nation-wide ability and by men who have the confidence and trust of the nation.

The great majority of American Negroes are divided, not simply for religious, but for a large number of social purposes, covering a considerable part of their life

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into self-supporting economic units, self-governed, self-directed. And the greatest present difficulty is that these organizations today have no logical and reasonable norms and do not attract the best and most vigorous and most educated elements of the group.

At present, American philanthropy stands almost check-mated before the Negro problem. The task is so enormous that philanthropy simply cannot attack it. It cannot undertake to put idle Negroes to work so long as white employers will not hire them and white laborers will not work beside them. It cannot support Negro schools, when state and cities and even the Federal government, deliberately and openly neglect these schools and discriminate against them. Even a "New Deal" cannot relieve Negro distress and starvation if it has to work ~~as it must~~ through local and prejudiced agents.

Control of their own education, which is the logical and inevitable end of separate schools, would not be an unmixed ill for Negroes; it might prove a supreme good. Once Negro schools meant poor schools. They need not today; they must not tomorrow. Separate Negro sections will increase race antagonism, but they will also increase economic co-operation, organized self-defense and necessary self-confidence. Of course, the extreme development of this might even lead to complete separation or expulsion. What of it? Better stand in isolation or leave as men, or die as fighters, or be kicked out by superior power, than live as willing slaves and affable, spineless peons.

It is by no means certain that we shall be alone and unaided in such a constructive program. There was a time when the American Negroes thought of themselves simply in relation to the people of the United States and it was then that we argued that there could be but two methods of settling the Negro problem; either the Negro be absorbed physically into the nation, or else he would die out by violence or neglect. Since the World War, this ~~attitude~~ attitude has changed. Not only do we realize that the majority of the peoples of the world are colored, but we also realize that the unquestioned supremacy of the white race over these colored people has passed forever. Europe will not dominate Asia;

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torn as China is by internal strife, she will not accept Western domination; certainly not in political lines and not even in economic lines, whenever she is able to escape the rule of Western capitalism. Japan has chosen and so far is following ruthlessly the path of domination laid down by Europe, but it is following this path for the hegemony of Asia and of the yellow race. It will take time for India to assert its political and economic independence, but that time will be spent on achieving inner unity rather than in fighting English domination. That unity once achieved, India will go free. In Africa, one easily forgets that Africa is held under the dominance of Europe mainly by black African troops; that the black and brown regiments of France, England, Belgium, Spain and even Italy, are indispensable to the continued domination of that land. It is, then, in the long run, only a question of knowledge and realization to make the continued white domination of Africa impossible.

If American Negroes, taking the path of organizing their consumers' power, should be able to raise their working classes to dominate within their own group and to such a command of income and resources that they would not be objects of charity and dole, they can not only ally themselves with the white laboring classes in the Unites States and in Europe, but equally well with the black laborers of the West Indes and South America and of Africa; and with the colored laborers of India, China and Japan; and if this union could be cemented by mutual interests, by co-operative exchange of commodities made possible by the lowering of the American tariff and the revision of the commercial rules which hamper British colonies, all this might lead to so strong an economic nexus between colored and white labor that the day of industrial imperialism

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would be over. It is a far-fetched dream, but it is worth the contemplation.

No cause of human uplift can be completely gained in one unhesitating assault. There must always be some choice of essentials; some compromises which involve comparative values. The only single and unyielding principle is that the great ideal be brought nearer by every move. During the World War, I once sat in the office of the Secretary of War and complained to him bitterly of discrimination against Negro officers and soldiers. Secretary Baker answered bleakly: "In this conflict I am not trying to settle the Negro problem." "No," I answered, "but you are trying to settle as much of the Negro problem as interferes with the winning of the war." So today, if we move back to increased segregation it is for the sake of added strength to abolish race discrimination; if we move back to racial pride and loyalty, it is that eventually we may move forward to a great ideal of humanity and a patriotism that spans the world.

48-81-44

What we need today is not fighting, but that basis of economic security which will permit us to fight. What we need is not vociferous complaint but such victory over threatened starvation as will give us stamina to back our future complaints with power. We know from bitter experience the futility of asking an administration which bases its power on a political foundation of fifty congressional votes stolen from Negroes, for an effective anti-lynching bill which in many cases would hang (a very considerable number of) their constituents; or to ask the New Deal for an exercise of Federal power which would really distribute Federal funds with justice, when we know perfectly well that any such honest attempt would wreck ~~Roosevelt's~~ The administration in a month.

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Not being utter fools and knowing that momentarily the greater plans of the Niagara movement and the N.A.A.C.P. for the emancipation of the American Negro cannot be realized because of the depression, and especially because white America is not ~~willing~~ ready to have them realized, we are compelled to substitute a program of economic power; we are forced to put back of the demands of twelve million people not mere sentiment and appeal, but power. That power must be the power that labor gives to the laborers when its fruits are justly distributed. For this new racial production and reasoned distribution, we must unite every unit of our own forces no matter how much we segregate our spiritual and social life, so long as we never lose sight of one great aim: the making of American Negroes into a real force for economic justice to all men.

Discussion and Reading

1. Is the Negro movement toward consumers' co-operation feasible?
2. Comparing the United States and Sweden, what advantages and disadvantages are there here for consumers' co-operatives?
3. What can the Negro learn from Denmark?

(Consult Child's "Sweden, The Middle Way"; Warbasse, "What Is Co-operation"; Kress, "Capitalism, Co-operation and Communism".)

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Finally, may I summarize my thought in the following words:

FOREWORD

1. We American Negroes are threatened today with lack of opportunity to work according to gift and training and lack of income sufficient to support healthy families according to standards demanded by modern culture.
2. In industry, we are a labor reservoir, fitfully employed and paid a wage below subsistence; in agriculture, we are largely disfranchised peons; in public education, we tend to be disinherited illiterates; in higher education, we are the parasites of reluctant and hesitant philanthropy.
3. In the current reorganization of industry, there is no adequate effort to secure us a place in industry, or to open opportunity for Negro ability, or to give us security in age or unemployment.
4. Not by the development of upper classes anxious to exploit the workers, nor by the escape of individual genius into the white world, can we effect the salvation of our group in America. And the salvation of this group carries with it the emancipation not only of the darker races of men who make the vast majority of mankind, but of all men of all races. We, therefore, propose this:

99-18-86

BASIC AMERICAN NEGRO CREED

(BANC)

A. As American Negroes, we believe in unity of racial effort, so far as this is necessary for self-defense and self-expression, leading ultimately to the goal of a united humanity and the abolition of all racial distinctions.

B. We repudiate all artificial and hate-engendering deification of race separation as such; but just as sternly, we repudiate an enervating philosophy of Negro escape into an artificially

privileged white race which has long sought to enslave, exploit and tyrannize over all mankind.

C. We believe that the Talented Tenth among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in determining by study and measurement the present field and demand for racial action and the method by which the masses may be guided along this path.

D. We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment, Education and Health; these three: but the greatest of these is Employment.

E. We believe that the labor force and intelligence of 12 million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure. Therefore, we believe that, if carefully and intelligently planned, a co-operative Negro industrial system in America can be established in the midst of and in conjunction with the surrounding national industrial organization and in intelligent accord with that reconstruction of the economic basis of the nation which must sooner or later be accomplished.

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F. We believe that Negro workers should join the labor movement and affiliate with such trade unions as welcome them and treat them fairly. We believe that workers' councils organized by Negroes for interracial understanding should strive to fight race prejudice in the working class.

G. We believe in the ultimate triumph of some form of Socialism the world over; that is, state ownership and control of the means of production and equality of income.

H. We do not believe in lynching as a cure for crime; nor in war as a necessary defense of culture; nor in violence as the only path to economic revolution. Whatever may have been true in other times and places, we believe that today in America we can

abolish poverty by reason and the intelligent use of the ballot, and above all by that dynamic discipline of soul and sacrifice of comfort which, revolution or no revolution, must ever be the only real path to economic justice and world peace.

I. We conceive this matter of work and equality of adequate Income is not the end of our effort, but the beginning of the rise of the Negro race in this land and the world over, in power, learning and accomplishment.

J. We believe in the use of our vote for equalizing wealth through taxation, for vesting the ultimate power of the state in the hands of the workers; and as an integral part of the working class, we demand our proportionate share in administration and public expenditure.

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K. This is and is designed to be a program of racial effort; and this narrowed goal is forced upon us today by the unyielding determination of ~~the mass~~ certain elements in the white race to enslave, exploit and insult Negroes; but to this vision of work, organization and service, we welcome all men of all races and colors so long as their subscription to this basic creed is sincere and is proven by their deeds.

THE NEGRO AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Incomplete drafts

CHAPTER I.

PLANS OF VIOLENCE

The first effort to counteract violence is naturally violence in return, which means war, rebellion, or revolt. The Negro slave, seized in Africa between 1442 and the middle of the nineteenth century, fought for freedom against attacking black tribes or white slave raiders. The cost in life of inter-tribal wars was very large and it was Stanley's estimate that for every slave actually captured by raiders four human beings were left lying dead in the villages.

Once captured and brought down to the coast, there was little chance for revolt on the slave ships, although some cases occurred.

The slaves, transported by a Rhode Island master, murdered a part of the crew in 1731 and in 1732 the whole crew of another New England slaver was murdered. Several other similar cases are on record. Perhaps the most celebrated case of all was that of the "L'Amistad". This ship was carrying 54 Negroes from one part of Cuba to another in 1839 and under Joseph Cinque the Negroes murdered passenger and crew and finally landed in Connecticut. The organization which was formed to defend them eventually became the American Missionary Association and their attorney was John Quincy Adams. The slaves were freed. Two years later, "The Creole", sailing from Richmond to New Orleans, arose under Madison Washington, killed the officers and crew and took the ship to a British port. The slaves were allowed to go free, but years later the British Government had to pay $110,000 for them.

Landed in the West Indies, the earliest slaves immediately sought refuge and revolt and the first protest against the Negro slave trade was because they corrupted the Indians and then induced them to revolt.

Ovando "solicited that no Negro slaves should be sent to Hispaniola for they fled among the Indians and taught them bad customs and never could be captured." (Quoted from Herrera by Helps, Volume I, page 219.)

Most of the laws concerning Negroes drawn up in Spain for the government of the West Indies relate to the Cimarones or Maroons, as the name which was given to fugitive Negroes who were in a state of revolt. "The Negroes were not docile like the Indians and were evidently considered as most dangerous people." (Helps, Spanish Conquest, Volume IV, page 372. Quoting from Ley.) The Maroons in Jamaica escaped to the mountains where

they formed a band which chose leaders and made war for a century on the British Government. Their power was broken only by transporting their ranking leaders, first, to Nevia Scotia and finally to West Africa. A similar nucleus of revolt in Haiti led, finally, to the Haitian revolution and the freedom of the island under the leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture and Dessalines. In South America, the Maroons established a republic with a walled city which eventually set up a regular government. It was finally captured by the Portuguese in 1698 after an heroic defense and the suicide of the leaders. Other revolts established the independence of the Bush Negroes down to our day.

Energetic measures for curbing slave revolts took place from the earliest times. They consisted, first, in so mixing the Negroes by tribe and language on plantations that communication between them was difficult; secondly, by enacting severe laws against conspiracy or attempts toward uprising and breaking the war-like spirit and spirit of individual freedom by legal and hard manual toil. The Christian religion was also used very successfully to induce submission and contentment.

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The plan, therefore, to gain freedom through violence was pretty well curbed in the slaves that came to the American continent. Effort was made only to import slaves who had been acclimatized and inured to docile toil into the colonies of the main land. The current theory of the efforts of American Negroes to revolt is, however, singularly contradictory. On the one hand, there is the testimony of the slave codes. They were cruel and severe and show every evidence that the slaveholders were afraid of conspiracies among their slaves.

Any slave presuming to strike a white person could be punished at discretion for the first offense and with death at the second offense in Georgia or at a third offense, as in South Carolina. Resistance to a master could lead to indefinite incarceration and assault and battery could not be committed on the person of a slave. As a North Carolina judge said in 1829: "The power of the master must be absolute to render the submission of the slave perfect." (Goodell's "American Slave Code", page 172.)

The laws of South Carolina of 1712 for the better ordering and governing of Negroes and slaves declared that it was necessary to "restrain the disorders, rapines and inhumanity to which they are naturally prone and inclined." (Heard, Volume I, page 229.)

And the law of 1740 declared that "many late horrible and barbarous massacres have been actually committed and many more designed on the white inhabitants of this province by Negro slaves." (Hurd, Volume I, page 308.)

The actual revolts among American Negroes, from 1619 to 1863, were few in number, although there were a great many scares and rumors of conspiracies which spread panic in various cases for a time and then afterward were systematically minimized. The truth seems fairly clear, that every decade in the South there was some attempt somewhere of slaves to organize and escape their status by armed resistance, but the organization of the slave patrol held these attempts down to a few which were really dangerous. The slave patrol was an organization which included not simply the comparatively small numbers of slaveholders, but enlisted the interest of the mass of poor whites, so that actually the slaves were outnumbered by the whites, save in certain localities; and there it was possible to bring in wide outside assistance in a comparatively short time. And, of course, practically all the arms and ammunition were in the hands of the whites. Moreover, the humanity of some slaveholders and the personal attachment of the kind-hearted slaves, nearly always resulted in the betrayal of plots in order to save a particular white family.

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In Virginia, in 1800, an insurrection took place under Gabriel Prosser. He and his fellows were to seize the arsenal in Richmond, kill the whites and liberate the slaves. A great storm interrupted the plot and a slave revealed it. Other plots were unearthed in North and South Carolina. Another uprising was planned in North Carolina in 1816 and a plot to destroy the city of Augusta in 1819. In 1822, a much more dangerous conspiracy was made under Denmark Vesey in Charleston, South Carolina. He was a free Negro with some property and laid his plans carefully. The blow was to be struck in July, 1822, when the masters were largely on vacation. Thousands of slaves were recruited, money was raised to purchase arms and blacksmiths hired to make others. Here, again, one slave tried to save his master and revealed the plot. Thirty-five Negroes were hanged and 43 banished. David Walker, a Negro of Massachusetts, made a bitter appeal for insurrection in 1829 and in August, 1831, Nat Turner, a Negro preacher in Virginia, led a band of insurgents and made 3 attacks upon the whites in 3 days, killing 61 white persons. The leader evaded arrest for 6 weeks until captured by state and Federal troops. One hundred and twenty Negroes were slaughtered during the man hunt and afterward 17 others executed, 12 transported and 10 acquitted.

The largest and most successful slave revolt came at the time of the Civil War when all the slaves in the vicinity of the invading armies left the plantations and rushed to the army and eventually some 200,000 ex-slaves and Northern Negroes joined armies of the North, in addition to a much larger number of laborers and servants. It was this revolt of the slaves and the prospect of a much larger movement among the 4,000,000 other slaves, which was the real cause of the sudden cessation of the war.

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CHAPTER II.

PLANS OF MIGRATION

Long before the spasmodic efforts at revolt ended in armed slaves helping to put down secession, other and more successful plans had been tried. Broadly speaking, they involved the running away of individual slaves and of gangs and, in the case of free Negroes, migration to Canada, the West and Southwest, to Africa and to other destinations overseas.

The domestic migration began with the fugitive slave and the fugitive slave was the safety valve of the slave system. The Negro who could not stand the status of slavery did not need to wait until he could organize his fellows into armed and probably futile revolt; but from the widely scattered plantations in a comparatively empty country, he could slip away in various directions; south into the swamps of Florida; east, into the swamps of Virginia; north, along the Appalachian range and the Mississippi River into the free states. This planted in the Northern states an increasing number of runaway slaves, some of whom gave time, money and trouble to encouraging the runaway of their friends and relatives. As the abolition movement increased, many white persons helped in this, so that several regular organizations laid out these paths of escape and accompanying methods known loosely as the Underground Railroad.

The Underground Railroad led indirectly to the Civil War. It meant that the capital invested in slaves was suffering severe losses and the slave owners demanded more and more peremptorily that the laws for the recapture of slaves be enforced. Finally, they asked that a new Fugitive Slave law be enacted which seriously interfered with local state government in the North and individual rights. This in turn led to retaliatory legislation which attempted to nullify the Fugitive Slave law; and all this greatly intensified the bitterness between North and South and led toward the attempt at secession.

How large a number of slaves escaped, it is impossible to say. Judging from the growth of the Negro population in the North and the complaints of the slaveholders, it must have been considerable. The black population of the North increased from 128,984 in 1820 to 344,719 in 1860, an increase of 167% as compared with 151% for the total Negro population. As the Northern group was composed of poor immigrants with broken family life, insecure economic basis and suddenly transferred from city to town, they probably

little more than reproduced themselves and between 100,000 and 200,000 of them were doubtless fugitives from slavery and represented a loss of at least $25,000,000 capital invested in slavery and perhaps twice that sum. This was the economic loss that spurred secession.

The union of Negroes and Indians for resistance to the whites was long feared in the United States. Negro slaves took refuge among the Indians in Virginia in 1787 and about the same time began to escape among the Indians of Carolina and Georgia. The two races intermarried, making return of the fugitives difficult, as the Indians refused to surrender their Negro-Indian children. After the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, Americans accused the British of conniving at the escape of Negroes by means of their Indian allies.

In the South; Georgia from 1789 to 1813, accused the Creek Indians of encouraging the running away of slaves. The Creeks were attacked by Andrew Jackson and defeated in 1814, but in 1815, 1,000 Georgia Negroes took possession of the former British fort and together with the Creeks threatened the South. The Spanish refused to destroy the fort, but Jackson moved against it in 1816 and wiped it out with great barbarity. Then came the so-called Seminole wars.

Giddings tells succinctly the story of this disreputable part of our national history:

"Torn from their native land, their friends and homes, they were sold in the markets of Carolina and Georgia. Feeling the hand of oppression bearing heavily upon them, they fled to Florida, and, under Spanish laws, became free. Holding lands of the Spanish Crown, they became citizens of that Territory, entitled to protection. To regain possession of their truant bondmen, Georgia made war upon Florida, but failed to obtain her object.

"At a time of profound peace, our army, acting under the direction of the Executive, invaded Florida, murdered many of these free men and brought others to the United States and consigned them to slavery. An expensive and bloody war followed; but failing to capture more of the exiles, our army was withdrawn.

"This war was followed by diplomatic efforts. Florida was purchased; treaties with the Florida Indians were made and violated; gross frauds were perpetrated; dishonorable expedients were resorted to and another war provoked. During its protracted

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continuance of seven years, bribery and treachery were practiced towards the exiles and their allies, the Seminole Indians; flags of truce were violated; the pledged faith of of the nation was disregarded. By these means, the removal of the exiles from Florida was effected." (pp. V. and VI. Introduction. Exiles of Florida, Giddings.)

After the Revolutionary War, societies of Negroes in Newport and Boston were formed for migration to West Africa, especially Sierra Leone. Some Massachusetts Negroes as early as 1774 had asked to be assigned to some province of their own. Two thousand Negroes in Rhode Island were willing to go to Africa where a white West Indian, Thornton, promised them that they would be formed into an independent nation.

Gradually as the slave controversy increased, the chains of the slaves were drawn tighter and the free Negroes of the North found themselves in a more precarious position. Plans for migration beyond the borders of the United States began to mature. Indeed, from the earliest times, the thought that the Negro population of the United States would eventually be repatriated in Africa was widespread among whites and also among Negroes.

In 1815, Paul Cuffe, a black New Englander who had been protesting against lack of civil rights in Massachusetts, took 38 Negroes to the West coast of Africa at his own expense. There were various plans for colonization of the Negroes in the Northwest territory and some actual experiments by slaveowners who emancipated their slaves and sent them there. Remains of several of these settlements can be found today.

The free Negroes of Richmond opposed colonization in Africa and asked Congress for territory on the Missouri River. The Negroes of Boston asked how they could be called Africans when they were born in America and the Negroes of Hartford said that ignorant people sent to Africa could not teach ignorant people.

Later, the effort of the United States to curb the slave trade turned back many slave ships with their cargoes and they formed the nucleus of Liberia and Sierra Leone. The American Colonization Society sent numbers of educated Negroes and laborers to help in the Liberian adventure and others went voluntarily. This might have resulted in a very larger migration had not the Colonization Society under Southern leaders turned it into a way of buttressing slavery. This aroused the ire of the abolitionists and the fear of the better class of Negroes.

Liberia was the final result of the efforts of the American Colonization Society. They sent out agents in 1816, but no emigrants until 1819, when 81 went to

Sherbro Island. Others went out in 1821 and changed the settlement to the mainland of Liberia. Here they struggled with the natives and received accessions from America, especially Elijah Johnson and Lott Cary. Slowly other immigrants dribbled in. From 1820-1833, 2,885 Negroes were sent to Africa by the Colonization Society. From 1820-1852, 7,836 were sent. Of these, 2,720 were born free; 3,868 were emancipated. In 1847, after the United States had refused support, Liberia declared itself an independent government and has maintained its independence ever since, despite great difficulties. In 1847, after the United States had refused support, Liberia declared itself an independent government and has maintained its independence ever since, despite great difficulties.

The situation of the new class of free Negroes in the North was not happy. They were finally deprived of political and civil rights and had a hard time earning a living. The determination to enforce the black laws against Negro immigrants and runaway slaves in Cincinnati about 1830 led to the first American-Negro convention in Philadelphia in 1830 and to certain concerted plans of action. The convention met annually from 1830 to 1836 and was attended by a number of educated and influential Negroes, as well as white sympathizers, like William Lloyd Garrison. They raised money and communicated with the British Government and laid plans for a large migration of Negroes into Canada. The nucleus of the settlements in Southern Ontario was begun at that time. Many distinguished Negroes have come from these settlements, including Josiah Henson and the late Richard B. Harrison, "De Lawd" of "Green Pastures".

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After emancipation in the West Indies, a few Negroes migrated to Trinidad and Jamaica.

In 1853, a National Council of Negroes was organized to take up the question of migration. Twelve state conventions sent representatives to the Cleveland Convention of 1854. Three proposals were made: one by Martin D. Delaney, who advocated the Niger Valley in Africa; another by James M. Whitfield, who wanted to go to Central America; and a third by Theodore Holly, afterward an Episcopal bishop, who proposed to go to Haiti. These 3 emissaries started out and at the next colonization convention in Canada in 1856, Holly made his report and eventually 2,000 emigrants went to Haiti in 1861. Delaney, later, proceeded to the Niger Valley and concluded treaties with 8 African kings. Whitfield died in San Francis on his way to Central America. The whole plan of wholesale emigration split the American Negroes into bitterly antagonistic groups with Frederick

Douglass leading the opposition.

The Civil War stopped thoughts and plans for emigration for many years, although there were small internal migrations of freedmen from Carolina to Florida, from the Gulf states to the Southwest and from Virginia to the South in search of better working conditions and free land.

When the Negroes began to pour in on the Union army, Abraham Lincoln proposed to carry out his long cherished plan of colonization. He consulted foreign countries and secured an appropriation of $100,000 from Congress in 1861 and a further appropriation of $500,000 in 1862. He was favored compensated emancipation in the Border States on condition that the Negroes should move beyond the limits of the country.

In August, 1862, a delegation of Negroes consulted Lincoln with regard to settlement in Central America or elsewhere, but there arose difficulties in finding suitable places. Finally, a settlement on the Isle à Vache near Haiti was arranged under Bernard Kock, who had leased the island from Haiti. Several hundred Negroes were ready to go, but doubt was thrown on Kock's character and objects. Finally, the Secretary of the Interior made a contract with certain New York capitalists who really represented Kock and an expedition set out in 1862 with 500 Negroes and Kock hired as governor or manager. The result was disastrous. Smallpox broke out, drinking water was scarce and food bad. The company was landed without shelter or supplies. Kock proved to be dishonest and incompetent and finally, in 1864, the remains of the colony were brought back to the United States. Only 293 survived.

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It was not until the revolution of 1876 that widespread plans of migration from the South to the North took place. There had been some migration of freedmen from the South immediately after the war, but the difficulty of getting work in the North and the prospect of greater freedom in the South, held this to a minimum. The work of the Ku KluxKlan and the forced disfranchisement of the Negroes in 1875 and 1876 led to several large plans for migration into the West and particularly into Kansas.

Some moved from North Carolina to Indiana and a congressional investigation tried to prove that this was a political scheme. Two men, Henry Adams in Louisiana and Benjamin Singleton of Tennessee organized a major scheme. They told of the opportunities in Kansas and the West andinterested between 100,000 and 200,000 Negroes. Over 50,000 Negroes actually went West and a meeting of whites and blacks in Vicksburg in 1897 tried

to stop the exodus by reassuring Negroes. Afterward the whites resorted to violence.

At first, the Negro emigrants to Kansas were in distress, but a relief association was formed among the Quakers and other whites which supplied them with clothes and money. During the first year, the freedmen took up 20,000 acres of land and built some 300 cabins. A report of the Freedmen's Relief Association said "that the exodus of the colored people from the South began about February 1, 1879 and that 60,000 refugees came to Kansas, of whom 40,000 were in a destitute condition." There was some violent opposition to this migration among local people, but, on the whole, it proved successful.

After 1890, there was a gradual but increasing migration of Negroes from the South to Northern cities. For the most part, they represented the well-to-do, or the educated and ambitious, who could not submit to the caste conditions in the South. There came, also, artisans and laborers, but these met the opposition of the trade unions and were forced to make a living by strike-breaking and were then accused of being "scabs".

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Later, the project of a "Return to Africa" recurred and was emphasized by Bishop H. M. Turner, a Reconstruction leader in Georgia and later a prelate in the African Methodist Church. He was greatly discouraged because of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Civil Rights case. There was considerable agitation, but very little actual migration. Senator Morgan of Alabama supported the scheme and 197 Negroes sailed from Georgia to Liberia in 1895. Gradually, the scheme was given up.

Some efforts have been organized to transplant Negroes into Mexico and South America, but understanding between our State Department and the authorities of these South American states has effectively stopped these plans.

The Northern migration of Negroes continued slowly but steadily. The colored population of the North and West increased from 344,719 in 1860 to 626,990 in 1880 and 911,025 in 1900, indicating a movement of 10,000 to 20,000 Negroes a year from North to South. Between 1910 and 1920, the Northern Negro population increased nearly a half-million and a whole million from 1920 to 1930. This probably indicates the permanent northward movement of over a million Negroes between 1910 and 1930.

The reason for the increased migration after 1910 was the World War.

PART II.

1863-1910

CHAPTER III.

THE PLAN OF POLITICAL POWER

The Civil War sent a new thrill through the Negro population and vast hopes for emancipation and progress. These were encouraged by inducements held out to Negroes to fight in the ranks and labor for the Northern armies and finally they came to fruition in the Reconstruction legislation of 1867.

From 1867-1876, the Negroes placed their whole hope of full emancipation and economic security upon their political power. This was of course putting the cart before the horse. Their political power could only have been sustained by economic security. Ownership of land, control of some capital and education. They sought education and began to get it through their establishment of the public school in the South. Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner and others tried to give them peasant-proprietorship and they themselves sought this through legislation in South Carolina and elsewhere; but the power of the Southern landholders and capitalists hindered this until their efforts were reinforced by Northern capital and this economic combination ruined the political as well as the economic hopes of the Negroes.

Between 1876 and 1890, political power gradually dwindled until the Negroes were practically disfranchised and unrepresented in Congress, the state legislatures, the city councils and the county administration.

In addition to this, their support of political power went to increase the political preponderance of Southern capital and threw the whole democratic balance of the nation out of gear.

Meantime, political organizations, chiefly within the Republican Party, tried to restore the ballot, achieve legal defense and new enactments. The Republican Party of the various Southern states consisted during this period almost exclusively of Negroes, which meant that they had some right to share in and direct distribution of the national patronage. In the North, the connection of Negroes with the Republican Party gave that party prestige for several years after the Civil War.

The annual conventions, therefore, of the Republican Party became centers

where the fight for Negro political and civil rights centered.

There were only a few Negro delegates to the Republican National Convention of 1868, but an increased number in 1872. From 1880 to 1900, the number of Negro delegates was large. It included many Negroes of outstanding ability, like N. W. Cuny of Texas, Walter Cohen of Louisiana, Judson Lyons of Georgia and M. W. Gibbs of Arkansas.

On the other hand, in party organizations, they have shown 2 phases of power: first, they became very powerful in the national organization of the Republican Party. Once, in 1884, John R. Lynch of Mississippi was Temporary Chairman, a position of considerable influence and in 1880, Senator B. K. Bruce had some chance of being named candidate for Vice President. In all the national conventions from 1876-1900, the Negro delegates from the South usually held the balance of power between contesting candidates. Since they had back of them no effective voting population, men were able to secure the position of delegate by manipulation and bribery and both colored and white delegates were for the most part practically for sale to the highest bidder. It became, therefore, the first solicitude of prospective candidates for the Republican nomination to buy up the Southern delegates before the convention. Venal whites drifted into the party and controlled the Negroes; venal Negroes were easily induced to forget their higher mission in a scramble for money and place, and venal candidates for the presidential nomination thus bought the nomination. The bribery of Southern Negro delegates at national conventions became an intolerable scandal and resulted in their partial disfranchisement, even in the councils of the Republican Party; a situation which still obtains.

Finally, this system was broken in to by the determination of Southern whites to secure the patronage and graft which had been going to Negroes. They, therefore, formed a "Lily-White" movement which displaced the colored delegates by white delegates. This was accomplished partly by manipulation, cheating and intimidation in the South, but more effectively by the connivance of the Republican committee. On this Republican committee, a few Negroes have always sat, but their numbers have decreased until today there are none.

The overwhelming majority have of course been Northern and Southern whites and their votes have given seats to the Lily-White Southern delegates. In addition to this, the Republican committee has gradually moved toward basing representation from the South on the number of votes cast rather the population of the states, thus, curiously, returnin

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to proposals made in Reconstruction and lessening the influence of Negroes in the Republican Party.

The effect of the Lily-White movement can be shown in Texas. The Republican vote in 1896 was 167,000, but in 1904 had fallen to 51,000 and in 1910 to 26,000. Thus, the seizure of the machinery of the Republican Party in the South by white men and the connivance at this by Northern Republicans, has so cut down the Southern Republican vote it is now proposed to further reduce the representation of Southern Republicans in the National Convention,---a curious bit of retribution visited upon the white grafters who dominate the party.

Beginning with the convention of 1912, the party machinery of the Republicans in the Southbegan to pass into the hands of white people and by 1924, they were predominant.

The Republican Convention of 1916 re-appertioned delegates in the South according to voters rather than population. One delegate was elected for every congressional district and 1 additional delegate for every district in which the Republican vote was not less than 7,500. In 1924 and 1928, the figure 7,500 was raised to 10,000.

The result of this disfranchisement was that the South had 65 Negro delegates in 1912, 35 in 1916 and 29 in 1920. The numbers then increased to 59 in 1924 and 49 in 1928. In 1928, there were no Negro delegates from Alabama, Florida, Texas and West Virginia.

Co-incident with this has come a change in the party platforms. The platforms from 1868 until 1900 and later invariably complained about the disfranchisement and civil disabilities of Negroes,but the party in Congress made no attempt to follow up these provisions. In later years, less and less has been said about the Negro until a perfunctory protest against lynching has been included in the party plat form.

In 1896, the Republican Party denounced lynching and from 1920 on favored an anti-lynching law.

The Republican Party in 1900 made a general statement that everybody should have a chance to occupy a place in the government according to his character and ability. It places the services of Negro troops in the Spanish-American war. In 1904, the party emphasized its belief in the equality of all men and in 1908, demanded equal

justice for all men andasked for the enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. In the campaign of 1912, this was repeated and peonage was attacked.

The Democrats in 1880 taunted the Republicans with the failure of the Freedmen's Saving Bank. In 1904, they protested against reduction of representation in the South. In the campaign of 1912, Woodrow Wilson expressed his earnest wish to see justice accorded to Negroes and in 1916 re-asserted this stand. In 1924, Davis attacked the Ku Klux Klan and organized a Negro bureau during the campaign. This was repeated in 1928.

This made the efforts of the Northern Democrat to attact the Negro vote more effective and the result has been in certain cities like Boston and New York to give Negroes considerable influence in the local Democratic organization. Perhaps this municipal political power in the larger Northern cities is the greatest source of influence which the Negro has left in politics.

The highest positions held by Negroes under Federal appointment have been that of the Registrar of the Treasury, Recorder of Deeds, Minister to Haiti and Minister to Liberia. The office of Recorder of Deeds has been held by Negroes continuously since 1881, except for 1 term under Woodrow Wilson, when a white man was appointed. Beginning with 1881, the office of Registrary of the Treasury was held by Negroes from 1881 until Wilson's first administration, except during Cleveland's administration. Since the administration of President Taft, no Negro has held this position. Wilson appointed 2 American Indians to fill it. The Minister to Haiti has been a colored man from 1869 through the administration of Theodore Roosevelt.

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Appointments to Negroes in the national service in the South were made by Grant, Garfield, Hayes, Harrison and McKinley. Even Cleveland made some such appointments. Theodore Roosevelt was opposed by a storm of protest when he re-appointed a colored Postmaster and a Collector of the Port at Charleston. Wilson made few political appointments of Negroes, but out of the war appointed an Assistant to the Secretary of War in the advisory capacity and eventually his commission commissioned 700 Negro officers.

In 1900, the Republican Party claimed that there were 58 colored men in Federal employ, including 11 in the diplomatic and consular service and several Collectors and Postmasters. In the clerical service and the army, there were 15,868 Negroes. In

In 1912, 19,729 such positions were claimed, including 8,000 in the army and navy. In 1916 and 1924, the number of presidential appointments of Negroes decreased, but the colored Federal employees were reported to have increased from 22,540 in 1910 to 51,882 in 1928. Most of these were in the Postoffice Department. It was said that the Negroes, constituting 9.9% of the population in 1920, occupied in 1928 slightly more than 9.1% of the positions in the Federal Executive Civil Service.

Public patronage during the Hoover administration was practically withdrawn from the hands of colored men in the South.

There were in 1930, 2 colored members of the Republican National Committee, both from Mississippi.

From 1871 to the present, 24 Negroes have sat in Congress, including 2 Senators. Most of these came during Reconstruction, but 1 Negro Congressman is still serving. In at least 3 other cases, there is no doubt but what colored men actually were elected to office, but were counted out.

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After 1876, a few Negro congressmen from the South represented South Carolina and North Carolina until White, who served in the 56th Congress. There ensued a long interim, from _____ until 1930, when for the first time a Negro congressman was returned from the North.

In several Northern congressional districts, the Negro vote by 1924 had reached such a size that the possibility of a Negro congressman was manifest. For this reason, the white congressmen from 1 district in Illinois and from a district in St. Louis, became practically representatives of the Negro race and worked for such bills as the Negroes demanded, especially the anti-lynching bill. When the white Congressman Madden of the Chicago black belt died, a colored man, Oscar De Priest, was elected to succeed him in 1928 and re-elected in 1930 and 1932. He was defeated in 1934 by a colored Democrat named Mitchell, showing that the Democratic Party was compelled to take a colored candidate in order to defeat the Republicans. In 1928, in St. Louis, a colored candidate was defeated in 1928, but made a strong showing.

In the states, the Negro served in the legislatures of Georgia until about 1910, but in most of the other Southern states they were eliminated by 1890. In the Northern states, they began to appear as members of the legislature about 1900. Illinois has usually 3 or 4 membersof the Lower House and 1 colored Senator. There

There are usually 1 or 2 Negro members of the legislature in Kansas, Nebraska, Michigan, California, Missouri, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, New Jersey and New York. Once or twice there have been members of the legislature in the New England states. Some of these legislators, like Harry Davis of Ohio, have made distinguished records. It was often said that had Davis been white, he would have been Speaker of the House.

There are no Negro municipal or local officials in the South, except a few notaries. In the North there have been some important offices held. Chicago has had a Superior Court judge and there are 2 Superior Court judges in New York City. Massachusetts once had a judge and there have been colored police magistrates in several states. Some important commissionerships are still held in the Civil Service Commission in New York City and the Tax Commission and the Civil Service Commission of Cleveland, Ohio and various offices in Chicago, including a number of aldermen.

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In the National Government for a long time, the Negro received important representation in the executive branch. Once Theodore Roosevelt was about to appoint a Negro as Treasurer of the United States, but was thwarted by the race prejudice of his Secretary of the Treasury. Collectors of Customs have been appointed in Charleston, New Orleans and Atlanta in the earlier days, but no important Federal position has come to Negroes recently in those states. In Washington, the Registrar of the Treasury has usually been a colored man until quite recent times and the Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia almost invariably. In recent administrations, it has been customary to appoint some preminent colored men as assistant in the District Attorney's office and under the New Deal, a number of advisory positions have been given to colored men of education and ability. One of the municipal judges in the District of Columbia is usually a Negro.

On the whole, however, the office holding by American Negroes has been creditable, but disappointing so far as it has sought to further their political, social and economic position. They have held clerkships in the Federal Civil Service, in state and municipal Civil Service, but they have seldom reached positions of real importance where they could take any decisive action to help the status of their people.

Finding that office-hoolding and party affiliation were both disappointing in results, the Negro has attempted to divide his votes both for the President and for

congressmen and members of the legislature so as to reward and punish friends and enemies. Negroes largely supported President Wilson in 1912 and he promised them justice. A smaller number supported Smith and Davis in 1920 and 1924 and a larger number Roosevelt in 1932. Negroes have also in considerable numbers supported the Socialists.

Perhaps the greatest single triumph of Negro voters was the defeat of Parker of North Carolina for confirmation in the Supreme Court. He had been an opponent of Negro suffrage and was named by Roosevelt, but his record as regard to organized labor was bad and the influence of the labor vote and of the Negroes combined led to his failure to be confirmed.

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The drive of Negroes for legislation through political power has had some measure of success. Appropriations for Howard University, for instance, were long limited and provided for by questionable legislative methods. In the 68th Congress, the appropriation was ruled out on the point of order and finally, in 1930, the legality of the appropriation was fixed by act of Congress and it became a Federal school with an initial appropriation of $1,249,000. The Federal appropriations for education have benefited the Negro, although he has been unsuccessful in his attempt to have them pro-rated according to his numbers in the population. The division has been left entirely to the states.

In another direction, Negroes have succeeded in having laws defending their civil rights put on the statute books. The first case was the celebrated civil rights law so long advocated by Charles Sumner, which was eventually emasculated by the Supreme Court in 1883 and 1913. State civil rights legislation guaranteeing the legal right of Negroes to service in public places was enacted.

In 16 states between 1884 and 1918:

Connecticut	1884 and 1905
Iowa	1884 and 1892
New Jersey	1884
Ohio	1884 and 1894
Colorado	1885 and 1895
Illinois	1885
Indiana	1885
Michigan	1885
Minnesota	1885, 1897 and 1899
Nebraska	1885 and 1893
Rhode Island	1885
New York	1893, 1895 and 1913
Pennsylvania	1887
Washington	1890
Wisconsin	1895
California	1897

(Johnson, The Negro in American Civilization, p.338.)

The laws were so drawn that in the majority of cases courts could easily render them ineffective. In only 2 states have the civil rights laws really been enforced with thoroughness and that is Massachusetts and in New York, since the law of 1918.

On the other hand, in the Southern states, caste legislation between 1881 and 1907 required that colored persons occupy separate seats or compartments in transportation. Then, from 1890 to 1910, came the new wave of disfranchisement laws.

The Jim-Crow legislation, requiring separation in cars, street cars and education, swept over the South from 1890 to 1910 and Negroes could do little to oppose it. They did succeed, however, in confining separation in Maryland to local trains and to defeating separate car laws in Missouri and West Virginia. Other more subtle attacks upon Negroes were contained in the so-called full crew train laws which, through the connivance of the unions, deprived Negroes of employment as train porters on railways and in various craft recognitions, as for instance, as barbers, which is threatening today to make it increasingly difficult for a Negro to become a barber.

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On the other hand, the Negro has succeeded in some cases in keeping discriminatory legislation off the statute books. In 1913, after Wilson and the Democrats came to power and because of Johnson's victory, a determined drive was made to spread laws against the inter-marriage of Negroes and whites on the statute books of the Northern states. The opposition to this was at first embraced by being taunted with the accusation that their ambition was to marry with whites, but they were soon able to place their opposition on the teal ground that such laws insulted colored women and made them the victims of the aggressions of white men.

Anti-intermarriage bills were introduced in Congress and California, Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington and Wisconsin. Only 1 passed when Nebraska strengthened an existing statute.

Onthe whole, however, the social and economic emancipation of the Negro race by means of the ballot has failed of any great success, but perhaps the failure has been more greater with regard to Negroes than it has to whites. It has simply made the fact more clear that without economic Reconstruction political freedom and power is impossible.

Indeed, the whole use of political power by Negroes is continually handicapped by their dependent economic position. Their political power in the North is considerable and growing but, after all, they have only about 2,000,000 votes there. In the Border

States, their large vote is handicapped by the fact that their employment is often threatened by any political activity, while in the deep South, not only is their employment threatened, but their personal safety and right of domicile. While, then, the plan of using the ballot for defense and aggression among Negroes has not been altogether ineffective, it is manifest that until Negroes have an assured income and an economic basis as a laboring class which gives them essential independence, they cannot exercise the ballot freely or vote as they wish even when they are allowed to vote at all.

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"I hold thistruth to be self-evident, that a disfranchised working class in modern industrial civilization is worse than helpless. It is a menace, not simply to itself, but to every other group in the community. It will be diseased; it will be criminal; it will be ignorant; it will be the plaything of mobs; and it will be insulted by caste restrictions." (Johnson, The Negro in American Civilization, p. 466.)

CHAPTER IV.

A PLAN OF CAPITAL AND LABOR

During the sway of the Negro's plan of gaining full American citizenship by political power, and explaining and supplementing that effort from 1867 to 1930, came two other movements: one from 1896 to 1920 which sought firmly to integrate the American Negro into American industry as farmer, laborer, skilled artisan and capitalist; and the other movement which sought by agitation and legal defense to clear away race discrimination and allow untrammeled advance of black folk according to chance and ability.

These two latter movements began in bitter controversy; the first ended with the World War and the second declined with the depression and merged with movements to stop discrimination in the NRA.

Despite political power and legal defense and whatever might be accomplished by migration, there was evident from the first that economic power must underlay all efforts of the American Negro to re-establish himself. The fact was that he was a poor and ignorant laborer and his exploitation, which began in slavery, was not ended by emancipation. How, then, should he establish himself as an effective and decently paid laborer?

The first clear and coherent plan to this end was presented by Booker T. Washington and enunciated in his celebrated speech at the Cotton States' Exposition.

This occasion had been carefully planned beforehand and was not a mere spontaneous event. William H. Baldwin, a young railroad executive and far-sighted industrial statesman, knew by personal experience Southern labor conditions. He was rapidly coming to the front, being made President of the Long Island Railroad in _____, and slated for the presidency of the Pennsylvania Railroad. He knew that Negro labor with proper training and treatment could be made effective and he and other industrialists also feared the new demands and growing organization among white craft laborers. As a firm believer in capitalistic exploitation, Baldwin thought that in the South there could be built up two labering classes who would naturally supplement each other and together make for the economic development of the new South. He wanted the black laborers trained in skilled industry. He wanted the white laborers well-paid, but curbed in their increasingly intolerant demand for a voice in industry. Here was the developing Negro race, increasing in intelligence, but distressed by its partial deprivation of political power and civil rights. Here, also was an extraordinary man; a self-made Negro, trained at Hampton, who had been brought

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down to take charge of a small school in Alabama, started by a young colored woman named Davidson.

Mr. Washington was an opportunist with high ideals. He believed in political rights for people who could exercise them, but inthe case of the Southern Negroes, he knew that the attitude of the white South was against their political activity and he, therefore, took the position that the Negro must first gain an industrial status before he could ask for the exercise of political rights. He knew that the Negro needed civil and social rights. No one suffered more than he from the discrimination in schools, on the railroads, in hotels and otherwise. But he believed that if the Negro showed the people of the United States that they could advance despite discrimination, that the inherent justice in the nation would gradually extend to deserving Negroes the rights that they merited. Above all, Mr. Washington had not the slightest doubt that the present organization of industry in the United States was normal and right; that capital was accumulated by thrift; that labor was rightfully bought and fed and that profits were really made as a result of buying the product of labor. He, therefore, proposed that the Negro take this path toward eventual equality, and by working hard and skillfully, accumulate in the hands of his more thrifty and gifted individuals, enough capital to hire employees and make money. He expected that the black owners of property would thus gain recognition from other propertyholders and gradually rise in the scale of society. As a first step toward this new capitalism, Washington especially stressed landholding--wide-spread peasant proprietorship and even large farming among Negroes.

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As a practical path toward these things, Mr. Washington's program, therefore, included the giving up of political rights, at least temporarily, the giving up of agitation for civil rights and the insistance upon training young Negroes for farming and industry through industrial schools. This plan, launched in 1896, and triumphant from that date until about 1910, was in reality an alliance wit white capital and was rewarded by large contributions toward Negro education, especially such schools as conformed to the Hampton and Tuskegee type. It was rightly regarded as a clever and far-sighted compromise which if it would not solve would at least peacefully postpone the solution of a baffling and internal problem of race conflict. Mr. Washington, between 1900 and 1910, became one of the most popular men in America, in constant demand North and South, as a speaker, adviser and referee. There resulted a new understanding between the leading

elements of the North and South with regard to the Negro. Agitation for voting was frowned upon and skilled labor was encouraged. The Negro college, while not entirely discouraged, was looked upon with some suspicion and the careers for Negro college graduates bec me difficult. To some extent, appointments and opportunities of young Negroes were carefully censored and referred for approval to Tuskegee over a very wide extent of country. Negro newspapers were brought into line by judicious advertising and other means of control.

As the white opinion of the land became unified behind Mr. Washington, colored opinion began to become uneasy and suspicious, while the best white Southern opinion supported Mr. Washington, the politicians and the rabble got out of hand. A wave of "Jim-Crow" legislation and disfranchising bills swept over the South and border states from 1890 and 1910--at the very time when Negro political power and agitation had been lulled to its lowest by the Washington compromise. Mississippi in 1890, South Carolina in 1895, Louisiana in 1898, North Carolina in 1900, Alabama in 1901, Virginia in 1902, Georgia in 1908 and Oklahoma in 1910 disfranchised Negroes by adroitly drawn illiteracy and property tests.

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The result of this was not on the whole encouraging. Evidently despite their promises, the best white South could not protect the voteless Negro. Moreover, the attempt to set up a Negro labor class in rivalry to white laborers led to increased race hatred and lawlessness in the South between white and black labor. Separation of the races in travel had been made compulsory in Tennessee, Florida, Mississippi, Texas, Kentucky, Georgia and Louisiana by 1891. It then paused, but a new wave of legislation began in 1878 and covered South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland and Oklahoma. Determined and repeated efforts were made in Missouri, West Virginia and Delaware. Other laws and ordinances completed the program of racial caste and convinced increasing numbers of Negroes that the only result of the Washington compromise was going to be a permanent caste in the United States acquiesced in and condoned by Negroes themselves.

This triumph of the radical anti-Negro South and the continued prevalence of lynching greatly embarrassed Mr. Washington. He hated caste and lawlessness and wanted the best for his people, but he believed implicitly in his economic program and made the fatal mistake of trying to forestall criticism from Negroes and to neglect if not suppress Negro colleges. The result was an outburst of wrath and criticism led by the younger college-bred group which split the Negroes in two.

In the North, results were no better. White labor inherited from before the Civil War a fear of the competition of slave labor and of the competition of the free blacks. They finally, grudgingly, encouraged them in separate organizations and a Negro trade union movement began and was headed toward success when it became a part of the new political organization which swept the Negroes into Reconstruction.

After this, the craft unions excluded the Negroes, but when the new Knights of Labor were organized, large attempt was made to bring the Negroes in. This, however, was stopped when the American Federation of Labor, the organization of the skilled crafts, came into power. Most of the constituent organizations here held excluded Negroes openly, or by secret policy, so that the division between black and white labor gradually became wider. This gulf between the two labor groups continues to our day. Even the attempt of such organizations as the Pullman Porters has received no effective aid from the American Federation of Labor and it is only in the present movement toward vertical unions that there is even a small chance for Negro laborers to become a part of organized labor.

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On the other hand, the change in industrial techniques, the widespread use of machines and mass production, made the effort of the industrial schools to train skilled labor among Negroes extremely difficult, while the situation of the farmer, both white and black, in the presence of new problems of labor, machinery and markets, made the advance of the Negro farmer almost impossible. It was thus that by the time of the World War, the Washington program for the economic emancipation of the Negro had met insuperable difficulties. The small black capitalist or capable college graduate found no place or welcome to the vast machine which controlled capital and credit and directed industry. He could only hover on this fringe of exploitation which the whites neglected using color discrimination as a sort of protection tariff for his marginal lack of capital and training.

Black labor met new competition of white men forced down to the level of the black reservoir, while the machine displaced many of the very skills which Hampton and Tuskegee were trying to teach.

Negroes for the time being were largely eliminated from politics in the South. But they still remained a major factor in Southern poverty. The low purchasing power of the Negro population makes the South a poor market for the products of its own factories and causes outside producers to consider it the poorest market in the nation. Every

dream of economic emancipation for the South has been impossible of realization, for every such dream has failed to include Negroes as an economic factor in Southern development. The South has continued to insist on a political remedy to one of its major economic ills.

From the time of Emancipation down until the World War, the Negro had a monopoly on certain jobs in the South that were poorly paid and involved menial service. As Alexander says: "A Southern white man will curry a mule but he will not brush a gentleman's coat. He will drive an ox wagon but he will not act as coachman." These so-called Negro jobs were the jobs of servants and laborers, but they were fairly permanent and the workers received certain perquisites in food, in clothes and had personal relations with employers that gave them a degree of legal and social protection. The money which built homes and churches for Negroes, educated Negro children and saved sums for capital investment, came out of this wage.

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Gradually, however, toward the time of the World War and markedly thereafter, this situation changed. In most Southern hotels, the sons of poor whites are the bellboys and their daughters are the waitresses. This class has pressed into the cities and competes with the Negro as a porter, a garbage mover, a newsboy and a day laborer. It became more and more definitely believed that no Negro should have a job as long as a white man was unemployed and the division of labor by race almost completely disappeared.

Mr. Washington's work, however, was not all lost. It first was shown in the ownership of land. Negroes owned 97,458 farms in 1890. This number increased rapidly until it reached a total of 218,612 in 1920. Then the forces over which Washington had no control manifested themselves and land ownership decreased to 181,016 in 1930, which meant a loss of at least 4,000,000 acres of land; and it has been alleged that since 1930, nearly a million acres more have gone. In other words, Negroes bought land just at the time when land ownership was losing its significance, so that the Negro landholder was caught in the depression which overwhelmed the farmers of the world and could not by his unaided efforts hope to make economic improvement on Southern farms. The same difficulties in lesser degree faced the white farmer and the result was that the farmer moved to the city in large numbers and entered industry. Most of these migrants from country to city were white, but a large and increasing number were Negroes. Between 1910 and 1920, the center of the Negro population in the United States moved 19 miles North.

Negro farmers and farm laborers for this reason decreased from 56.6% to 36.7% of the working population from 1890 to 1930. On the other hand, Negroes in transportation, manufacturing and mechanical industries, and in business and clerical work, increased in the same time from 10.3% to 29.9%. But they did not become as Washington had hoped, to any great extent, skilled workers and business leaders. Manifestly, this was not merely the result of lack of skill or unwillingness to work. It was partly the result of race prejudice and partly the whole industrial system of the nation and the age.

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CHAPTER V.

PLANS OF AGITATION AND LEGAL DEFENSE

The disfranchisement of Negroes was clearly illegal and a nullification of war amendments. It therefore became after 1876 and down to our own day, a settled plan among Negroes to reassert their political power through systematic appeal on the basic questions as to their legal status before the highest tribunals of the land. This was also buttressed by efforts at new legislation which would secure their civil rights. These efforts were carried on by individual action and group movements.

The earlier court cases which involved the interpretation of war amendments were brought before the courts by officials or parties who had no particular interest in securing favorable decisions for Negroes. Thus, the Slaughter House cases of 1873 which emasculated the 14th Amendment, the decisions of 1876 which declared the Force Act of 1870 unconstitutional and denied the right of the Federal government to protect its own voters at the polls; and the decision of 1883 which destroyed the civil rights bill; all these were not brought by Negroes nor were the cases prepared primarily in their interest.

Unless now the Negro bestirred himself, a legal basis of color caste in constitutional law would be laid. Various organizations and conventions in the North preceded the Civil War; the conventions of 1830-1836 beginning in Philadelphia. National colored conventions met in Troy, New York in 1847 and in Cleveland, Ohio in 1848, Cincinnati in 1852, and culminated in a great meeting in Rochester, New York in 1853, which laid plans for industrial education and a national council. A dissenting group, however, despairing of justice in the United States, called an Emigration Convention in 1854, which we have discussed.

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In 1864, a National Convention of Colored Men was held in Syracuse, New York with Frederick Douglass as president. A National Equal Rights League was formed with John M. Langston as president. Following this, Equal Rights Leagues were formed in many Northern and Southern states.

Interest was now transformed to the South and the political struggle there. It was not until after 1876 that the plan of national organization was resumed, first, in the attempts to form a labor organization which resulted in national and state meetings from 1867 to 1871. A National Convention of Colored Men met in Louisville, Kentucky in 1883 and a National League was formed in Boston a little later.

In 1887, T. Thomas Fortune, editor of what is now the NEW YORK AGE, issued an appeal for a national organization and repeated this in 1889. The so-called Afro-American League, afterward changed to Afro-American Council, met in Chicago with 21 states represented in January, 1890. J. P. Price was President and Mr. Fortune, Secretary. The League held another meeting in Tennessee and then died until Bishop Walters revived it in 1898. It met that year in September at Rochester and later in November in Washington. The object of the organization was to investigate lynching, to test the constitutionality of discriminatory laws, to secure civil rights legislation, to promote migration from the South and to encourage organization. It met for several years and practically died with a final meeting in St. Paul, Minnesota about 1900. Its weakness was that it consisted simply of an annualm eeting without a continuous working organization. The result was that it did little more than meet, organize and pass resolutions. In the year 1905, a new aspect came over the plans for American Negroes for social Reconstruction.

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The new disfranchisement laws and the wave of discriminatory legislation, coupled with Mr. Washington's concessions, alarmed the colored people. Particularly the young colored college man began to fear the dictatorship of the Tuskegee machine and the difficulty of expressing even legitimate criticism. This opposition was crystalized by the jailing of Monroe Trotter in Boston for trying to heckle Mr. Washington during a speech of the colored church. It seems to me that this was going too far and that while Trotter was much more bitter and outspoken than was necessary, yet he did have a right to talk even though he criticized Mr. Washington. The result was that a call was issued in June, 1905, signed by 59 men from 17 states. In July, 1905, 29 of these men, representing 14 states, met at Niagara Falls and formed the Niagara movement. The move-

ment grew and in 1906 held a significant meeting at Harpers Ferry. The Manifesto which it sent out was plain and bitter.

"The men of the Niagara movement coming from the toil of the year's hard work and pausing a moment from the earning of their daily bread turn toward the nation and again ask in the name of ten million the privilege of a hearing. In the past year the work of the Negro hater has flourished in the land. Step by step the defenders of the rights of American citizens have retreated. The work of stealing the black man's ballot has progressed and the fifty and more representatives of stolen votes still sit in the nation's capital. Discrimination in travel and public accommodation has so spread that some of our weaker brethren are actually afraid to thunder against color discrimination as such and are simply whispering for ordinary decencies.

"Against this the Niagara Movement eternally protests. We will not be satisffed to take one jot or tittle less than our fullmanhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil and social; and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all true Americans. It is a fight for ideals, lest this, our common fatherland, false to its founding, become in truth the land of the thief and the home of the Slave--a by-word and a hissing among the nations for its sounding pretentions and pitiful accomplishment.

"Never before in the modern age has a great and civilized folk threatened to adopt so cowardly a creed in the treatment of its fellow-citizens born and bred on its soil. Stripped of verbiage and subterfuge and in its naked nastiness the new American creed says: Fear to let black men even try to rise lest they become the equals of the whites. And this is the land that professes to follow Jesus Christ. The blasphemy of such a course is only matched by its cowardice.

"In detail our demands are clear and unequivocal. First, we would vote; with the right to vote goes everything: freedom, manhood, the honor of your wives, the chastity of your daughters, the right to work and the chance to rise,

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and let no man listen to those who deny this.

"We want full manhood suffrage and we want it now, henceforth and forever.

"Second. We want discrimination in public accommodation to cease. Separation in railway and street cars, based simply on race and color, is un-American, undemocratic and silly. We protest against all such discrimination.

"Third. We claim the right of freemen to walk, talk and be with them that wish to be with us. No man has a right to choose another man's friends and to attempt to do so is an impudent interference with the most fundamental human privilege.

"Fourth. We want the laws enforced against rich as well as poor; against Capitalist as well as Laborer; against white as well as black. We are not more lawless than the white race, we are more often arrested, convicted and mobbed. We want justice even for criminal and outlaws. We want the Constitution of the country enforced. We want Congress to take charge of Congressional elections. We want the Fourteenth Amendment carried out to the letter and every State disfranchised in Congress which attempts to disfranchise its rightful voters. We want the Fifteenth Amendment enforced and no state allowed to base its franchise simply on color.

"The failure of the Republican Party in Congress at the session just closed to redeem its pledge of 1904 with reference to suffrage conditions at the South seems a plain, deliberate and premeditated breach of promise and stamps that party as guilty of obtaining votes under false pretense.

"Fifth. We want our children educated. The school system in the country districts of the South is a disgrace and in few towns and cities are the Negro schools what they ought to be. We want the national government to step in and wipe out illiteracy in the South. Either the United States will destroy ignorance or ignorance will destroy the United States.

"And when we call for education, we mean real education. We believe in work. We ourselves are workers, but work is not necessarily education. Education is the development of power and ideal. We want our children trained as intelligent human beings should be and we will fight for all time against any

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proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings, or simply for the use of other people. They have a right to know, to think, to aspire.

"These are some of the chief things which we want. How shall we get them? By voting where we may vote, by persistent, unceasing agitation; by hammering at the truth by sacrifice and work.

"We do not believe in violence, neither in the despised violence of the raid nor the lauded violence of the soldier, nor the barbarous violence of the mob, but we do believe in John Brown, in that incarnate spirit of justice, that hatred of a lie, that willingness to sacrifice money, reputation and life itself on the altar of right. And here on the scene of John Brown's martyrdom we reconsecrate ourselves, our honor, our property to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free."

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In 1907, the Niagara movement met in Boston and developed internal difficulties of organization chiefly because Mr. Trotter with all his courage was not an organization man. Beside this, the movement met the combined attack of Northern whites as represented by THE OUTLOOK and by all the "friends of Hampton and Tuskegee." The following year a lynching occurred in the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln and William English Walling and his wife, Anna Strunsky, visited the city. Walling wrote an article in THE INDEPENDENT and suggested that something ought to be done to finish the emancipation begun by Abraham Lincoln. Mary White Ovington, Oswald Garrison Villard and others began to meet and suggested that a conference be held in New York on the 100th Anniversay of Lincoln's birth. Out of this conference rose the N. A. A. C. P. and the Niagara movement held no further meetings. There was no formal merger but 7 of the charter members of the Niagara movement were named on the Board of Directors of the new organization and practically the whole membership was represented on the Advisory Committee. Thus, out of the impulse of the Niagara movement was grown a new organization and in November, 1910, THE CRISIS was first published.

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The first report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People seeks to uplift the colored men and women of this country by securing to them the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens, justice in all courts, and equality of opportunity everywhere. It favors and aims to aid, every kind of education among them save that which teaches special privileges or prerogative, class or caste. It recognizes the national character of the Negro problem and no sectionalism. It believes in the holding of the Constitution of the United States and its amendments, in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. It upholds the doctrine of "all men up and no man down." It abhors Negro crime, but still more the conditions which breed crime, and most of all the crimes committed by mobs in the mockery of the law, by individuals in the name of the law.

"It believes that the scientific truths of the Negro problem must be available before the country can see its way wholly clear to right existing wrongs. It has no other belief than that the best way to uplift the colored man and the best way to aid the white man to peace is social content; it has no other desire than exacting justice, and no other motive than patriotism." (First Annual Report, January 1, 1911.)

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The work of the National Association for the Advancement of Col red People is too well-known to call for review here. I need only point out that its greatest triumph was in the matter of legal defense.

By the help of the foremost legal talent of the nation, it has secured from the United States Supreme Court decisions which establish:

1. Recognition of the validity of the 15th Amendment.
2. The unconstitutionality of the Grandfather Clauses.
3. The unconstitutionality of residential segregation laws and ordinances.
4. The right of Negroes to sit in juries.
5. The dictum that due process of law may be violated by the threat of mob violence.
6. The denial of the right of a state to segregate primary elections by race.

Beside this, scores of individuals were defended and in several cases governors were induced to refuse extraditions for accused persons in danger of lynching. It also secured some protection for accused Negroes from mob violence and made the most effective anti-lynching campaign in the history of the country.

The ability of the National Association to do its great work rested really upon the substantial advance that the Negroes were making at that time in economic lines. Magazine articles and meetings of the Negro Business League emphasized this progress. There was published in 1910 a heavy volume of nearly 600 pages profusely illustrated, which was the outgrowth of a Sunday School Conference at Clifton, Massachusetts, in 1908. The book showed in many ways how the Negro was struggling upward, but the very fact of his progress increased his ability to fight them. Just as soon as economic conditions began to change, the whole situation suddenly altered. The economic progress of the Negro was slowed down, the philanthropic gifts to Negro education were lessened, the industrial rivalry of labor groups increased and the revenues for fighting opposition decreased.

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The first sign of change that faced the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was falling off of its income and the decrease in the circulation of THE CRISIS. This was not due to the fact that the American Negro did not want to fight discrimination and lynching and was not willing to pursue cases in legal defense which should build up the foundation of the whole caste system in marriage, in travel and in education. But it did come from the fact that the colored people, economically, were un-

able to stand the expense. It had been the proud boast of the N. A. A. C. P. that beginning as a quasi philanthropic institution, expecting to rely upon funds furnished mainly by rich white friends, it had become during its best years supported in the main by the mass of colored workers and that THE CRISIS had been made financially independent by the same kind of support. The amounts of money which it recieved from rich white people were small and their withdrawal would have made no particular difference in its program. The falling off now of this income meant that the colored people were financially unable to sustain this program and especially to back its expansion.

From 1910 until the great depression in 1929, th N. A. A. C. P. was the greatest and most effective organization among American Negroes and its success was undoubted. At the same time, it laid bare certain basic facts: first, the white population of America, even though it recognized the difficulties and obstructions in the path of Negroes, was not ready to grant them anything like a substantial equality; and secondly, the difficulties which faced the Negroes in the basic matter of earning a living were still so large and went so deep that the Negroes themselves did not have the power to make effective demands for their rights.

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CHAPTER VI.

WORLD WAR AND DEPRESSION

The situation of the American Negro at the outbreak of the war seemed favorable. His higher schools were increasing in efficiency and the elementary school system in the South, while still bad, was improving. His political power, while still curtailed, was increasing and beginning to be used with some intelligence in the North and in the Border States. Determined agitation was beginning to decrease noticeably the annual number of lynchings which had reached the astonishing total of 235 in 1892, began now with some exceptions to fall below 75 a year.

The Negro press began to increase in efficiency and boldness and Negroes looked with interest upon the war in Europe. They had taken a permanent part in the great Races Congress held in London in 1911 and begun to conceive of the color problems of other groups. In the election of 1912, a considerable number of Negroes supported Wilson in an effort to divide the Negro vote and put the Democratic Party and the Solid South under obligations to the Northern Negro voter.

The outbreak of the World War did not at first greatly interest American Negroes. In 1914, 49 Negroes were lynched and the agitation to segregate Negroes in residential sections increased. Negro tenants were bombarded in Philadelphia. A corporation was formed to remove them in New York and the Smith-Lever Bill to assist education in the South went through without safeguards for Negro children. In North Carolina, a leading journal was offering prizes for essays on the segregation of Negroes on farms. In the 67th Congress, some 20 bills against Negroes were introduced and in September of 1915, the United States seized Haiti, the very year that Booker T. Washington died. There were 53 lynchings that year and the only favorable occurrence was the Supreme Court decision which overthrew the Grandfather Clauses. St. Louis and Dallas, Texas in 1916 decided to segregate Negroes. In May, a Negro was publicly burned in Waco, Texas under circumstances of horrible brutality and in November, in South Carolina, well-to-do Negro was publicly lynched for demanding the current price for his cotton.

In 1916, during a controversy between the Methodists as to whether or not they should get rid of Negroes in order to unite with the Methodist Church South a migration North began to take place. It was induced, first, because of an unusual demand for labor in the North due to the stopping of immigration by the World War. And, on the

other hand, frauds and crop failures in the winter of 1915, together with the ravages of the boll weevil, decreased the demand for labor in the South. A mass of Negroes began to move North, estimated between 250,000 and 500,000.

February 3, 1917, the United States entered the World War. During that year, a series of events exasperated the colored people. First, came the riots and massacres. In July, the city of East St. Louis burned and destroyed $400,000 worth of property, killed between 100-200 Negroes and drove 6,000 people out of their homes. In September, colored soldiers and citizens broke out into a riot at Houston, Texas. In August, there was trouble at Chester, Pennsylvania and elsewhere on account of the invading Negro laborers.

The South began propaganda. They magnified the riots and bad conditions of labor; they stopped labor agents by requiring high licenses and they used violence in refusing to sell tickets and driving Negroes from railway stations.

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Chapter VI.

Thus, when unexpectedly the United States was swept into the World War, a sudden crisis faced the American Negro. How far could a black man fight loyally for this country and why should he in the face of disfranchisement and lynching? Persistent rumors of German propaganda among Negroes were flying here and there, perhaps with some small basis of fact, but little tangible result. Nevertheless, it seemed necessary for Negroes to make this crisis in the national fortunes an occasion for bettering their own conditions.

If they did not share in the draft, they were denying their own American citizenship and giving color to Southern propaganda which alleged disloyalty and was ready to punish the ignorant and the well-to-do with refusals.

The N. A. A. C. P. took leadership and the first difficulty came in the matter of officers for Negro troops.

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The N. A. A. C. P. wasimmediately put in curious dilemma. It had been agitating against all discrimination and it asked for the admission of Negroes to officers8 camps on the same terms as whites. This was naturally denied. Thereupon, the Chairman of the Association, abetted by some of the other officers, asked for a separate camp and received in this plan the enthusiastic support of students of Howard University and other institutions. The result was that a camp was established at Fort Des Moines, Iowa and 700 Negro officers trained. Then came further hesitancy. According to law, Negro and white troops were to be separated.

Were these officers to lead over Negro troops or were there to be white officers mixed with them? Were they to be over one division or indispersed among white troops? The final compromise, arranged with some hesitancy, was to form a division of Negro troops known as the 92nd Division with white field officers and Negro line officers. A second division, called the 93rd Division, was projected, but never actually formed. Meantime, in the Draft, the difficulties of racial discrimination came up. In the South, despite the widespread allegations that Negroes were physically inferior to whites and manifestly were poorer and more needed by their families, a larger percentage of Negroes were drafted than among whites. In the training of drafted troops there was a great deal of difficulty. In the North, single Negroes drafted, appearing in white camps, were refused or tossed about until they could be put in a Negro camp. In the Negro cantonments, especially those in the South, there was a great deal of discrimination and threats of mob violence.

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The government did considerable to counteract these difficulties. It called together the editors of the Negro press; it appointed a representative of the Negroes to consult with the Secretary of War. He had no power but he could bring things directly to the ear of the Secretary of War. There was even a plan to put one or more Negro officers in the Intelligence Service, but sudden fear stopped this. On the whole, however, the joining of Negroes led mainly by the N. A. A. C. P. and other oganizations, resulted in giving the Negro a better status during the war, with officers over his troops and with some chance to show his prowess. It was, however, in his services as laborer that he did the greatest work in the war. His stevedore units made extraordinary records in the movement of goods and did brave work behind the lines. In the United States, the Negroes rushed North to take the place of drafted men and of skilled laborers. They met difficulties, riots broke out in East St. Louis and Chicago and even in the capital city, Washington, but the economic status of the Negro was distinctly better. As the war were on, much bitterness was encountered by the treatment of Negro troops in France and the attitude of white officers toward black officers.

Nevertheless, some of this resulted in curious advantage to the Negroes, as for instance, when the white officers were so eager to get Negro troops out of France where they were treated with unusual consideration, they met the tactical error of

having the first troops who landed from France black units and that these units received overwhelming ovation in New York and elsewhere. The whole episode of war and migration led to increased self-assertion on the

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part of the Negroes and a determination by means of bold agitation to gain their social and political rights in the United States.

Yet 1919 was a bitter year.

"Serious mob outbreaks against Negroes and clashes between the races were reported from 26 cities. The most spectacular of these outbreaks and riots were those occurring in Washington, D. C.; Chicago; Omaha, Nebraksa; Knoxville, Tennessee (the latter two were in reality attempts at lynching which precipitated the race riots which followed); Longview, Texas (also an outgrowth of a lynching); and the widely heralded 'uprising against whites' at Elaine, Phillips County, Arkansas. Serious riots occurred also at Charleston, S. C.; Norfolk, Va.; Philadelphia and Bisbee, Arizona.

"Six persons were killed outright in the Washington riots, from July 19 to July 23. These riots were begun and carried on by uniformed soldiers and sailors. Fifty persons were seriously injured and a hundred or more less seriously wounded. Order was restored only by the intervention of United States troops." (Tenth Annual Report of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1919, p. 34.)

Meantime economic changes were rapidly occurring. During the war, labor was triumphant. The President of the American Federation was on the Council of Defense and the War Labor Board. He pledged the co-operation of the unions to win the war. While on the one hand, the unions promised not to strike, on the oth r hand, the government gave recognition to co-operative bargaining, the 8-hour day and a high standard of living. Union membership increased between 1917 and 1920 by almost $2,000,000. The Negro was not admitted to the skilled crafts but some attempt was made to organize semi-skilled and unskilled laborers. When the war was over, while the boom held up wages and conditions. Then the government withdrew its support largely. There were a number of strikes and employers began to push for the open shop. They began to use methods to undermine the labor unions by company unions, stock sales to employees and profit-sharing. In the steel and coal strikes, public opinion upheld the steel trust and the failure to organize Negroes in the industry helped to break the strike. In the coal strike, court injunctions were used to break down the resistance of labor although in this strike numbers of Negroes were members of the unions. By 1923, therefore, labor had lost most of its war gains. Rising business prosperity took place which swept up to 1929, but labor did not gain much and at the peak of prosperity there were many workers who had lost their jobs

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because of new machinery and efficiency schemes. Membership in the unions declined and almost disappearedin the steel and automobile industry and the textile industry. The miners' union was down with internal strife. Then came the depression with its vast unemployment, reduction of wages and standards of life. Masses of men were competing for the few jobs that there were.

In the South, white organizations, like the Blue Shirts of Jacksonville, Florida, the Black Shirts of Alabama and the revived Ku Klux Klan and "Sons of Justice" of Georgia tried to drive Negroes out of jobs.

The proportion of Negroes living in the country districts decreased, from 85.6% in 1890 to 80.9% in 1910 and then fell rapidly to 68% in 1920 and 56.3% in 1930. It is probable today that a majority of the Negroes of the United States are living in cities.

Certain basic difficulties appeared before the war. The machine in the great industries, like coal, petrolem, steel, textiles, automobiles and railroads which are the chief industries of America, was replacing human labor, not only skilled labor but even digging and lifting. The coal industry was collapsing from waste, exploitation and competition. The oil wells were run largely by machines. The automobile industry, especially the Ford plant, began to use Negro labor and Negroes got into the steel mills, both South and North, as semi-skilled and skilled laborers. The textile industry was practically monopolized by whites, a part of the tacit understanding which was one of the earliest results of the Booker Washington compromise.

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The situation of Negroes was changed. The white laboring class in the South was competing for Negro jobs and pushing Negroes from nearly all lines of work, except farming and domestic service. There was severe competition in agriculture and Negro migration to cities was holding down wages and increasing the opposition of white labor. Not more than 10,000 Negroes a year were going North because of the competition of foreign emigrants. The addition of emigrants from abread eachyear for 10 years preceding the war was equal to the entire Negro population of the North and this fact made the Negroes unimportant to trade unions who kept them out. Foreign laborers competed with Negroes as laborers and servants. Since 1820, 36,000,000 European immigrants had come to the North and industries had consumed this common labor. In 10 years, from 1900-1910, over 7,000,000 emigrants came in. The World War brought sudden change.

Immigration was checked and new industries established because of the demand of war. Later, legislation placed immigration on a 3% quota and later on a 2% quota based on the census of 1890. As a result, Italy, Austria, Hungary and Russia, who in 1910 were sending 600,000 a year, were reduced to less than 6,000. Between 1915 and 1928, 1,200,000 Negroes moved from the South to the North.

Occasionally the struggle took the form of intimidation and, in some cases, of actual violence. The most notable recent illustration was the series of assassinations of Negro locomotive firemen in Mississippi and Louisiana, evidently with the purpose of running all Negro trainmen off their jobs. Idleness on the part of both races has been conducive to unrest, ill temper, crimes against property and other irritating conditions. Certainefforts to lead Negroes to revolutionary violence have fomented mutual distrust, fear and potential hostility and have developed a number of threatening situations.

Ira De A. Reid, "Negro Municipalship in American Labor Unions":

"Before the World War Negroes could not get into industrial positions. European immigrants were used. This immigration was suddenly checked. The demand for labor was high and the Negro was most available. Labor agents began to bring Negro workers into Northern industries in great numbers. Unskilled workers were especially in demand in the steel and iron industries and building construction, in the stock yards and for road maintenance and construction on railroads. In many cases, these men were brought in as strikebreakers and between 1915 and 1928, 1,200,000 Negroes came from the South to the North. Now for the first time, the Negro had to be considered in the problems of Northern capital and labor. The United States Department of Labor reported a 34% increase in skilled labor among Negroes and in some cases this increase went to 186%. In Pittsburgh, Negro steel and iron workers were 100 in 1910 and 16,900 in 23 plants in 1923. The Ford Automobile plant employed 11,000 Negro workers. Chicago employed Negroes in iron and steel and in the packing industries.

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The result was physical conflict. White workers threatened to quit if Negroes were employed and many did. Southern whites were imported to Northern mills as foremen. Many trade unions began to seek Negro members, but Negroes were not always willing to join. There was much discussion as to the efficiency of Negro labor.

Monroe N. Work shows that the World War sharply divides Negro population trends. In the period before the World War the trend of the Negro population was determined

mainly by the demand in the South for labor in the production of staple crops. In the period since the World War and up to the present depression, the trend of Negro population has been mainly determined by demands by industry for Negro labor, particularly in the North.

As a result of this, the black belt areas;--that is, counties which half or more of the population of the Negroes have increased from 244 in 1860 to 300 in 1880 and then decreased to 187 in 1930. With this has come an extraordinary urbanization of population; 80% of the Negro population was rural in 1890; 73% in 1910 and 56% in 1930. In 9 main metropolitan regions in the North, over 2,000,000 Negroes were living; 1,500,000 more in metropolitan districts of the South. In occupation, the change has been great. During slavery, the Negro was chiefly engaged in agriculture and in domestic and personal service. As late as 1890, of the Negro population 10 years of age and over, 56% were in agriculture and 31.2% in domestic and personal service. On the other hand, in 1930, 36.7% were in agriculture, 28.6% in domestic and personal service, 29.2% in manufacturing and mechanical industries and trade and transportation.

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This indicates a pretty large economic revolution. The most striking changes being the decrease of the farmers and servants, the increase of those in the professions, trade, transportation, manufacturing and in mechanical industries. If we take up the manufacturing and mechanical industries, we find that the increase in building trades from 1890-1930 was over 500% and the cloth and allied industries 270%. The food in the allied industries 473%, lumber and furniture industries, 418% and the metal industry over 1,000%.

The building trades and the metal industries showed the largest relative increase. The increased effort to earn is shown by the percentage of population 10 years of age and over who are gainfully occupied. For the entire population of the United States this percentage changed but slightly between 1890-1930. For the Negroes, it increased from 57.6% to 59.2%.

Until the outbreak of the World War, the majority of the factory gates of Pennsylvania were closed to the black men. In 1915, on account of labor shortage, they were opened. In 1910, there were 75,566 Negroes in domestic and personal service in Pennsylvania. In 1920, 5 years later, there were only 57,908. In manufacturing and mechanical industries there were in 1910, 23,797 Negroes. This had increased in 1920 to 59,774. In transportation there was an increase of 207% and 103% in public service.

By 1925 there was some decrease from this employment of Negroes in skilled jobs. In the manufacturing and mechanical industries, the decrease was 10% but was still far above their pre-war situation. In the steel industry, the proportion of Negroes working continued to be high. The average weekly wage of Negro men in Pennsylvania in 1925 was $2,924.

In all parts of the South in 1885 Negro workers were joining the Knights of Labor, but in 1881, a federation of organized trades and labor unions was formed and became the American Federation of Labor. Here the skilled craftsmen gained supreme power and the unskilled were left unorganized. From 1881-1890, however, racial difficulties were kept in the background and it was declared that associations which refused admission to Negroes would be excluded from membership in the Federation. For this reason, the International Association of Machinist was refused admission until 1895 when they removed the qualification. From 1890 to 1897, the American Federation continued to declare that labor must organize irrespective of creed or color, sex, etc. Nevertheless, these declarations did not remedy matters and Negroes were being excluded. In 1900, Samuel Gompers separated separate local unions and separate central bodies of Negro workers. This was endorsed and in 1902 separate charters were granted. Thus the A. F. of L. returned to the suggestion of the National Labor Union in 1867. In 1910, however, the matter came up again. Gompers was accused of leading the Negro out of the labor movement. From 1910-1914, the A. F. of L. organized separate local and federal unions and had 3 Negro organizers. From 1916-1920, the A. F. of L. grew fast and the number of Negro workers in the North greatly increased. The A. F. of L. in the conventions of 1916, 1917 and 1918 decided that Negroes should be organized but provided no machinery. June 6, 1918, the Urban League appealed to Gompers asking for revision of the constitutions of such international labor bodies as excluded Negroes and a qualified Negro organizer on salary and a committee of colored and white persons to check on these activities. In the Atlantic City convention of 1919 move was made for an international charter for the Negro members and complaint was made against the union for metal trades. A special committee was asked but the Federation only expressed the hope that organizations excluding Negro workers "will take a broader view of this matter." In the convention of 1920, at Montreal, local and federal labor unions launched a concerted attack upon the indifference

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of the Federation toward Negro workers and demanded an educational campaign, interracial conferences and executive secretary and special committee for organizing Negro workers and Negro organizers in all crafts.

Ten unions in the American Federation of Labor denied membership to Negro workers, either in their constitution or their rituals and all of them at various times have been asked tocchange this, but have failed to do so. The N. A. A. C. P. asked for an interracial labor commission in 1924; the Communist Labor Congress in 1925 moved the A. F. of L. to make some reassuring promises. In 1925 and 1926, T. Arnold Hill of the Urban League appeared before the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. with suggestions. They promised most thoughtful consideration, but refused to pay even one-half the expense of a colored organizer.

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As a result of all this, the A. F. of L. had before the depression less power and influence among the Negro group than it did at any other time. The Unions which excluded Negroes from their membership through their constitutional rituals are: the boiler makers, the machinists, the car men, the railway clerks, freight handlers, etc., the dining car conductors, the sleepingcar conductors and the railway conductors, the locomotive engineers, the railway expressmen, the express workers, the locomotive firemen, the masters andpilot, the Neptune Association, the Federation of Railway Workers, the Switchmen's Union, the railway trainmen, the railway station engineers, the train dispatchers, the yard masters, the Railway Mail Association, the wire weavers, the railway telegraphers and the commercial telegraphers. Of these, 10 are affiliated with the A. F. of L. As a result of this policy, not less than 225,000 Negro workers are denied trade union affiliations. Certain national unions deny Negroes membership,but permit affiliation to auxiliary bodies. These include the blacksmith, the maintenance of way employees, the sheet-metal workers, the hotel and restaurant employees. Nearly all of these discriminate in various ways against their Negro workers.

Most Negro union men are members of the Odd Carriers' Union, the carpenters, the bricklayers and masons, the plasterers, the longshoremen, the international seamen, the United Mine Workers, the Ladies' Garment Workers.

Reid reports 3,523 Negro members in American trade unions in 1890; 32,769 in 1900; 57,662 in 1910; 61,032 in 1926-1928. To this last number, if we add independent Negro unions and organized Negro workers, the total would be 81,658.

The Negro was put back into bi-artisan politics by the migration of thousands of potential Negro voters. Before 1916, national Negro politics was a matter of rotten borough representation in the Republican convention.

After 1916, the political center of the Negro race shifted from the South to the North and in the various states Negro representatives appeared in the state legislatures and white congressmen with Negro constituents, like Madden of Illinois and Dyer of St. Louis, had to carry out the will of the Negroes. In New York and Harlem, the prevailing machines had a large Negro support.

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Woofter said in his study of 1930 that the Negro farmer is a part of the Southern agricultural situation and for that reason relies upon one crop, is primarily a tenant, pays exhorbitant prices for credit and finds unsatisfactory market conditions. He recommends special efforts on the part of all co-operative marketing projects to include Negro farmers.

Woofter declares that the Negro in 1930 was losing ground in agriculture, in skilled trades in the South and municipal employment in the South, as waiters and barbers all over the country, as doormen and apartment janitors in the East; that he was gaining ground in mechanical industry, North and South, in business and as employees in business houses, North and South, in municipal employment in the North and in domestic service in suburbs of large cities. The unfavorable conditions affecting Negro employment was competition with the whites in the South and mechanics in the Southwest and Midwest and foreign-born elsewhere. The political conditions in the South, the closed unions, the blind ally jobs, the subvention of machinery, prejudice, including unwillingness of white workers to mix with Negroes. The favorable factors were the good record made by the new Negro employees in various lines, the acquisition of skill in the shop, the political power in the North and changing attitudes of a few unions, the new industries and new occupations of Negro businesses and white businesses serving Negroes.

Reid says: "Today 24 national unions exclude us from their ranks and prescribe us in our employment."

The waste in industry is clear in the case of Negro employment. Workers with capacity among Negroes find blind ally occupations as a rule. There is little encouragement and less opportunity for promotion. There are few cases of laborers rising to positions of superintendents and managers. There are even fewer cases for training.

Schools do not train Negroes in skilled crafts because there is no opportunity for placing them. Employers will not Hire them because they have no training. The few that do get training find that white workers refuse to accept them. Union workers have been known to walk off jobs when a Negro fellow unionist was employed. The Negro just before the depression was on the fringe of America's industrial rise. He was the marginal worker where Mexican workers were utilized and for this reason he was the ominous threat to American labor.

The great difficulty which Negroes encountered was impossibility of promotion to any positions of authority or supervision and the practical impossibility of technically trained Negroes in the higher lines of engineering to get any work. The engineering schools themselves discouraged Negroes from taking the courses because of this. In business, Negroes made repeated efforts but there again the great concentration of capital and credit, the severe competition brought by chain stores and similar enterprises, the tremendous cost of advertising, was the undoing of most Negro enterprises. Taking advantage of the discrimination against Negro risks, several large insurance societies were started, but the depression brought the failure of two of the largest and while the others are maintaining themselves in some cases with considerable success, they are more or less at the mercy of white investment concerns. Twenty-one Negro companies had in force in 1930 policies aggregating $260,000,000 and assets amounting to $18,445,000.

This was illustrated in the case of the banks; the Binga Bank of Chicago was a strong institution, but when the pressure came, it was among the 200 small banks which the larger banks of Chicago crushed and it was more easy to sweep away this colored bank than most of the white banks. One recent effort was made to start a Negro chain of stores, but it was started at a time when it had to depend upon wholesale dealers who were themselves being pushed to the wall by the larger chains. It was impossible during the depression for the C.M.A. stores to break through this cordon of competition. On the other hand, in education, Negro colleges increased in number and stability. There were 70 in 1921 and 106 in 1931. The enrollment had increased from 5,231 to 22,609. In 1932 there were 2,329 graduates receiving the Bacheler's degree in Southern colleges, not counting a considerable number in Northern colleges and there were in 1930, 18,650 Negroes in college. The total income of 101 of these colleges was in 1931 $9,317,764 and they had an enrollment of 31,468,463. On the other hand, the public schools and

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high schools which were the basis of this pyramid, are not strong. Rural schools have been closed or cut down by the depression and the city schools curtailed in efficiency. While the crass discrimination in teachers' wages and buildings and equipments as paid whites and blacks continued.

The whole economic situation of American Negroes has, of course, been greatly complicated by the present depression. In almost every city in the country, the rate of unemployment and the amount of dependency among Negroes has, for the past three years, been greater than among white people. This has meant the loss of homes, disappearance of savings, bankruptcy of Negro business and further handicaps all along the line. When better conditions come, the masses of Negroes will face the task of beginning again to lay foundations for their economic life.

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THE NEGRO AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

W.E.B. Du Bois

Introduction

In considering the Negro and social reconstruction, we must ~~always~~ remember that the Negro has always had more than his proportionate share in the burdens of social maladjustment and economic handicap. He never has had just his proportionate numerical share. His stakes in social reconstruction are therefore disproportionately high, and all the issues of social reform are unusually acute in relation to the Negro. Because this population of twelve millions, ~~is~~ in 1930 was but two generations removed from chattel slavery, it naturally has a greater percentage of poverty, dependency and delinquency and impaired physical health. This situation ~~makes~~ does the issues of relief, economic salvation, social reform more difficult, and more critical, in the Negro's case. Further complications asise from the fact that this part of the American population has never been considered or treated as an integral part of the nation, neither in industry nor in political and civil rights. Consequently the Negro has an economic problem compounded by a social problem. These double problems have always faced the American Negro throughout his group history in this country. They have changed ~~out of~~ shape and appeared in different guise; but past and present have been but phases of one fundamental and critical problem of race adjustment. It is the object of this discussion to review the programs, past and present by which the Negro and his friends have planned, hoped and struggled to gain for him and assured and equal status in the United States.

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What has been the course of these plans? Towards how many quarters have the tactics of Negro struggle and reform turned? The Negro's first hope of escape from the hard lot of slavery,-other than death itself, was freedom by flight or freedom by insurrection. We first had, opposed to the forced practice of submission, the plan of Violence, ~~Then,~~ meanwhile came the ~~more~~ conservative and fruitful escape from slavery by migration,-and for several generations before and after slavery, ~~this was the Negro's chief weapon of defense and his~~ the fugitive slave and Negro migrant disclosed most profitable high road to a better condition. Toward the end of Reconstruction, facing ~~the hard situation of having to remain~~ disfranchisement & most violence in the South ~~as far as the masses were concerned~~ there came the compromise plan of salvation by labor and thrift, the plan espoused and defended by Booker T. Washington. This plan was opposed by a small but uncompromising minority, who in opposition proposed a plan, of Political Civil Rights protest and defense,-the plan of Equal Rights and Agitation, coupled with education of the Talented Tenth. Then came the World War, with a new hope, and a temporary new footing in American industry. Partly it was a movement of industrial migration, and a plan of Self-Help and Self Assertion. ~~Then~~ With the set back of the depression, the Negro faced once more realistically the discrepencies of his economic and civic life, and had to turn in the present crisis to three alternative hopes,-the promise of restored prosperity and salvation by Capitalism;-the hope of working-class assertion and reform, and salvation by labor alliance or Proletarian Revolution;-and the third path of economic self-help,-which the author advocates as the most immediately practicable; the path of Consumer Organization and Economic Solidarity. ~~After reviewing the programs of the past,-their gains and losses, the reader will review and weigh the merits of the three roads ahead at this critical crossroads of Social Reconstruction.~~

shown by a series of massacres and mobbings and abortive plans from the days of Denmark Vesey & D. Walker & Nat Turner when 20,000 slaves refused with the Civil War

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CHAPTER I.

VIOLENCE AND MIGRATION

The first effort to counteract violence is naturally violence in return, which means war, rebellion, or revolt. The Negro slave, seized in Africa between 1442 and the middle of the nineteenth century, fought for freedom against attacking black tribes or white slave raiders. The cost in life was very large and it was Stanley's estimate that for every slave actually captured by raiders four human beings were left lying dead in the villages.

Once captured and brought down to the coast, there was little chance for revolt on the slave ships, although some cases occurred.

Landed in the West Indies, the earliest slaves immediately sought to escape. "The Negroes were not docile like the Indians and were evidently considered as most dangerous people." (Helps, Spanish Conquest, Volume IV, page 372. Quoting from Ley.)

Most of the laws concerning Negroes drawn up in Spain for the government of the West Indies relate to the Cimarones or Maroons, the name given to fugitive Negroes.

Energetic measures for curbing slave revolts took place from the earliest times. They consisted, first, in so mixing the Negroes on plantations by tribe and language that communication between them was difficult; by severe laws against conspiracy or attempts toward uprising; by subduing the war-like customs and freedom by hard, manual toil. The Christian religion was eventually used very successfully to induce submission and contentment.

The plan, therefore, to gain freedom through violence was pretty well curbed in the slaves that came to the American continent through the West Indian tutelage. Nevertheless, the plan of revolt was never wholly abandoned as is shown by the testimony of the slave codes. These codes were cruel and severe and give definite evidence that the American slaveholders were afraid of conspiracies among their slaves.

The actual revolts among American Negroes, from 1619 to 1863, were few in number, although there were a great many scares and rumors of conspiracies which spread panic for a time and then afterward were systematically minimized. The truth seems fairly clear, that every decade in the South there was some attempt somewhere of slaves

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to organize and escape their status by armed resistance, but the organization of the slave patrol held these attempts down to a few which were really dangerous. The slave patrol was an organization which included not simply the comparatively small numbers of slaveholders, but enlisted the interest of the mass of poor whites, so that actually the slaves were outnumbered by the whites, save in certain localities; and there it was possible to bring in wide outside assistance in a comparatively short time. ~~And~~, of course, ~~practically~~ all the arms and ammunition were in the hands of the whites. Moreover, the humanity of some slaveholders and the personal attachment of kind-hearted slaves, nearly always resulted in the betrayal of plots in order to save a particular white family.

A form of violence for the indirect purpose of achieving freedom by proving patriotism was the participation of Negroes in the various wars fought by the United States. Even in Colonial times, some Negro troops were used and it is well-known that the first violence of the Revolutionary War was led by a Negro, Crispus Attucks. A thousand or more Negroes fought on the colonial side during the war and several hundred among the British under Governor Dunmore. Negro sailors were prominent in the War of 1812.

What was really the largest and most successful slave revolt came at the time of the Civil War when all the slaves in the vicinity of the invading armies left the plantations and rushed to the army and eventually some 200,000 ex-slaves and Northern Negroes joined armies of the North, in addition to a much larger number of laborers and servants. It was this revolt of the slaves and the prospect of a much larger movement among the 4,000,000 other slaves, which was the real cause of the sudden cessation of the war.

~~Later, Negroes took part in the Spanish-American War and the World War.~~

Long before the spasmodic efforts at revolt ended in armed slaves helping to put down secession, other and more successful plans had been tried. Broadly speaking, they involved the running away of individual slaves and of gangs and, in the case of free Negroes, migration to Canada, the West and Southwest and to Africa, and to other destinations overseas.

How large a number of slaves escaped, it is impossible to say. Judging from

the growth of the Negro population in the North and the complaints of the slaveholders, it must have been considerable. There were at least 100,000 and possibly 200,000 fugitives from slavery, represented a loss of at least $25,000,000 capital invested in slavery and perhaps twice that sum. This was the economic loss that spurred secession.

The union of Negroes and Indians for resistance to the whites was long feared in the United States. Negro slaves took refuge among the Indians in Virginia in 1787 and about the same time began to escape among the Indians of Carolina and Georgia. The two races intermarried, making return of the fugitives difficult, as the Indians refused to surrender their Negro-Indian children. After the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, Americans accused the British of conniving at the escape of Negroes by means of their Indian allies.

In the South, Georgia from 1789 to 1813, accused the Creek Indians of encouraging the running away of slaves. The Creeks were attacked by Andrew Jackson and defeated in 1814, but in 1815, 1,000 Georgia Negroes took possession of the former British fort and together with the Creeks threatened the South. The Spanish refused to destroy the fort, but Jackson moved against it in 1816 and wiped it out with great barbarity. Then came the so-called Seminole wars, which were raids to secure fugitive slaves and drive out the Indians.

Gradually as the slave controversy increased, the chains of the slaves were drawn tighter and the free Negroes of the North found themselves in a more precarious position. Plans for migration beyond the borders of the United States began to mature. Indeed, from the earliest times, the thought that the Negro population of the United States would eventually be repatriated in Africa was widespread among whites and also among Negroes. ~~Liberia was the final result of the efforts of the American Colonisation Society.~~

The Civil War stopped thoughts and plans for emigration for many years, although there were small internal movements of freedmen from Carolina to Florida, from the Gulf states to the Southwest and from Virginia to the South in search of better working conditions and free land. When the Negroes began to pour in on the Union Army, Abraham Lincoln proposed to carry out his own long cherished plan of colonisation. He consulted foreign

countries and secured an appropriation of $100,000 from Congress in 1861 and a further appropriation of $500,000 in 1862. He favored compensated emancipation in the Border States on condition that the Negroes should move beyond the limits of the country.

It was not until the withdrawal of Federal troops in the South in 1876 that widespread plans of migration from the South to the North took place. There had been some migration of freedmen from the South immediately after the war, but the difficulty of getting work in the North and the prospect of greater freedom in the South, held this to a minimum. The terrorism of the Ku Klux Klan and the forced disfranchisement of the Negroes in 1875 and 1876 led to widespread plans for migration into the West and particularly into Kansas.

Discussion and Reading:

1. How could black Africa have defended itself against European slavetraders?
2. Did the slaves have a right to revolt?
3. Did the American Colonization Society want to send all Negroes to Africa?
4. Did the Negroes help win the Civil War?

(Consult Help's "Spanish Conquest", Volume 4; Bryan Edwards' "History of the West Indies", 4th Edition, Volume I, Appendix, and Volume 4; T. G. Steward, "The Haitian Revolution"; Du Bois, "Black Reconstruction".)

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CHAPTER I

SALVATION BY REVOLT and WAR: the PLAN OF VIOLENCE.

It is a mistake to think that the Negro has always been submissive to his fate. The Negro slave, seized in Africa between 1442 and the middle of the Nineteenth Century, fought hard for freedom against attacking black tribes or white slave raiders. The cost in life of inter-tribal wars in Africa was very large. There the African paid his first toll, and often the survivors were the weaker and less courageous, or those broken by unsuccessful resistance. It was Stanley's estimate that for every slave actually captured four human beings were left dead in the villages.

Once captured and brought down to the Coast, there was little chance for revolt on the slave ships, although some cases occurred. Raiders, like Canot, tell of slave revolts and massacres on the coast and in the factories. Some slaves, transported by a Rhode Island master, murdered a part of the crew in 1731, and in 1732 the whole crew of another New England slaver was murdered. Several other similar cases are on record. Perhaps the most celebrated case of all was that of the "L'Amistad". This ship in 1839 was carrying 54 Negroes from one part of Cuba to another. Under Joseph Cinque the Negroes murdered passengers and crew and finally landed in Connecticut. The organization which was formed to defend them eventually became the American Missionary Association and their attorney was John Quincy Adams. The slaves were freed. Two years later, on "The Creole", sailing from Richmond to New Orleans, the slaves mutinied under Madison Washington, killed the officers and crew and took the ship to a British port. The slaves were allowed to go free, but years later the British Government had to

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~~pay $110,000 in damages.~~

Landed in the West Indes, the earliest slaves immediately sought to escape and there were early protests against the Negro slave trade in the islands because they corrupted the Indians and induced them to revolt. The Spanish Governor, Ovando, "socicited that no Negro slaves should be sent to Hispaniola for they fled among the Indians and taught them bad customs and never could be captured". (Quoted from Herrera by Helps, Volume I, page 219.) "The Negroes were not docile like the Indians and were evidently considered as most dangerous people." (Helps, Spanish Conquest, Volume IV, page 372. Quoting from Ley.)

Most of the laws concerning Negroes drawn up in Spain for the government of the West Indes relate to the Cimarones or Maroons, the name given to fugitive Negroes. The Maroons in Jamica escaped to the mountains when the English captured the island; they formed bands and made war on the British Government from 1655 to 1796. Their power was broken only by transporting their ranking leaders, first, to Novia Scotia and finally to West Africa. (Bryan Edwards; The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British colonies in the West Indes. Philadelphia, 1805, Vol. I., pp. 337-398). A similar revolt in Haiti led, finally, to the Haitian revolution and the freedom of the island under the leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture and Dessalines. In South America, the Maroons estanlished a republic with a walled city which eventually set up a regular government. It was finally captured by the Portuguese in 1698 after an heroic defense and the suicide of the leaders. Other revolts established the independence of the Bush Negroes of Guiana down to the present day. So, it is an historical mistake to think or say that the Negro always submitted to slavery.

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Energetic measures for curbing slave revolts took place also in North America from the earliest times. First, the Negroes on the plantation were so deliberately mixed by tribe and language that communication and common action between them was made almost impossible. Secondly, severe laws were enacted against conspiracy and attempts at uprising. Third, The war-like customs and spirit of the African were broken by hard manual toil and severe physical punishment. Finally, the Christian religion was eventually used-(and very successfully),to induce submission and contentment.

The plan, therefore, to gain freedom through violence was pretty well curbed in the slaves that came to the American continent. Many of them had been broken in already in the West Indes. Efforts were made only to import into the colonies of the mainland slaves who had been acclimated and inured to docile toil. Nevertheless, the plan of revolt was never wholly abandoned as is shown by the testimony of the slave codes. These codes were ~~xxx~~ cruel and severe and give definite evidence that the American slaveholders were afraid of conspiracies among the slaves.

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Any slave presuming to strike a white person could be punished at ~~xxx~~ discretion for the first offense, and with death at the second offense in Georgia, or at a third offense in South Carolina. Resistance to a master led to indefinite imprisonment; and assault and battery could not be ~~xxx~~ committed on the person of a slave. As a North Carolina judge said in 1829: "The power of the master must be absolute to render the submission of the slave perfect."(Goodell: American Slave Code, p. 172.) The laws of South Carolina of 1712 for ~~x~~ "the better ordering and governing of Negroes and slaves" declared that it was necessary to " restrain the disorders, rapines and inhumanity to which they are naturally prone and inclined." (Hurd: Vol, I p.229.)

And the law of 1740 declared that "many late horrible and barbarous massacres have been actualy committed and many more designed on the white inhabitants of this province by Negro slaves." (Hurd, p.308.)

From 1619 to 1863 actual revolts among American Negroes were few in number, although there were a great many scares and rumors of conspiracies, which for a time, spread panic. Afterward they were usually discounted as not serious. The truth seems fairly clear, however, that every decade there was some attempt some where in the South by slaves to escapt their bonds by organized armed resistance, but the organization of the slave patrol held such attempts down, so that few were really dangerous. The slave patrol was an organization which included not simply the comparative small numbers, but enlisted the support of the poor whites. So that, actually, the slaves were far outnumbered, except in certain localities, by the total mass of the whites; and even in such localities it was possible to bring in heavy outside assistance on short notice. Practically all the arms and ammunition were in the hands of the whites. Moreover, the humanity of some slaveholders and the personal attachment of kind-hearted slaves nearly always resulted in the betrayal of plots in order to save a particular white family.

In Virginia, in 1800 an insurrection took place under Gabriel Presser. He and his fellows were to seize the arsenal in Richmond, kill the whites and liberate the slaves. A great storm interrupted the plot and a slave revealed it. Other plots were unearthed in North and South Carolina. Another uprising was planned in North Carolina in 1816 and a plot to destroy the city of Augusta in 1819. In 1822, a much more dangerous conspiracy

was made under Denmark Vesey in Charleston, South Carolina. He was a free Negro with some property and laid his plans carefully. The blow was to be struck in July, 1822, when the masters were largely on vacation. Thousands of slaves were recruited, money was raised to purchase arms and blacksmiths hired to make others. Here, again, one slave tried to save his master and revealed the plot. Thirty-five Negroes were hanged and 43 banished.

David Walker, a Negro of Massachusetts, made a bitter appeal for insurrection in 1829 and in August, 1831, Nat Turner, a Negro preacher in Virginia, led a band of insurgents and made three attacks upon the whites in three days, killing 61 white persons. The leader evaded arrest for six weeks until captured by state and Federal troops. One hundred and twenty Negroes were slaughtered during this man-hunt and afterward 17 others were executed and 12 transported.

More and more the resort to direct violence as a way to freedom became foolhardy and impractical. Whenever there was a crisis in colonial life, the Negro urge for freedom found an indirect opening for expression. As a result, the Negro everywhere from New England to Georgia responded eagerly to the call of war and demonstrated valor whenever occasion gave him a chance to express his patriotism and his courage. The participation of Negroes in the various wars of this country from the French and Indian conflicts and the War of the Revolution, proves not only the Negro's loyalty but his courage and his interest in freedom. It is well known that the first violent encounter of the Revolutionary War in Boston was led by a Negro , Crispus Attucks. Several thousand Negroes fought on the colonial side during this war. A Negro soldier captured Major-General Prescott of the Bri-

(Continued over)

49-47-8

tish army at Newport in 1777. Seven hundred Negro soldiers distinguished themselves in the battle of Monmouth in 1778; and turned the tide in the battle of Rhode Island that same year. Even in the South, Negroes were active in war service were cited for bravery and assistance, and many both from the Southern colonies and the West Indes participated in the campaign that climaxed in the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781.

Negro sailors were prominent in the War of 1812. With the civil war, although Negroes participated on both sides, one of the decisive turns of the situation came with the enlistment and valorous action of Negro troops. Behind this militant thrust, was another little-considered and large scale slave revolt, as the slaves in the vicinity of the invading Federal armies left the plantations and rushed to the Yankee camps. Eventually some 200,000 ex-slaves and Northern Negroes joined the armies of the North, in addition to a much larger number of laborers and servants. It was this large-scale bolt of the slaves and the prospect of its spread throughout the slave population of 4,000,000 which was one of the real causes of the collapse of the Confederacy.

49-14-9

Much of the favorable anti-slavery sentiment right after the Revolution was due to the Negro's demonstration of valor and patriotism, and grew from that time on for a period of some forty years. Then a reaction set in due to the increasing spread and profit of the slave system. More and more, freedom by force or wholesale action of any sort became unpopular and ceased to dominate the minds of both black and white advocates of the Negro cause. A small minority, however clung tenaciously to the idea of revolt and freedom by resistance, notable among them David Walker, who sent out in 1828 a public address to the slaves to rise against their masters and Nat Turner who made his

(23)

attempted insurrection in 1831. Gradually, and inevitably, the mind of the Negro began to turn from this way of salvation to the only other way of ~~x~~ escape,-plans of domestic and foreign migration. From 1830 on to into the fifties such plans occupied the center of the Negro's efforts and hopes for an improvement of his status. We turn to "the plans of migration."

Reading References:

49-17-10

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CHARTER II

PLANS OF MIGRATION

Long before freedom actually came to the Negro masses through the violence of the Civil War, more piecemeal plans had been tried and had proved partially successful. They involved the running away of individual slaves, occasional mass flight and migration, and, in the case of free Negroes frequent migration to Canada, the West and Southwest, to the West Indes and to Africa.

The domestic migration began with the fugitive slave. The fugitive slave, infact, was the safety valve of the slave system. The Negro to whom slavery was intolerable could not wait for his fellows to rise in armed and probably futile revolt. From the widely scattered plantations in a comparatively empty country he could and often did slip away in various directions; ~~xxxxx~~ south into the swamps of Florida; east into the swamps of Virginia; north along the Appalachian range and the Mississippi River into the free states. This planted fugitive slaves among the Indians in large numbers. In the northern states it accounted for an increasing number of militantly minded Negroes, some of whom gave time, money and devoted effort to aiding the escape of friends, relatives and others. As this movement increased, it became organized with the help of many white liberals into the Abolition Movement, smaller, more radical groups laid out definite organization and help to assist the escape of fugitive slaves. This was known as the Underground Railroad.

The Underground Railroad led indirectly to the Civil War. It meant that the capital invested in slaves began to suf-

49-14-11

fer severe losses and the slave owners demanded more and more peremptory laws for the recapture of slaves. Finally, they asked that a new Fugitive Slave law be enacted, which seriously interfered with local state government in the North and with individual rights. This in turn led to retaliatory legislation which attempted to nullify the Fugitive Slave law; and all this greatly intensified the bitterness between the North and South and eventually led to the attempt at secession.

How large a number of slaves escaped, it is impossible to say. Judging from the growth of the Negro population in the North and the complaints of the slaveholders, it must have been considerable. The black population of the North increased from 128,984 in 1820 to 344,719 in 1860, an increase of 167% as compared with 151% for the total Negro population. As the Northern group was composed of poor immigrants with broken family life, insecure economic basis and suddenly transferred from city to town, they probably little more than reproduced themselves. At least 100,000, and possibly 200,000 of them were fugitives from slavery and represented a loss of at least $25,000,000 capital invested in slavery and perhaps twice the sum. This was the economic loss that spurred secession.

49-17-12

The union of Negroes and Indians for resistance to the whites was long feared in the United States. Negro slaves took refuge among the Indians in Virginia in 1787 and about the the same time began to escape among the Indians of Carolina and Georgia. The two races intermarried, making return of the fugitives difficult, as the Indians refused to surrender their Negro-Indian children. After the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, Americans accused the British of conniving at the escape of

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Negroes by means of their Indian allies.

In the South, Georgia from 1789 to 1813, accused the Creek Indians of encouraging the running away of slaves. The Creeks were attacked by Andrew Jackson and defeated in 1814, but in 1815, 1,000 Georgia Negroes took possession of the former British fort and together with the Creeks threatened the South. The Spanish refused to destroy the fort, but Jackson moved against it in 1816 and wiped it out with great barbarity. Then came the so-called Seminole wars. Giddings tells succinctly the story of this disreputable part of our national history;

"Torn from their native land, their friends and homes, they were sold in the markets of Carolina and Georgia. Feeling the hand of oppression bearing heavily upon them, they fled to Florida, and, under Spanish laws, became free. Holding lands of the Spanish Crown, they became citizens of that Territory, entitled to its protection. To regain possession of their truant bondmen, Georgia made war upon Florida, but failed to obtain her object.

"At a time of profound peace, our army, acting under the direction of the Executive, invaded Florida, murdered many of these free men and brought others to the United States and consigned them to slavery. An expensive and bloody war followed; but failing to capture more of the exiles, our army was withdrawn. This war was followed by diplomatic efforts. Florida was purchased; treaties with the Florida Indians were made and violated; gross frauds were perpetrated; dishonorable expedients were resorted to and another war provoked. During its duration of seven years, bribery and treachery were practiced towards the exiles and their allies, the Seminole Indians; flags of truce

49-17-13

were violated; the pledged faith of the nation was disregarded. By these means, the removal of the exiles from Florida was effected." (Exiles of Florida, Giddings. p.V-VI.)

After the Revolutionary War, societies of Negroes in Newport and Boston were formed for migration to West Africa, especially Sierra Leone. Some Massachusetts Negroes as early as 1774 had asked to be assigned to some province of their own. Two thousand Negroes in Rhode Island were willing to go to Africa where a white West Indian, Thornton, promised them they would be formed into an independent nation.

Gradually as the slave controversy increased, the chains of the slaves were drawn tighter and the free Negroes of the North found themselves in a more precarious position. Plans for migration beyond the borders of the United States began to mature. Indeed, from the earliest times, the thought that the Negro population of the United States would eventually be repatriated in Africa was widespread among whites and also among Negroes.

41-61-44

In 1815, Paul Cuffe, a black New Englander who had been protesting against lack of civil rights in Massachusetts, took 38 Negroes to the West coast of Africa at his own expense. There were various plans for colonization of the Negroes in the Northwest territory and some actual experiments by slaveowners who emancipated their slaves and sent them there. The free Negroes in Richmond opposed colonization in Africa and asked Congress for territory in on the Missouri River. The Negroes of Boston asked how could they be called Africans when they were born in America and the Negroes of Hartford said that ignorant people sent to Africa could not teach ignorant people.

Later, the effort of Great Britain and of the United

States to curb the slave trade turned back many slave ships with their cargoes and they formed the nucleus of Liberia and Sierra Leone. The American Colonization Society sent numbers of educated Negroes and laborers to help in the Liberian adventure and others went voluntarily. This might have resulted in a much larger migration had not the Colonization Society under Southern leaders turned the organization into a method of buttressing slavery by getting rid of free Negroes. This aroused the ire of the abolitionists and the fear of the better class of Negroes. Liberia was the final result of the efforts of the American Colonization Society. They sent out agents in 1816, but no emigrants until 1819, when 81 went to Shebre Island. Others went in 1821 and changed the settlement to the mainland of Liberia. Here they struggled with the natives and grew as other immigrants slowly dribbled in. From 1820-1833, 7,836 were sent. In 1847, after the United States had refused support, Liberia declared itself an independent government and has maintained its independence ever since, despite great difficulties.

49-14-15

At this time, the situation of free Negroes in the South was dangerous and in the North not happy. Northern Negroes were widely deprived of political and civil rights and had a hard time earning a living. The determination to enforce the black laws against Negro immigrants and runaway slaves in Cincinnati about 1830 led to the first American-Negro convention in Philadelphia in 1830 and to certain concerted plans of action. The convention met annually from 1830 to 1836 and was attended by a number of educated and influential Negroes, as well as white sympathizers, like William Lloyd Garrison. They raised money and communicated with the British Government and laid plans for a large migration of Negroes into Canada. The nucleus of the

black settlements in Southern Ontario was begun at this time. The settlement had great influence on Negroes in the United States. Here was the headquarters of the Liberty League. Here John Brown first met to plan his raid, which was not to be a slave revolt, but an armed and systematic migration of fugitives. Many distinguished Negroes have come from these settlements, including Josiah Henson and the late Richard B. Harrison, "De Lawd" of "Green Pastures".

As the slavery controversy became more bitter and hope of emancipation faded, many Negroes began to think of wholesale migration. In 1853, a National Council of Negroes was organized to take up the question of migration. Twelve state conventions sent representatives to the Cleveland Convention of 1854. Three proposals were made: one by Martin D. Delaney, who advocated the Niger Valley in Africa; another by James M. Whitfield, who wanted to go to Central America; and a third by Theodore Holly, afterward an Episcopal bishop, who proposed to go to Haiti. These three emissaries started out and at the next colonization convention in Canada in 1856, Holly made his report and eventually 2,000 emigrants went to Haiti. Delaney, later, proceeded to the Niger Valley and concluded treaties with eight African kings. Whitfield died in San Francisco on his way to Central America. The whole plan of wholesale emigration split the American Negroes into bitterly antagonistic groups with Frederick Douglass leading ~~the opposition to the colonization idea~~.

The Civil War stopped thoughts and plans for emigration for many years, although there were small internal movements of freedmen from Carolina to Florida, from the Gulf states to the Southwest and from Virginia to the South in search of better

working conditions and free land. When the Negroes began to pour in on the Union army, Abraham Lincoln proposed to carry out his own long cherished plan of colonization. He consulted foreign countries and secured an appropriation of $100,000 from Congress in 1861 and a further appropriation of $500,000 in 1862. He favored compensated emancipation in the Border States on condition that the Negroes should move beyond the limits of the country.

In August, 1862, a delegation of Negroes consulted Lincoln with regard to settlement in Central America or elsewhere, but there arose difficulties of finding suitable places. Finally, a settlement on the Isle à Vache near Haiti was arranged under Bernard Kock, who had leased the island from Haiti. Several hundred Negroes were ready to go, but doubt was thrown on Kock's character and objects. Finally, the Secretary of the Interior made a contract with certain New York capitalists who who really represented Kock and an expedition set out in 1862 with 500 Negroes and Kock was hired as governor or manager. The result was disastrous. Smallpox broke out, drinking water was scarce and food bad. The company was landed without shelter or supplies. Kock proved to be dishonest and incompetent and in 1864, the remains of the colony were brought back to the United States. Only 293 survived.

49-17-14

It was not until the withdrawal of Federal troops in the South in 1876 that widespread plans of migration from the South to the North took place. There had been some migration of freedmen from the South immediately after the war, but the difficulty of getting work in the North and the prospect of greater freedom in the South held this to a minimum. The terror-

ism of the Ku Klux Klan and the forced disfranchisement of the Negroes in 1875 and 1876 led to widespread plans for migration into the West and particularly into Kansas. Some moved from North Carolina to Indiana and a congressional investigation tried to prove this a political scheme. Two men, Henry Adams in Louisiana and Benjamin Singleton of Tennessee organized major schemes. They told of the opportunities in Kansas and the West and interested between 100,000 and 200,000 Negroes. Over 50,000 Negroes actually went West and a meeting of whites and blacks in Vicksburg in 1897 tried to stop the exodus by reassuring Negroes, after which the whites resorted to violence.

At first, the Negro emigrants to Kansas were in distress, but a relief association was formed among the Quakers and other whites which supplied them with clothes and money. During the first year, the freedmen took up 20,000 acres of land and built some 300 cabins. A report of the Freedmen's Relief Association said "that the exodus of the colored people from the South began about February 1, 1879 and that 60,000 refugees came to Kansas, of whom 40,000 were in a destitute condition." There was some violent opposition to this migration among local people, but, on the whole, it proved successful.

21-41-64

After 1890, there was a gradual but increasing migration of Negroes from the South to Northern cities. For the most part the first wave of migration represented the well-to-do, or the educated and ambitious who could not submit to the caste conditions of the South. There came, also, artisans and lavorers, but they met the opposition of the trade unions and were forced to make a living by sgrike-breaking and were then accused of being "scabs".

Later, the project of a "Return to Africa" recurred and was led by Henry M. Turner, a Reconstruction leader in Georgia and later a bishop in the African Methodist Church. Turner had become greatly discouraged because of an unfavorable decision of the Supreme Court in the Civil Rights case. There was considerable agitation of this plan but very little actual migration. Senator Morgan of Alabama supported it and 197 Negroes sailed from Georgia to Liberia in 1895. Finally, with little response, the scheme was given up.

Organized efforts have also been made to transplant Negroes into Mexico and South America, but understandings between our State Department and the authorities of these South American states has effectively blocked these plans.

Meanwhile the Northern migration of Negroes has continued to gain steadily, and the second wave of it has reached down to the Negro masses and the lower South. The colored population of the North and West increased from 344,719 in 1860 to 626,990 in 1880 and 911,025 in 1900, indicating a movement of 10,000 to 20,000 Negroes a year from South to North. Between 1910 and 1920, on account of the World War, the Northern Negro population increased nearly a half-million, and a whole million from 1920 to 1930. This probably indicates the permanent northward movement of over a million Negroes between 1910 and 1930.

So migration has been one of the great historical weapons of Negro self-defense. Not always successful, it has at least proved a useful agency in improving his lot through change. It has often been urged against him as a failing, but under the hard circumstances of oppression, the Negro's mobility has proved one of the few resources open to him. In addition to

its material gains, migration has kept the spirit of freedom and independence alive and has afforded it a safe channel of expression.

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The laws were so drawn, however, that in the majority of cases courts could easily render them ineffective. In only two states have the civil rights laws really been enforced with thoroughness, in Massachusetts and in New York since the law of 1918.

A wave of "jim-crow" legislation, inclusing disfranchisement and requiring separation fo the races on railroads, streetcars, public conveyances and in education, swept over the South from 1890 to 1910. Negroes could do little to oppose it. They did succees, however, in confining separation in Maryland to local trains and to defeating separate car laws in Missouri and West Virginia. In 1913, after Wilson and the Democratic Party came into power, a determined drive was made to spread laws against the intermariage of Negroes and whites on the statute books of the Northern states. Anti-intermarriage bills were introduced in Congress and in California, Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington and Wisconsin. Negroes succeeded in keeping most of this discriminatory legislation from passage; only one such bill passed when Nebraska strengthened an existing statute. However such laws exist in states of the Union.

49-19-44

The social and economic emancipation of the Negro race by means of the power of the ballot has failed of any great success. But it is true that its power has not been very successful in protecting the rights of many disadvantaged white groups, labor especially. This serves only to make the fact more clear that without economic reconstruction political freedom and power are impossible.

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CHAPTER IV

TWO RIVAL PLANS: COMPROMISE AND PROTEST

Along side the plan we have just discussed,-the hope for citizenship through the use of political power, came two other movements which dominated the period from late reconstruction to the World War. One, from 1896 to 1920, sought to integrate the American Negro into American industry as a farmer, laborer, skilled artisan and petty capitalist: it took the path of compromise and was championed by Booker T. Washington. The other sought by agitation and legal defense to clear away race discrimination, gain equal rights and win a militant campaign for the advance of black folk according to chance and ability. Starting with the Niagara Movement, the latter became the platform of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its militant organ,-The Crisis. These two movements engaged sharply divided Negro leadership. The first ended with the World War. The second declined with the depression and merged with movements to fight discrimination under the N.R.A. and other "new-deal" plans of relief and reconstruction.

49-19-25

Underneath all the arguements for and against the equal rights movement and the appeal to law and justice, it was evident from the first that economic power must underlie all efforts of the American Negro to establish himself securely. His exploitation, which began in slavery, was not ended by emancipation; it continued from the fact that he was a poor and ignorant laboring class. How, then, could the Negro establish himself as an effective and decently paid laborer? The first clear and coherent plan to this end was presented by Booker T. Washington and was the platform of his celebrated speech at the Cotton States' Exposition.

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at Atlanta in 1896.

This occasion had been carefully planned beforehand. It was not, as believed, a spontaneous event. William H. Baldwin, a young railroad executive and far-sighted industrialist, knew by personal experience Southern labor conditions. he was then president of the Long Island Railroad and was slated for the presidency of the Pennsylvania system. Foreseeing the new demands and growing organization among white craft laborers, he and other industrialists knew that Negro labor with proper training and treatment could be made a great labor reserve. A firm believer in capitalistic control and expansion, Baldwin foresaw a great new industrial South if both races could be built up into two supplementary laboring classes. So he wanted black laborers trained in skilled industry and farming, and He ~~wanted~~ the white laborers well paid, but curbed in their increasing demand for a voice in industry. Here as a potential buffer was the developing Negro race meeting new incentives and leadership. And here to hand was an extraordinary man, a self-made Negro, trained at Hampton, who had been brought down to take charge of a small trades' school in Alabama, started by a young colored woman named Davidson.

49-17-26

Mr. Washington was an opportunist, slow but keen witted, with high ideals. He believed in political rights for people who could exercise them. But he knew the attitude of the white South was against the political activity of Southern Negroes. He therefore took the compromise position that the Negro must first gain an industrial status before he could effectively exercise political rights. He knew that the Negro needed civil rights and social justice. No one suffered more than he from the discrimination against the Negro in the schools, courts, in the use of public utilities. But he believed that if the

Negro demonstrated that he could make great advances despite discrimination and handicap, the inherent justice of the nation would gradually extend to deserving Negroes the rights they merited.

Above all, Mr. Washington had not the slightest doubt that the prevailing organization of American industry was normal and right; that capital was accumulated by thrift; that labor was rightfully bought and ~~sold~~ and that profits were rightfully the result of buying the product of labor. He proposed therefore that the Negro take this path towards eventual equality, that his laboring masses should work hard and skillfully not only to earn a living but also to accumulate in the hands of the more thrifty individuals enough capital to hire employees and make money. He expected black property owners and petty capitalists to gain power and recognition in an industrial regime and gradually rise in the scale of American life. As a first step toward this new capitalism, Washington stressed land-holding,-widespread peasant farm ownership, and large scale farming by Negroes.

49-17-27

As a practical concession, Mr. Washington's program included the temporary giving up of the fight for political rights and of agitation for civil rights. His plan, launched in 1896 and triumphant with American public opinion until about 1910, put its emphasis upon ~~industrial~~ vocational training and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ industrial and commercial pursuits for young Negroes. This plan was in reality an alliance with white capital and current industrialism. It was rewarded by large philanthropic contributions for Negro education, especially to such schools as conformed to the Hampton and Tuskegee type. Regarded as a practical

and far-sighted compromise for the postponement of the more acute issues of the race problem, this program made Mr. Washinton one of the most popular men in America between 1900 and 1910. In constant demand North and South as a speaker, adviser and referee.

On his platform the influential leaders of the North and South came to a new understanding with regard to the Negro. Agitation for civil rights was frowned upon and skilled labor was encouraged. The Negro college, while not openly opposed, was looked upon with some suspicion and careers for Negro college and professional men became restricted. Appointments and opportunities for young Negroes were constantly referred for approval to the sage of Tuskegee.

As white opinion became more and more solid behind Mr. Washington, Negro opinion became uneasy and suspicious. Meanwhile the best white Southern elements continued supporting Mr. Washington and his program of gradual improvement. But the politicians and the rabble got out of hand. A wave of "jim-crow" legislation and disfranchisement swept over the South and border states between 1890 and 1910, just as Negro political power and protest had been undermined by the Washington compromise. By adroitely drawn"literacy tests" and property and residence qualifications Negroes were disfranchised by Mississippi in 1890, South Carolina in 1895, Louisiana in 1898, North Carolina in 1900, Alabama in 1901, Virginia in 1902, Georgia in 1908 and by Oklahoma in 1910.

Evidently, despite their promises, the best white South could not protect the voteless Negro. Moreover, the attempt to set up a Negro labor class led to rivalry with white labor and to

49-17-28

race
increased hatred and lawlessness in the South. By 1891 separation of the races in travel had been made compulsory in Tennessee, Florida, Mississippi, Texas, Kentucky, Georgia and Louisiana. Then after a brief pause it spread to cover South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland and Oklahoma by 1898, with repeated but unsuccessful efforts made in Missouri, West Virginia and Delaware. As these laws and segregation ordinances completed the program of racial caste, it became evident to an increasing number of Negroes that the practical ~~x~~ result of the Washington compromise was going to be a permanent caste system in the United States, acquiesced in and condoned by Negroes themselves.

In the North, unfavorable results set in. White labor inherited from before the Civil War a fear of the competition of slave labor and took the same attitude toward the competition of free black labor. A Negro trade union movement however slowly began and was grudgingly recognized. When the Knights of Labor were organized in , a large scale attempt was made to organize Negro workers. Soon after, the craft unions began to exclude Negroes, and when the American Federation of Labor, the organization of the skilled crafts, came into power this policy grew. Most of its constituent organizations excluded Negroes openly or by secret policy, and the chasm between white and black labor gradually widened.

49-17-29

Mr. Washington, who hated caste and lawlessness and wanted the best for his people, was greatly embarassed in later years by the continuance of lynching, the political triumph of the radical anti-Negro South, and the growth of anti-Negro labor policy in the North. But he believed implicitly in his economic program and made the fatal mistake of trying to forestall cri-

ticism of it by Negroes. The result was an outburst of wrath and opposition led by the younger college bred groups who were at odds with Mr. Washington over his disparagement of the Negro college. This opposition split Negro public opinion into two hostile camps.

Mr. Washington's work, however, was not all lost. It first was shown in the ownership of land. Negroes owned 97,458 farms in 1890. This number increased rapidly until it reached a total of 218,612 in 1920. Then forces over which Washington had no control manifested themselves and land ownership decreased to 181,016 in 1930, which meant a loss of at least 4, 000,000 acres of land; and it has been alleged that since 1930, ~~xkixxx~~ nearly a million acres more have been lost. In other words, Negroes bought land just at the time when land ownership was losing its significance, so that the Negro landholder was caught in the depression which overwhelmed the farmers of the country and could not by his unaided efforts hope to make economic improvement on Southern farms. The same difficulties in lesser degree faced the white farmer and the result was that the farm population moved to the city in large numbers and entered industry. Most of these migrants from country to city were white, but a large and increasing number were Negroes. Between 1910 and 1920, the center of the Negro population in the United States moved 19 miles North.

49-14-30

Negro farmers and farm laborers for this reason decreased from 56.6% to 36.7% of the working population from 1890 to 1930. On the other hand, Negroes in transportation, manufacturing and mechanical industries, and in business and clerical wor, increased in the same time from 10.3% to 29.9%. But they

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did not become as Washington had hoped, skilled workers and business leaders, to any extent. Manifestly, this was not merely the result of lack of skill or unwillingness to work. It was partly the result of race prejudice and partly a change in the whole industrial system of the nation and the age--of which Booker Washington did not dream.

49-17-31

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CHAPTER V

PLANS OF AGITATION AND LEGAL DEFENSE

To disfranchise the Negro meant x nullifying the Civil War amendments. This was clearly illegal. Ever since 1876 then, it has been a settled plan and hope among Negroes to regain their political power and full civil status by new legislation or by judicial appeal to the highest courts of the land. Such efforts have been made by militant individuals and groups ever since, and we turn to a brief review of them. All such leaders and movements have proceeded along the lines of the traditional belief of American democracy,-freedom and justice by legal and constitutional guarantees.

But the history of court action from the very beginning has not been favorable on the whole to the Negro's interests. The earlier cases involved the interpretation of the war amendments. In 1873 the Slaughter House cases emasculated the 14th amendment. In 1876 the courts declared the Force Act of 1870 unconstitutional, thus denying the power of the Federal government to protect its own voters at the polls. Another decision in 1893 seriously restricted the Civil Rights bill. Thus Negro rights were off to a bad start at the very beginning of Reconstruction.

The Negro now began to be alarmed lest a legal basis of color caste arise. Even before this time, Negroes had held various national conventions for the discussion and protection of their rights; notably from 1830 to 1836 in Philadelphia, one in Troy, New York in 1847, another in Cleveland Ohio in 1848, in Cincinatti in 1852, and in Rochester , N.Y. 1853. In 1864, a National convention of Colored Men was held in Syracuse, N.Y.

49-12-21

with Frederick Douglass presiding. A National Equal Rights League was formed, with John M. Langston as president. Branches of this were formed in many northern and southern states and immediately after the war the Negro convention movement resumed its activity. From 1867 to 1871, labor organization was the burden of much of this effort. From then on, the Negro conventions became more and more political. After several years of promotion by T. Thomas Fortune, editor of what is now the New York Age, the Afro-American League, later the Afro-American Council was organized in Chicago in January 1890. J.C.Price was president and Mr. Fortune secretary. After one further meeting in Tennessee, this league subsided, but was revived in September 1898 by Bishop Alexander Walters. It met at Rochester in September, and later in Washington that same year "to investigate lynching, to test the constitutionality of discriminatory laws, to secure civil rights legislation, to promote migration from the South and to encourage organization." The weakness of this organization was the lack of a continuous working body to carry out the resolutions of its annual meeting; it was sincere but ineffective.

49-19-22

In 1905 however a new aspect had come over public opinion among Negroes. Alarm at the new wave of disfranchisement and discrimination and resentment over Booker Washington's concession began to spread. Particularly, young colored college men began to fear the dictatorship of the Tuskegee machine. This opposition flamed up when Monroe Trotter was sent to jail in Boston for attempting to heckle Mr. Washington during a speech there. A call to action was issued in June 1905 signed by 59 men from 17 states. In july 1905, 29 of these men representing 14 of these states met at Niagara Falls and formed The Niagara Movement.

that the Negro's handicap in the basic matter of earning a living was still so great and unsolved that Negroes as a mass did not have the power to make effective their demands for their rights.

49-17-23

Chapter VI.

WORLD WAR and DEPRESSION.

At the outbreak of the War, the situation of the Negro seemed favorable. Higher learning was gaining rapidly in quality and quantity, and the elementary school system in the South, while still bad, was improving. Though still restricted, the Negro's political power was beginning to be used with some effect in the North and the border states. Lynching had decreased under pressure of agitation from an annual total of 235 in 1892 to below 75 a year. The Negro press gained in efficiency and boldness. Through participation in the World Races Congress, held in London in 1911, Negroes had begun to visualize the problems of other colored peoples. Many Negroes in the election of 1912 supported Wilson in a move to make the Negro vote a balance of power factor and put the "Party of the South" under obligations to the Northern Negro voter.

But the forces of reaction were still at work. The Smith-Lever Bill to give federal assistance to education in the South passed without safeguards for fair Negro participation. In the 67th Congress, some 20 measures against Negroes were introduced. In September, 1915 Haiti was occupied. That year saw 53 lynchings, and the only favorable event of significance was the Supreme Court decidion overthrowing the "Grandfather clauses." Segregation ordinaces were passed in 1916 in St. Louis and Dallas, and in May, a Negro was publicly burned in Waco, Texas ubder circumstances of horrible brutality, and November a well-to-do Negro was lynched in South Carolina for demanding the current price for his cotton crop.

Then in 1916, the great Negro migration north began as an unusual demand arose for labor. The War had stopped immigration, the main source of supply, just as the crop failures of 1915 and the ravages of the boll-weevil decreased the demand for labor in the South. A mass

of Negroes, estimated at between 250,000 and 500,000 for the year, went North. The South immediately began propaganda to stop this exodus. They restricted labor recruiting agents by high license fees, drove Negroes from railroad stations, refused to sell tickets and spread alarmist rumors abour labor and racial conditions in the North. In fact, there had been labor riots in Chester, Pa. and a few other centers where the influx of Negro labor was resented by white laborers. In July, 1917, the worst of these labor feuds broke out in East St. Louis, where between 100 and 200 Negroes were killed, 6000 driven from their homes and $400,000 worth of property destroyed.

So when the United States entered the war February 3, 1917, the Negro faced a crisis and a dilemma. How could a black man fight loyally for a country where such things could occur and be condoned? Why should he. in the face of disfranchisement and lynching?

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Persistent rumors of German propaganda among Negroes were flying here and there, with some small basis of fact but little tangible result. Yet it would have been futile for Negroes to have opposed the war; any suspicion of disloyalty would have been followed by increased discrimination and mob violence, visited particularly on their most helpless classes. On the other hand, there was in the very conduct of the war some chance to make the crisis in the national fortunes an occasion for bettering the Negro's condition. If Negroes were not included in the draft, that would be a denial of their citizenship. If they could not be soldiers, but only laborers, that would deny their full manhood. If they could not be officers as well as soldiers, this would be an attack on their ability.

The N.A.A.C.P. took this stand and fought for the inclusion of Negroes in the draft and for volunteer Negro soldiers. On the matter of Negro officers, they were put in a curious dilemma. At first, on their

principle of fighting discrimination, they asked for the admission of Negroes to regular officers' camps. This was flatly premtorily denied. The chairman of the N.A.A.C.P., with some of the directors thereupon asked for a separate camp to train Negro officers. This plan received enthusiastic support from student groups at Howard University and other colleges, and after some official hestitation, a camp for training Negro officers was established at Des Moines, Iowa, and 700 Negroes trained and commissioned therefrom.

But the difficulties of race discrimination in the Army were just beginning. According to the Draft Act, Negro and white troops were to be separated. Were Negro officers to lead Negro troops exclusively or were white officers to be mixed with them? Were Negro troops to be in separate units or brigaded with white troops? After much hesitation, a final compromise was adopted to form a division of Negro combat troops, known as the 92nd Division, with white field officers and Negro line officers. A second Negro division, the 93rd, was projected but never functioned. The 92nd did however, with a creditable war record, in spite of administrative difficulties and bickering.

49-17-34

In the South, in spite of claims that Negroes were physically inferior, and that they were manifestly poorer and more needed by their families, a larger percentage of Negroes were drafted. In the North, Negro draftees were tossed about on the fringe of "white" camps until they could be put in a "Negro" camp . Many competent, educated men were thus forced into "labor battalions." There was much discrimination and threats of mob violence against Negro cantonments in the South. And later, there was much bitterness aroused by unfair treatment of Negro troops in France, the hostile attitude of many white officers toward black officers, and the contrast of the more just attitudes of the French command and the French populace.

So serious were these situations that the government called together the editors of the Negro pfess and promised reforms. It appointed an advisory Negro representative as special assistant to the Secretary of War. The office carried no executive power, but could bring matters, chiefly complaints, directly to the ear of the Secretary. There was even a plan to put one or more Negro officers in the Intelligence Service, but sudden caution stopped it. On the whole, the program of patriotic cooperation resulted in giving the Negro a better status during the war, with black officers over his troops and some chance to show his prowess. Yet, withal, the Negro was forced to do his greatest service as a laborer; though his stevedore units made extraordinary records in the handling of army supplies and humble but dangerous work behind the trenches lines.

While these matters were occupying the attention of Negro leaders, vast changes were occuring beneath all this in the economic condition of the Negro to which they gave but passing notice. Before 1914, foreign emigrants competed with Negroes as laborers and servants, and each year for ten years preceeding the war came in numbers equal to the entire Negro population of the North. Since 1820 thirty six million immigrants had been absorbed by American industry, mostly as common labor; and from 1900- 1910, seven million came in. Thsi fact made Negroes unimportant to trade unions, which for the most part, kept t them out. Before 1914 not more than 10,000 Negroes migrated North in any year as compared with over a quarter of a million in 1917.

With immigration checked by the World War, and later by American legislation limiting it first to a 3% and then a 2% quota,-(Italy, Austria, Hungary and Russia who in 1910 were sending in 600,000 immigrants a year were thus reduced to less than 6000) - the demand for labor was high. Labor agents began to bring Negro workers into

Northern industries. Unskilled workers were especially in demand in the steel and iron industries and building construction, in the stockyards, and for road maintenance and railroad construction. Between 1915 and 1928, 1,200,000 Negroes came north from the Southland. Many were brought in, through no fault of their own, as strikebreakers. Now for the first time the Negro was a factor in the problems of Northern ~~xxxxxxx~~ capital and labor. Some of this labor became skilled; the U.S. Dept. of Labor reported a 34% increase in skilled labor among Negroes generally, and in some lines the increase reached 186%. Pittsburgh Negro iron and steel workers increased from 100 in 1910 to 16,900 in 1923. The Ford Automobile plant employed at the peak 11,000 Negroes.

Economic, social and even physical conflict followed this rapid change. White workers often threatened to quit if Negroes were employed. Southern whites were imported to Northern mills as foremen. Many trade unions began to seek Negro members, but the Negroes were not always willing to join. ~~xxxxxx~~ Discussion arose over the efficiency of Negro labor. Came the bitter year of 1919.

The 1919 report of the N.A.A.C.P. had this story to tell: " Serious mob outbreaks against Negroes and clashes between the races were reported from 26 cities. The most spectacular of these outbreaks and riots were those occurring in Washington, D.C.; Chicago; Omaha, Nebraska; Knoxville, Tennessee; Longview, Texas; and the widely heralded "uprising against whites" at Elaine, Phillips County, Arkansas. Serious riots occurred also at Charleston, S.C.; Norfolk, Va.; Philadelphia and Bisbee, Arizona. "... " Six persons were killed outright in the Washington riots from July 19 to July 23. These riots were begun and carried on by uniformed soldiers and sailors. Fifty persons were seriously injured and a hundred or more less seriously wounded. Order was restored only by the intervention of

49-17-36

United States troops." The Chicago riots and many others were definite outgrowths of labor antagonism.

During the War, union labor was triumphant. The preseident of the American Federation of Labor was on the Council of Defense and the War Labor Board. In return for pledged cooperation and the pledge not to strike, the government gave recognition to collective bargaining, the 8 hour day, and a high standard of living. Union membership increased 2,000,000 between 1917 and 1920.

But since the collapse of the Knights of Labor ( ), union labor had not welcomed Negro workers. This is how the American Federation of Labor changed its policy. In 1881, it declared "the working people must unite and organize irrespective of creed, color, sex, nationality or politics." This was reaffirmed in 1897 after opposition. In 1902, it was voted that separate charters might be issued to Central Labor Unions, local unions or Federal Labor Unions composed exclusively of colored members. This, in fact, recognized the legality of excluding Negroes from local unions and City Central Labor bodies. From 1910-1914, the Federation allowed organizations which excluded Negroes to affiliate with them, but hired 3 Negro organizers and proceeded to organize separate local and federal unions. When Negro workers began to increase so rapidly in the North between 1916-and 1920, the matter of their organization was pushed in the A.F. Of L. conventions, but no machinery was provided. As a result, the A.F. of L. had, before the depression, less power and influence among the Negro group than it did at any other time. This accounts mainly for the Negro's disinterest in labor organization.

49-12-37

Negro Labor Organization.- Despite this, there has been considerable organized.
growth in Negro Labor. Sra Reid reports (

Negro mebership in trade unions in 1890 at 3,523; in 1900 as 32,769; in 1910, 57,662; 1926-28 as 61,032; and in

Adding to this, independent Negro unions and organized Negro workers, we get a grand total of

Most Negro union men are members of the Hod-Carriers8 Union, the Carpenters' Unionthe Bricklayers and Masons, the plasterers, the longshoremen. the international seamen, the United Mine Workers; and most of the women, members of the Ladies Garment Workers. Yet today 24 national unions exclude Negroes from their ranks

49-17-38

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49-17-39

Negro Labor To-Day.- Whereas before the World War the Negro's economic position hinged largely on the demand for agricultural labor for the production of staple crops in the South, it has been determined since, largely by the demands for industrial labor, particularly in the mid-West and the North. As a result, the black belt areas , that is counties with half or more of the population Negro have decreased from a high of to a present low of 187 in 1930. The Negro population has rapidly concentrated in cities. Eighty per-cent of the Negro population was rural in 1890, but only 73% in 1910 and 56% in 1930. In 9 main metropolitan regions in the North over 2,000,000 Negroes are living; and 1,500,000 more in metroploitan districts of the South . The change in occupation has been equally great. During slavery, the Negro was engaged chiefly in agriculture and in domestic and personal service. As late as 1890, of the total poulation over ten years of age, 56% were in agriculture and 31.2 % in domestic service. But in 1930 only 36.7 % were in agriculture, 28.6 % in domestic and personal service and 29.2% in manufacturing and mechanical industries and trade and transportation.

This amounts to a wide-scale economic revolution. The striking decrease of farmers and servants, the rapid increase of those in the professions and the steady increase in the numbers in industrial pursuits indicates this clearly. Between 1890 and 1930, for example the increase of Negroes in the building trades was over 500% and in the cloth and allied industries 270%. Increases in the food and allied industries were 473 % ; in the lumber anf furniture industries 418 % and in the metal industries over 1,000%.

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The [redacted]:- Another significant change has been the breakdown of the industrial color line, especially since the depression. There were curious prejudices giving Negroes moncpolies on certain types of work. It used to be true, as Alexander described it: " A Southern white man will curry a mule, but will not brush a gentleman's coat. He will drive an ox-cart, but will not act as coachman." These so-called "Negro jobs" were the jobs of servants and laborers, but they were fairly permanent, and these workers had certain perquisites in food and clothing and had personal relations with employers that gave them a degree of legal and social protection. The money which built homes and churches for Negroes, educated Negro children and saved sums for capital investment came, for the most part, out of such wage.

This situation changed gradually just preceeding the World War and markedly thereafter. In most Southern hotels today the sons of the poor whites are the bell-boys and their daughters the waitresses. This class ,too, has pressed into the cities and competes with the Negro as porters, newsboys, servants and day laborers. The white laboring class in the South is competing for Negro jobs and pushing Negroes from nearly all lines of work. The division of labor by race has almost completely disappeared, and during the depression it has become more and more an accepted creed that no Negro should have a job as long as white men were unemployed.

Severer competition, lower wages have increased the opposition of white labor. Black labor has met serious set-backs because of this competition. Meanwhile the machine has displaced many of the very skills which Hampton and Tuskegee were teaching and proposing as the black man's economic ladder. Meanwhile also the situation of the farmer, both white and black, in the presence of new problems of labor, machinery, decreasing

49-17-42

markets and market prices, made the advance of the Negro farmer quite impossible. So by the time of the present economic era, the Booker Washington program for the economic emancipation of the Negro had met insuperable difficulties. The small black capitalist and the capable Negro college or professional graduate found decreasing opportunity for profitable occupation, Concentrating credit, capital and mass production squeezed out his chances. He could only hover on the fringe of exploitation which the whites neglected, using color discrimination as a sort of protective tariff for his marginal lack of capital and opportunity.

Most people do no realize the serious losses of both white and black labor since the War. As soon as that was over, the government withdrew its indirect backing of labor. With numerous strikes, employers began to push for the open shop. The began to undermine the labor unions by company unions, stock sales to employees and profit-sharing. In the steel and caol strikes, the failure to organize Negro workers in these industries helped to break the strikes; and the use of court injunctions by employers broke down the resistance of the unions. Organization of Negroes in these field was belatedly attempted. and quite a few joined. But really by 1923, labor in general had lost much or even most of its war gains. Many workers had lost their jobs because of new machines and mass production schemes. Membership in the unions declined and almost disappeared in the steel and textile automobile industries.

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But rising business prosperity continued to sweep values up till 1929, and an extraordinary profits psychology obscured the basic facts. Masses of men were really competing for steadily diminishing jobs and lower wage scales. The machine was steadily replacing and displacing human labor. In the South white organizations like the "Blue Shirts"

of Jacksonville, the "Black Shirts of Alabama, and the revived Ku Klux Klan and " Sons of Justice" of Georgia began agitation by intimidation, and violence to drive Negroes out of jobs. Negro locomotive firemen were assassinated on duty in Mississippi and Louisiana with the purpose of runnuing all Negro trainmen off their jobs. Idleness on the part of both races has led to unrest, ill-temper, crimes against property and labor antagonism. Certain efforts of ~~xxxxxx~~ propaganda among Negroes to lead them to radical revolutionary doctrines have fomented distrust and hysteria.

~~The Depression Makes Elite.~~ The forces of the depression were not only undermining the condition of the masses, but jeopardizing the gains of the elite. In most lines of employment with technical and higher administrative possibilities, Negroes encountered the impossibility of promotion to positions of authority or supervision. This was especially true in technical engineering lines, in which because of difficulties of placement, many engineering schools discouraged refused to take Negro students. In organized business, Negroes made repeated efforts. Here the great concentration of capital and credit, the severe competition of chain systems and the tremendous cost of modern advertising were the undoing of most Negro financial enterprises. Taking advantage of rate discriminations against Negroes in life insurance, several large Negro insurance companies were launched, with considerable success at the outset. But the depression and immature management brought about the failure of two. Others ~~xxxxx~~, with policies aggregating $ 260,000,000 and assets of $ 18,445,000 still survive. But even they are more or less at the mercy of white investment concerns. Numbers of Negro banks encountered failure in the slump which carried under so many small banks, black and white. A recent effort to establish a Negro chain store system

46-12-44

- organized as the Colored Merchants Association in the grocery trade, began at a time when it had to depend on wholesale dealers who themselves were being pushed to the wall by the bigger chains. So they failed to break through this cordon of competition.

Over against these financial set-backs, the steady growth of Negro education might seem at first very encouraging. For Negro colleges have increased in numbers, efficiency and stability, from 70 in 1921 to 106 in 1931; with an enrollment increase from 5,231 to 22,609. There were 18,550 Negroes in college in 1930, 2329 graduates in Southern colleges in 1932, not counting a considerable number graduated in mixed colleges, and the total enrollment in 1931 of 101 Negro colleges was 31, 468 with an annual income of $9,317,764. But on the other hand, the position of the public high and elementary schools which are the pyramid base of this educational advance was precarious through decreasing public school revenues, unfair distribution of tax money for the support of Negro schools, a crippling differential in salary scales between white and Negro teachers. And when we look at the base line of Negro education in the rural school we find the saddest situation of all, with most of them either closed down or seriously curtailed by the depression.

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Thus the whole economic situation of American Negroes has, inevitably been greatly complicated by the present depression and economic crisis. For the past three years the amount of unemployment and social dependency among Negroes has been everywhere greater than among the white population. This has meant the loss of home property, the disappearance of savings, the bankruptcy of much Negro business enterprise, and further handicaps all along the line. The masses of Negroes face the task of somehow relaying the foundations of their economic life.

Chapter VIII.

THE NEGRO ADVISERS: 1934.

Negroes were now in a quandary. Theye were told that if they did not accept the lower wage offered, they ould have no jobs, since millions of white workers were unemployed. Kelly Miller advised them to throw in their lot with capital, since any other alliance was hopeless; and yet the acceptance of wage differentials branded the Negro as economically sub-standard. Others counselled no compromise and an alliance , where possible,with labor. The controversy split the Negroes into two new camps.

On the one side these were the arguments; Quoting from an editorial in the New York Times, Sept. 10,1933: " If the Blue Eagle of the N.R.A. had been looking a few days ago over the shoulder of a Negro employee of a manufacturing company in a great Southern city, he would have seen the Negro draw from his pay envelope a pink sheet bearing this message: ' To all colored employees: The wages you are paid now are more than this company can pay unless each worker produces more. ...If the false friends of the colored people do not stop their propaganda about paying the same wages to colored and white, this company will be forced to move the factory to a section where the minimum wage will produce the greatest production. ... Stop your friends from talking you out of your job.' " It should be said that the Negro employees of this company receive from 6 to 13 cents an hour for eight hours daily and five days a week; second that it displays the now familiar emblem of the Blue Eagle. Further, it is only fair to record that a great many, perhaps a majority of Southerners are attempting to give the Negro a square deal. There are also many honest and fair-minded Southerners who believe that a sane solution of the N.R.A. wage problem in the

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South would be to establish a differential. They point out that among ~~the~~ whites the women workers usually receive wages lower than the men, and that since for so many years the Negro has received less than the white worker, it is unwise to make a change as sweeping as that inaugurated under the Blue Eagle. None asserts that such a condition represents justice, but ~~it~~ it is a course which, according to many, wisdom seems to dictate."

In the case of the Southland Manufacturing Co., G.Lake Imes of Tuskegee took the same position, thus defending his advocacy of a lower code wage for Negroes:

" We have now this situation, that 258 women in Montgomery, whose labor supplies practically the only means of livelihood for some 800 people, having had the order issued that whoever employs them must pay a minimum wage of $12 a week regardless of their production capacity, find themselves at the same time without any place to earn that wage or part of it. Many of them are now on relief rolls for direct relief; others have tried in vain to get either food or work slips.

" The Southland Manufacturing Co. does not ask for complete exemption from code requirements. It does ask for temporary exemption until the volume of production of this plant, measured by standards which generally obtain in the industry, is brought to a point where the plant can pay the minimum code wage and operate without actual loss...

" You can get no equality if you have no opportunity. Without opportunity, all the rest of it is theory... and later in the argument quoting Lieutenant Oxley as saying that ' he would rather see all of the colored women of Alabama starve to death than retreat from the principle of equal wages', the Rev. Imes declared:" If this is a sample of the thinking of the colored"brain trust", it would be better had it never been created."

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On the other hand, Dr. Moton, president of Tuskegee said: "I realize that if the N.R.A. forces this policy (of equal wages) to be carried out fully, some Negroes ~~will~~ may lose their jobs. Certainly I think it is better that some should lose their jobs, if they have to, than that all Negroes should be put down by organized and unorganized white labor as a group of strike-breakers and 'scabs'."

The Federal administration was finally stirred by such dilemmas, criticisms and complaints. The response eventually was the appointment of a number of special advisers on Negro affairs in connection with various New Deal actvities. Anticipating such situations, the "Interracial Conference" held in Washington in May, 1933 had proposed a representative of Negro interests in the higher administration. A committee went to the Secretary of the Interior with this suggestion, reccomending three candidates, two white and one colored. The choice fell upon Dr. Clark Foreman, a liberal Southerner from Atlanta. He was "attached to the Interior Department where his duties entail special attention to the manner and extent to which Negroes are sharing in the results of the National Recovery Act."

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There was much criticism of the selection of a Southern white man to represent Negro interests in the Administration, and although Mr. Foreman's salary was met from philanthropic foundation sources, he was between the difficult cross-fire of Negro criticism and the reluctance of ~~the~~ many higher officers of administration to recognize direct Negro leadership (as an unofficial but suposedly accurate report of one of their private conferences will later show). Finally Negro appointees were gradually added and in 1935 a young Negro economist, graduate of Harvard, Dr. Robert C. Weaver replaced Dr. Foreman, who was promoted to a higher advisory position in the Interior Dept. At that time the scope of this office was widened ~~to~~ as follows: "The Adviser on the Economic Status of

Negroes in the Department of the Interior is responsible to the Secretary. His duties are to acquaint the Secretary with the effect of the agencies of the Department upon Negroes, to suggest measures intended to increase the benefits to Negroes under the various programs administered by the Secretary, and to integrate Negroes into the activities of the Department and the Public Works Administration...The Adviser is also consultant to the Housing Division of the Public Administration."

A conference in September 1933 called by the Secretary of Commerce to advise on steps that might be taken by the Federal Government to advance the economic interests of Negroes, recommended a special adviser. Eugene Kinckle Jones, executive Secretary of the National Urban League, was appointed Special Adviser on Negro Affairs in that department. Then came pressure from other sources for the appointment of Negro administrators and investigators as it was felt that the advisory capacity was not effectively correcting the inequities of the local administration of many federal recovery projects. It was at a private conference of cabinet officers and higher New Deal administrators called to consider such appeals and criticisms that the dilemmas of the authorities themselves were reflected by an unofficial report

Editors Note:
N.B. Either shortened digest of report or omit

49-12-49

This position was energetically and rather effectively taken by a group of Negro organizations that became organized in Washington in July, 1933 as the Joint Committee on National Recovery. This grew out of the initiative of two younger men, John P. Davis and Robert Weaver who made independent investigations and proceeded to agitate for better representation in the New Deal and for full investigation of discrimination in New Deal actvities and programs. The evidence, endorsed by the member organizations of the Joint Committee, produced a profoundly disturbing pressure on the New Deal agencies, especially the N.R.A. and General Hugh Johnson, its administrator. Dr. Weaver later accepted a position as assistant to Dr. Foreman in the Dept. of the Interior, and eventually suceeded him. John P. Davis remained as Executive Secretary of the Joint Committee and has gathered and pressed many reports of discrimination and non-performance before the various authorities of the government. On the whole the Joint Committee has been the most effective and uncompromising channel of criticism and pressure upon the government and public opinion for justice to the Negro under the New Deal.

Yet the Joint Committee, by the very incongruity of its member organizations, cannot represent a unified point of view. Its members are the African Methodist Episcopla Church, the A.M. E. Zion Church, the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, the C.M. E. Church, Delta Theta Sigma Sorority, the I½B and P Order of Elks, the N.A.A.C.P., the National Assoc. of Colleges of Negro Youth, the National Assoc. of Colored Women's Clubs, the National Baptist Convention, the National Catholic Interracial Federation, the National Council Protestant Episcopal League, the National Housewives League, the National Negro Business League, the National Negro Bar Assoc., the National Negro Medical Assoc., the National Technical Assoc., the

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National Industrial League, the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, the Public Affairs Committee of the Y.W.C.A.,the Race Relations Dept. of the Federal Council of Churches, the Women's Auxiliary, National Baptist Convention, and the Women's Mite Missionary Society.

Of these organizations, ten are religious, four are academic fraternities and sororities, one is a fraternal order, one an organization for protest and reform, four, organizations of professional men, one for club work and three industrial organizations. If we examine their programs, we find that half are reactionary in outlook or believe in the essential soundness of the capitalistic system. Of the other twelve, eight may be classed as liberal in their economic outlook, while two are distinctly labor organizations, the remaining two representing capitalist philanthrophy. There is only one matter upon which all these organizations agree, and that is that in the administration of the recovery program there should be as little race disrimination as possible. But as to the program itself and the correctness of its objectives, the Joint Committee can and has had little to say. Certainly, in spite of its great temporary service, one cannot look to it for a definite constructive program for the economic guidance or the industrial development of the Negro race.

The Urban League did not join the Joint Committee, but attempted to set up a program of "Worker's Councils." T.Arnold Hill, acting executive sent out this appeal in an open letter to Negro workers: For fourteen months we have been witnessing in the United States a most unprecedented effort at economic stabilization. The cause of labor is riding 'high, wide and handsome', with the possibility of obtaining many desirable goals. yet the cause of Negro workers has not been one with labor's general aims. The appeals of social organizations in your behalf to the National Recovery Adminsitration, the American Federation of Labor, independent labor organizations and many persons of influence and pres-

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prestige, while partially successful, have fallen far short of the desired goal. These shortcomings have convinced us that the position of Negro workers will be strengthened only if they themselves realize the necessity for action." Obviously this is a call for an independent labor program and action, and a distrust of the intentions and probable results of present day capitalism and organized American labor. So the re is little wonder that the movement for Negro Workers Councils has not gone ahead very practically under the auspices of the essentially conservative organization, the National Urban League, in whose name it was promulgated.

Other New Deal Agencies and the Negro.- As economic conditions grew worse in October, 1933, the Federal Emergency Relief inaugurated a Civil Works program. This was to provide work at once for four million unemployed persons on short-term public projects. The same month a Negro was appointed director of Negro Work in the F.E.R.A. He was Forrester Washington of the School of Social Work in Atlanta. He selected a tentative body of welfare workers to help him, but after a few months resigned, presumably because he found he was to be given no real administrative power. His assistant was named as his successor, but instead of being designated as Director of Negro Work, he was styled an Adminstrative Assistant. His function is to receive and adjust complaints from Negroes concerning the administration of relief funds by local authorities.

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Similarly when the F.E.R.A. authorized funds to be used for re-employing unemployed teachers in August, 1933, Dr. Ambrose Calliver, specialist in the Office of Education, was also assigned as Specialist in Educational Relief for Negroes; but not until December, 1933.

Likewise when the Farm Credit Administration was created, a Negro adviser was appointed assistant to the Governor of the F.C.A. The Mr. Henry Hunt agency is designed to provide a complete and coordinate credit system for agricultural rehabilitaion. The Negro adviser receives complaints on the administartion of the program as affecting Negro farmers and makes every effort to remedy injustices placed upon Negroes in the administration of these funds. But again, the position has no administrative responsibility, and the incumbent makes inspection tours and inquiries at the Federal Land Banks.

Among the appointments of this kind eventually made were 2 in the Department of Labor, 9 in the department of the Interior, 3 in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, one of whom resigned after 7 months' experience, 1 publicity man who filled Negro newspapers with rosy reports about the New Deal, but who was later reassigned to the F.E.R.A., 1 in the Farm Credit Administration, 1 in the Public Health Service, 1 in the Bureau of the Census, an older employee who was given rank as Specialist on Negro Statistics, 1 in the Department of Commerce, and 1 appointee to the Consumers' Advisory Board, who soon resigned. Besides these more important appointees, there were many subordinate and clerical appointments, as for instance some 20 in the F.E.R.A.

The result, then, of Negro criticism was a corps of Negro advisers, which has been styled a Negro "Brain Trust", and a few others in subordinate administrative and clerical positions. Such an adviser could exercise much influence or none, according to his own training, ability and personality and according to the character of the administrative official whose case he had. A subservient adviser and an official disposed to ignore or merely pacify Negroes rendered the system ineffectual, and this was true in several cases. On the other

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hand, a conscientious cabinet officer who could depend on the knowledge, courage and tact of his Negro adviser could accomplish much, and this was proven in at least two cases.

Many conferences have been held between New Deal officials and representative Negro leaders. There was a conference held December 1933 in Washington, attended by 20 Negroes and 30 whites, to consider the differentials in the N.R.A. codes. However, this conference came to no official conclusions. Many other conferences have been held under Government auspices. These gathering have included such interests as Child Welfare, Code Hearings of various industries, Relief programs, Subsistence Homesteads, Agricultural Adjustment and the like. An "Interdepartmental Group", made up of representatives of the various departments and administrations whose interests touch the Negro, has been appointed by cabinet officers to coordinate Negro activities. Special mention should be made to an important conference held in Washington, May 1934 to survey the state of Negro education, at which Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt made a memorable address favorable to the Negro and the principle of social justice. Other conferences have been called by Secretary Roper of the Department of Commerce to discuss the economic situation with respect to the Negro.,

Thus the New Deal has given more attention to Negro affairs and welfare than previous administrations and has had the advice and assistance of trained, non-partisan Negro leaders and men of affairs rather than professional politicians, but with good intentions and professions has been seriously handicapped in the practical results by inability to insist on no discrimination in the local administration of its remedial measures and the presence of reactionary officials within the government ranks.

49-12-54

[NOTE BY A. THEKER?]

This appears to be a rewritten by Dubois of dop 10, quite possibly after MS ~~to~~ was retrieved for Alain — note inclusion of typos from orig. MS. (both like some typewriter, but a new ribbon)

55-71-44

Chapter IX.

TO-DAY's
THE BALANCE SHEET: 1935-36.

It is not easy to take stock of the effects of the depression on the Negro, and the balance of gains and losses under the New Deal. It is easier to realize that the balance is "in the red" than to fix the blame to this or that factor. In a large way, we may be sure of certain things. The Negro felt the coming depression as early as 1927, and at least 300,000 Negroes in the industries were unemployed by 1929. This unemployment has increased until now from 30 to 60 % more Negro workers are unemployed than white workers in proportion to their numbers. Moreover, in any program depending largely on government action, the political complexion of the Government's majority is an important factor. The representatives in Congress from the South, elected on a basis which includes the Negro population and yet practically excludes Negro voters, form the main political bloc which supports the present administration. The House leader of the Democratic Party comes from Arkansas. The Vice-President is from Texas and the Speaker of the House is from Tennessee. This means that as a matter of practical political strategy, the President and his advisers could not affront the South. This not only explains the failure of anti-lynching legislation and the like, but also explains some peculiar results of the New Deal as far as Negroes are concerned.

The States Right's Heritage.- The execution of all the main measures of the New Deal was left to the states, which meant that in the South the race pattern had to be followed in the matter of wages, relief and public works. Even in the North, the adminsitration dealt in labor matters primarily with the American Federation of Labor. Twenty-four of the constituent international unions in this organization exclude Negro workers either by direct provision in their constitutions or by the invariable action of the locals. The result of all this was that in the very midst

of the effort to raise wages and relieve unemployment, there was a large body of laborers whose position could not be bettered at all or either had to be reached through compromise or ~~xkx~~ strategy.

We have seen how differential wages became the bone of contention immediately in connection with the N.R.A. labor codes. This customary discrimination of the South since emancipation was hotly defended on the grounds that the Negro "had a lower standard of living", that he "was able to live on less", and "that the white man not only "deserved and demanded more", but in the interests of race equilibrium "ought to have more." Yet in actual effect, the lower Negro wage brought down and kept down the wages of the whites in many cases. Nearly half the laundry workers in the South were white, yet their minimum wage of 14 cents an hour was fixed by the theory of what "Negroes ought to receive." In the iron and steel codes a differential between the North and South was made of 40 cents and 27 cents an hour, in the fertilizing industry of 40 cents and 25 cents per hour. Moreover in the codes, the regional classification "South" was variable. In some industries it included 16 or 17 states, in others, 9 or 10. Although it is not definitely provable, the number of Negroes working in particular industries seems to have had something to do with the variation.

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But the gravest fact of course was that farm workers and domestics, who form about two-thirds of the Negro workers of the South, did not come under any code or wage agreement. These exempted persons, amounting to 70 % of the Negro workers in Georgia and Alabama, and 80% in Arkansas, South Carolina and Mississippi, were beyond the reach of any organized recovery effort and suffered almost complete pauperization.

The Negro under T.V.A.- A peculiar difficulty arose with regard to the Negro in the government project to manufacture hydro-electric power in the Tennessee Valley. Within the T.V. A. area of 7 states, 112 counties

and 4,000 sqaure miles 2,335,907 whites and 268,048 Negroes reside. The Negroes constitute 10.2 % of this group and are mostly in Northern Alabama and West Tennessee. In this region are coal, phosphates and other minerals with abundant plant life, excellent climate, and the possibility of generating 3,000,000 horse power of energy. The T.V.A. is not merely to bulid dams and transmission lines, but also" to provide for the agricultural and industrial development of said Valley", and "to foster an orderly physical and social development of such areas".

What has T.V.A. done with regard to its Negro constituency? After some difficulties, the T.V.A. has been employing unskilled Negro labor at something like its proportion in the population. But in the model town of Norris at the heart of the project, where the government built 450 homes, Negroes were barred. But there is no official objection or legal obstacle to Negro towns which would share in the cheap power and opportunities for the farmer. But here is the old problem! Should Negroes accept the principle of segregation, this time in connection with a Federal scheme, for the sake of possible industrial development? Or should they, with foreknowledge that for some time their insistence will be in vain, insist on being admitted to common share in such developments as the town of Norris?

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The Subsistence Homesteads Plan.- In no plan of reconstruction was there more of a dilemma and muddle than in the matter of subsistence homestaed projects. These residential schemes invclved even in the North meeting traditional American prejudice full-face and head-on. Obviously subsistence homesteads were crucially necessary not only to help unemployed Negroes to permanent rehabilitation, but as the author sais in 1933 to begin cooperation between Negro farmers and Negro industrial workers. From the beginning there was opposition on the part of the N.A.A.C.P., the Joint Committee on

Recovery, and other influential sources against segregation in these projects, even if they arose through Negro initiative as self-governing, independent projects. The practical result was that nearly all of the Negro projects were held up. Finally despite sharp inner differences among Negroes, three subsistence homestead in Alabama were agreed upon. They consist of a Self Help cooperative farm community of 60 farm families near Tuskegee, the Tuskegee Homestead Units at Montgomery, Tuskegee and Lowdnes Co., and in Macon Co. a "Tuskegee Planned Land Use Demonstration" which will reclaim 60,000 acres of sub-marginal land for a resettlement project of about 600 farm families.

The Emergency Housing Project.- This recovery project fell afoul of the same difficulty over racial segregation. Housing areas for Negroes, North and South, are notoriously bad and unsanitary. Early in this project, the colored people of Atlanat came forward and secured a site near Atlanat University where $2,100,000 is alloted to provide 617 house units for Negroes. Projects for slum clearance and modern housing projects are planned for Atlanta, Cleveland, Detroit, Mon Montgomery, Chocago, Nashville, New York, and Washington, D.C.

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The Relief Program.- In 1932, ~~$3000x000x000x~~ $300,000,000 was made available for the states and territories to be used for furnishing relief and work relief and to relieve hardship resulting from unemployment. Not more than 15 % of this sum could go to any single state and the money was lent to the states with interest. Later in 1933, five hundred million was appropriated under the Relief Act to be furnished to the states as gifts. Half of the fund was available at the rate of $1 to every $3 of public relief furnished in the state for the preceeding quarter; the other half was a discretionary fund subject to direct allotment.

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In October 1933, there were 2,117,000 Negroes receiving relief singly or in family groups, that is 17.8 % of the total number of Negroes according to the 1930 Census.,In January 1935, the F.E.R.A. reports 3,500,000 Negroes in families receiving relief or 29% of the 1930 population. This disproportinate number is not only an alarming excess, but is proof of the Negro's precarious economic position. Further there is little doubt that these relief figures do not reflect all the facts because of inadequate provsion for Negroes in need in many communities. In Mississippi, for instance, where the white and colored population is about even, and the Negroes without doubt are in dire economic need, only 9% of the Negroes are receiving relief while 13.3% of the whites are receiving relief. In places where the Negroes were getting a fairer deal, their proportion on relief shows their desperate economic situation. In New York City, Negroes forming less than 5% of the population needed to receive 13% of the relief. In Detroit, forming 7.6 % of the population, they formed 29,6 % of the relief load.

State Evasions of Relief.- In the whole Federal Relief Administration, the total money expended between May 23 and December 31, 1933, 60.6 % was furnished by the Federal Government, 14.2% by state and 25.2% by localities. The way in which the South has gouged upon the Federal many states have shirked their duty is shown

~~by the fact that in 10 Southern states 95% or more of the relief funds have~~ has come from the Federal Government. In 1933, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Mississippi, Nebraska, North Carolina, South Carolina Dakota and Texas contributed nothing to ~~the~~ public relief. ~~budget.~~

Mr. Arthur Raper of the Commission for Inter-racial Cooperation has the following to say with regard to the state of Georgia:" Taking the state as a whole, three racial differentials stand out: first, in nearly half of the counties in August and in more than half in March a larger proportion of the total white population was on relief. This is especially meaningful when seen in the light of the fact that the white people own practically all of the lands and other productive properties in nearly every county in the state, whereas the Negroes generally account for an excessive proportion of the propertyless and poorly remunerated agricultural laborers, farm tenants, casual day-laborers and domestics; second, in eight percent of the counties, the amount spent on white persons for direct relief exceeded the amount spent upon the Negro; third, of the 1,214 C.W.A. teachers in Georgia in mid-March, 1934, only 204, or 16.8% were Negroes, despite the fact that in 1930 the Negroes accounted for 36.8 % of the state's total population and 77.5% of the state's total illiterates, while 72 counties with a total of 56,877 Negro illiterates had no C.W.A. teachers, and while 154 counties had one C.W.A. teacher to every 45 white illiterates, 87 counties had only one C.W.A. teacher to every 521 Negro illiterates."

Not only was there this discrimination in the distribution of Federal funds, but in a large number of cases, white teachers were designated to teach colored children, despite the fact that there was

heavy unemployment among Negro teachers. The government was finally compelled to send out a memorandum on this subject ruling that Negro teachers should always be employed for Negro pupils in states maintaining segregated schools.

In the matter of Emergency Federal Aid for schools, the discrimination was still more flagrant. Here the money was alloted to the state and spent as the state decided, following the pattern of its usual differential. Georgia, which in 1929-30 spent $21,000,000 out of its total $23,000,000 school appropriations on white schools, took a Federal grant of $4,981,881 in 1933-34 and spent 87.3% on white schools despite the fact that colored school shildren formed 39.1 % of the population.

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Security and Unemployment Provision.- The Committee on Economic Security, established June 29,1934, was assisted by an Advisory Council, but no Negro had a place on that council. The Wagner-Lewis Bill for social and unemployment insurance which was legislated largely as a result expressly omits from unemployment protection domestics and agricultural workers, thus leaving 15 out of every 23 Negro workers unprovided for in this regard. With respect to security and old age provision, as Dr. Geo. Haynes pointed out in the hearings, without express provisions in the bill prohibiting discrimination on account of race and color, Negroes would receive less compensation than whites since Fedreal grants were given to the Boards of the various states with no guarantees of equitable distribution.

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Net Results.- The net results so far in the New Deal reconstruction so far as the Negro is concerned have been these; The Negro has received a considerable share of direct relief, less in the South, more in the large Northern cities. In the preliminary planning he was able to give some advice and receive some federal safeguards against open discrimination. But in wages, he was discriminated against in the codes and very generally despite the codes. In the new effeorts at social reorganization, like the T.V.A. and the subsistence homesteads, he has been largely left out of account. Several housing projects were started and perhaps more of these will yet be carried through, though the whole Federal housing program has suffered undue delay. In agriculture, especially crop compensation, the Negro was cheated wholesale by the landlords, and has been discriminated against in the resettlement plans.

To add to these special handicaps, the Negro has his share in the precarious condition of the more radically reconstructive or socialistic aspects of the NewvDeal program. Several of these have been invalidated as "unconstitutional" by the U.S. Supreme Court and others are in a state of suspended animation pending legal decisions. At present, the trend is to give up many of these efforts and return to the traditional profit-making eceonomy, depending upon investment returns and unregulated wage scales to restore "prosperity." It is admitted that at best there will be under these circumstances about ten million persons permanently unemployed, with many others irregularly employed or at wages too low to maintain a decnt standard of living. Of the ten million unemployed, at least two million will be Negroes, or twice their proportion in the population, and probably in all three million Negroes will ~~xix~~ have to live dangerously near the limit of subsistence.

There would be more hope even at that if there was a possibility of democratic appeal in the United States. The rotten borough system

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revolving in the South about the disfranchisement of the Negro so dislocates normal political power that it functions chiefly in the interest of reaction and monopoly. In the face of such a situation we are in no position to temper and control either Fascism or Communism. We fall helplessly back upon the rule of a dictator because we despair of getting necessary work done by any other method. If the dictator succeeds, he must, like Roosevelt, move toward socialism; that is, the social control of wealth by the government in the interests of the welfare of the masses.

If however, in this movement toward socialism, the dictator halts or is halted, if "Big Business" sabotages partial success and rushes back to its hog-trough of profits, there comes the Counsel of Despair, which is a revolutionary movement that says to black workers and white;" There is no hope in fascism or democracy so long as wealth dictates."

If the United States is going to avoid revolution, then it must begin again to try the reasined method of democracy to which it pledged its allegiance in 1776 and which after many vicissitudes it definitely abandoned in 1876. It must do the thing that the Negro intellectual has been demanding: it must insist on public education for all and not simply for white folk; it must base political representation upon actual qualified voters and direct responsibility to them and not upon bulk population . It must control Federal elections by Federal power; and then out of this fundamental re-beginning of democracy, it may be able by democratic methods to accomplish the socialization of wealth and thenuplift of labor by peaceful methods and not through revolution.

49-17-70

Chapter X.

THE NEGRO FARMER.

Rural Reconstruction.- The most vital matter which the New Deal has touched so far as the Negro is concerned is the agricultural situation. More advice and propaganda has been used to encourage the Negro into agriculture than in any other matter. It was the chief burden of Booker Washington's program. It was long the main objective of Hampton and Tuskegee and the various state agricultural schools. It has been encouraged by the federal government and most of the philanthropic agencies.

The road of the Negro farmer has been terribly blocked from the outset. He was emancipated practically without land or capital. The attempt to make him a peasant proprietor by giving each Negro family 40 acres and a mule was defeated by the greed of the Southern planters and the lack of practical interest with the Negro's northern friends. Notwithstanding, the Negro made tremendous steady gains in landholding and farm ownership.till in 1930 there were 182,019 Negro farm owners in the South owning 11,478,898 acres and 881,687 farm operators of all types,- owners, share- tenants or croppers working 37,805,765 acres in that area. However recent Census figures report not only a decrease of 35,570 colored farm owners in the South from 1920-1930, but from 1930 to 1935 the land in all the farms of all colored operators in the South decreased by 2,219,482 acres. Add to the latter the 9.3 % decrease in total acreage reported for the preceeding decade 1920-1930 or over 2,500,000 acres, and the seriousness of the Negro's rural anchorage is evident. Negro agriculture has gone down beneath the general depression that has crippled agriculture of the nation. And in addition to his share of the general load, the Negro farmer has borne the extra handicap and loss of special exploitation, eviction for debt and by mob terrorism. The Negro's rural situation is critical and his hold on the

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The Agricultural Adjustment Authority had as one of its main features cotton crop control and compensation for restricted acreage. The planters and large owners dominated the execution of this program, shared disproportionately in its cash bonuses, and forced on the hardships to the small holders, the tenant farmers and particularly the share-croppers. A situation of want and misery engulfed the petty cotton farmer, and the situation led to bloodshed in Arkansa and elsewhere. So terrible was this situation that the publication of a report of one of its own investigators on the share-croppers situation was suppressed by the Department of Agriculture.

A government spokesman says: " Probably the most difficult governmental service to analyze from the viewpoint of the Negro is that of agricultural adjustment. Negro farmers, of course, have had access to all of the benefits offered, but because of the large proportion of Negro tenant farmers, many of these citizens have been deprived of their rights through unscrupulous landlords who have schemed to appropriate for themselves the benefits of land rental and reduced acreage to the exclusion of their tenants. This practise the government discourages and seeks to prevent. However, Negro farm owners generally have taken advantage of their privilege of securing agricultural loans and have cashed in on cotton acreage reduction in the same way that other farm owners have exercised their options. As a whole, government officials report that the credit record of the Negro farm owners has been highly commendable." Except a few messengers, porters and card-punchers, there is no Negro representative in the A.A.A.

49-17-43

The Southern Farm System.- Under a grant from one of the foundations, a commission consisting of W.W. Alexander, Chas. S. Johnson, and Edwin

49-17-43

R. Embree, has been at work studying the problems of the Negro in the present emergency. One of the major efforts of this Commission was to explore the Southern farm problem. These studies, carried on immediately under the direction of Mr. Johnson, started out with an interest in the plight of the rural Negro but led directly to the general plight of Southern tenant farmers and sharecroppers regardless of race. The published partial report: "The Collapse of the Cotton Tenancy" ~~Kingdom~~, makes it clear that the depression brought Southern agriculture very near to complete collapse and that the A.A.A. program, necessary and useful as it was to farm rehabilitation as a whole, has made the plight of the tenant still more desperate. Pegging the cotton price and payments for crop reduction, while saving the owner, decimated the ranks of the tenant-croppers. Owners found that they did not need so many worker families on reduced acreage. Furthermore with cash in hand they began to hire labor simply for the active months, and to discontinue the system of carrying tenants throughout the year. The result was that tens of thousands of families, both white and colored, who hertofore had been getting a living however meagre, were thrown off the plantations and on to relief. This tenant farm population will probably never be re-absorbed, since the crisis has taught the owners a new system of hiring labor for the active season. This movement has already involved probably between three hundred and four hundred thousand families and is steadily continuing, threatening to involve about thirty percent of this huge dependent farm population.

Is this a real collapse of the Southern agricultural system? Some competent observers think it is. Commenting recently on the condition, Mr Embree comes to these conclusion: " The great mass of rural workers in the South has never been farmers in any proper sense of the word. Two million families-eight and a half million persons- are merely

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attached to gthe soil as tenants or sharecroppers or otherwise dependent upon owners and bosses. This huge population includes three million Negroes, thre-fourths of all the colored farm population of the South, and nearly twice as great a number, five and a half millions,of white workers.

" The plantation system, which enslaved Negroes before the Civil War, has continued to exploit both Negroes and the poorer whites ever since. Virtual peonage, which shows itself to some extent in the tobacco and sugar plantations, spreads like an evil poison over tthe whole of the great cotton industry. King Cotton has ruled the South for generations, not as a benevolent despot, but as ~~xxx~~ as a ruthless tyrant ravaging the lives of the peons and blighting the economy of the whole region."

" The system, even under fair management, makes the tenants and their families dependents rather than farmers. In practice the owner often insists that all furnishings be purchased at his store, at fancy prices plus exorbitant interest. The tenants are kept in constant debt by high charges and easy manipulation of accounts. These debts, together with the pressure of traditional social customs, renedr the workers bound to the soil and the system. The insistence over huge areas of the South that payments be made in a single crop,-cotton, is often carried to such an extent that the tenant families grow not one item of any other produce, not even vegetables for their own tables, let alone chickens or cows which might so easily add to their proper nourishment.

Race Prejudice as a Factor.- Continuing Dr. Embree says: The system, bad in itself, is made abominable ~~w~~ by the racial situation. Although there are five million white people in this near-peonage, the system takes its tone from the relationship of "boss and nigger." The rural Negro during slavery and since emancipation has not had rights which the white man need respect or does respect. The set patter both of race relations

and of farm relations is that of masters and serfs, Because of his economic condition and because of his race, color and previous condition of servitude, the Negro is helpless before the white master. Every kind of exploitation and abuse is permitted because of caste prejudice. The 'poor white' connives in this abuse of the Negro; in fact he is the chief protagonist of it.

" This 'boss and nigger' tradition, which has added gross corruption and cruelty to an economic order bad enough in itself, has carried over ~~into~~ to the treatment of white tenants and croppers. Yet it has been impossible to bring about any change, even to get the poor white workers to make a stand, since any movement of reform was immediately confused with the race issue. The white farmers have fastened the chains of peonage upon themselves because of their blind rage and prejudice toward the Negro. The white peons have never realized and the owners have been careful to see that they never should be allowed to realize, that the cause of white and colored peons is identical. "Divide and rule" is the slogan of the bosses of the Southern land system quite as much as it was of the Hapsburgs. And in the South, race prejudice is ever an easy means of keeping the white peons divided against their colored fellow sufferers. Because of prejudice against three million Negroes, then, five and a half million white farm workers continue to keep themselves in slavery."

49-17-79

A Proposed Remedy.- Agreement was reached after intensive study of this rural situation on a definite plan of reconstruction, by which the government was to finance a huge program of distributing small farms to farmer tenants and croppers. This program at one fell swoop would begin 1 to substitute ownership for the former tenancy system and 2 to turn back the tide of rural relief dependents to self sufficiency on their own farms.. This was incorporated in the Bankhead Bill. It sought to

establish the "Farm Tenant Homes Corporation", similar in legal structure to the Subsistence Homestead Corporation under the control of the Secretary of Agriculture to "purchase farm land for lease or resale to farm tenants and sharecroppers or make loans to these classes for the pupposes of purchasing farm homes." The corporation with capital established at $ 100,000,000, was authorized to issue bonds up to one billion Prefernce was to be given to farm tenants of good,moral character with dependent families and who have had practical experience in farming, and they were to be allowed from 30 to 50 years to repay the purchase price of the land as loaned by the Corporation.

49-12-82

Chapter XI.

WHICH WAY OUT?-RESTORED CAPITALISM?

Which Way OUt? - Every thoughtful reader must by now be asking himself the inevitable question:"Which way out?" There seem to be three grand alternatives; three ways one or other of which we and the nation must choose in the attempt to achieve better days. What is the Negro's best choice for a social reconstruction that will come nearest to solving his problem and meeting his rather desperate situation? The watchword of one way, the conservative and traditional one, is "the return of propserity"-this is the plan of "restored capitalism". Another,- the radical and revolutionary way has the slogan of class struggle and economic revolution: it is the way of Labor alliance. Still another, that we shall examine after the other two extremes have been balanced, is no less a way of radical change of social program, but it is pivoted upon the Negro's own choice and direction of the program or that part of social reconstruction within his possible control. This is the way of Consumer Cooperation, and it is the one the author believes is at present the most hopeful of success as the Negro's way out.

48-13-44

The Promise of Restored Capitalism.- We first examine the conservative plan of a restoration of capitalism to its former health. Reaction to the effort of the New Deal to reorganize radically the basis of American industry has now definitely set in and will probably swell to an increasing,if not irresistible current. Something will doubtless remain of the effort to compel by Federal action the conduct of industry for the public benefit rather than for private profit, but it does not seem at present as though such efforts were going to be widespread or fundamental. If now, instead of radical reform in industry, we are going to have the restoration of the capitalist regime, what hope in that restoration is there for the American Negro?

The Capitalist Program.- One gets an idea of what is in the mind of capital by studying the efforts of the Department of Commerce. The present secretary, Daniel C. Roper, has been devoting something of his time to the economic situation of the Negro. In a nation-wide broadcast, Mr. Roper called attention to Negro business and some of its prospects and accomplishments. He dais:" From my study of the Federal Census xxxx statistics as they reveal the Negro's progress in business, I cite one xignifixxx significant feature, seldom stressed. I refer to your successful commercial ventures in the larger urban communities. Negro merchants, operating retail stores in fifteen of our largest cities are said to serve about two million people. There are in these fifteen cities over 5,700 retail stores with approximately 10,000 colored proprietors and employees. The net sales of these stores have run as high in a given year as $27,000,000. This appreciable expansion in business indicates the vast potentialities for future developments in this field. I feel that this feature in business for Negroes should be stressed along with agricultural pursuits, dentistry, medecine and such other industrail and professional lines as required for complete service to the race by representatives of the race when and if desired by colored people.

49-17-85

" One of the most importany objectives to be attained by the colored race today is the establishment of the Negro business man to his rightful place in our eco nomic system, thus enabling him to operate his business efficiently, multiply his resources and earnings and expand his buying power to such an extent that it will be of even greater help and influence upon himself and the economic life of our country....

" The Department of Commerece was instituted to encourage, foster and develop business, and with your interests and welfare in mind, I have invited a committee of capable and experienced colored leaders to confer with me on the best methods of solving problems bearing upon

Negro business conditions. It is my thought that this committee will serve as a clearing house on matters relating to your problem and I shall, with the Committee's assistance, select a man of your race who will be located in the Department of Commerce. He will be charged with the responsibility of making business and commercial studies concerning the Negroes' economic problems and their relationship to our national economic program."

The result was the appointment of Mr. Eugene Kinckle Jones, for many years executive secretary of the National Urban League, as "Adviser on Negro Affairs", November 1,1933. An unofficial report from the Department of Commerce makes a summary report of the work accomplished by this advisory agency. From the major items we can gauge the direction of the department's efforts and the prospects as they affect the large majority of Negroes. The special efforts embraced " a bibliography of Negro business", "information on Negro newspapers, Negro isurance companies, cooperatives, Negro consumers consumer purchasing power, code hearings affecting Negro industry and Negro workers, convention dates of Negro organizations, small business trends, Negro manufacturers." Other activities reported in addition to this type of purely statistical and informational investigation, such liason activities as " a series of conferences with officials of the Farm Credit Administration proposing to reach the Negro population with the newly established Federal Credit and with officials of the Federal Housing Administration for the same general purposes." Further, "memoranda to the Secretary indicating directions in which efforts could be successfully employed in securing work for capable Negroes, positions being found for investigators in the Rent Survey, tabulators, card punchers and verifiers under the Bureau of the Census (maximum employed at any one time-537), housing investigators and clerks

49-17-86

(An estimate of 1,000 persons employed is conservative). " No one also will deny or challenge the desirability of such services, but no one could claim that they were anything but remedial and affecting almost negligible small numbers and superficial aspects of the Negro's economic plight.

Similarly optimistic and conventional in approach is Albion Holsey's recommendations in Opportunity for March,1934. Mr. Holsey is Secretary of the National Negro Business League and organizer of the C.M.A. chain of grocery stores. He says: "What should concern the Negro at this time is how to properly and promptly take advantage of the major Recovery measures. With respect to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, for example, it seems to us that far greater benefits may accrue to the race if we are able, under the present elastic provisions of the Corporation, to secure adequate funds for the rehabilitation and expansion of Negro business. In any discussion of business conducted by Negroes the question of caital inevitably comes up and one invariably hears some such expression as "Negroes can do business the same as other folks if they only had the capital'. The plan under which the loans are made to small business is through the intermediary of the Mortgage Loan Company...The loans are made at 6 per-cent, and they may be extended for three years...With such an opportunity open to Negroes, immediate steps should be taken to set up a Mortgage Loan Company."

41-12-84

The Real Prospects.- Here we have a clear return to the earlier ideas of Booker Washington and the long stressed program of the National Negro Business League. Is this a real way of salvation for the American Negro? Unfortunately, it is not. In the first place, the old idea of accumulating small capital by thrift and going into business is unrealistic today. Capital is concentrated in huge amounts and credit agencies monopolize is division and allocation. This means that the small business

man is being forced out of business largely. Of course, he still exists, and will exist, but on suffrance.

The individual grocery store cannot maintain competition with the chain store system, particularly when the cahin store becomes a vertical system, buying its own raw material and manufacturing and preparing its goods. The small bank will be more and more forced to be part of a large chain. The small insurance company will not be able to stand up in resources or guarantees of security against the great aggregations of capital in the larger associations. There may be limits beyond which such concentration of capital and monopoly will not go, and many hope by the use of the ballot and political power not to displace the private ownership and control of capital, but to supplement this by wise public control. This is the present program of the greater nations in the world,-the United States, Great Britain and France. It is not a program, however, that seems to promise success. The utmost that it is apparently able to do is to produce a series of cycles of prosperity and depression, with a well-grounded fear that the intervals between will shorten and that the areas of prosperity will shrink instead of broadening.

A Minority's Chances.- But whatever the prospects may be for these nations as a whole, when it comes to a minority group, and a disadvantaged one like the American Negro, a restoration of even the full power of the capitalistic system can mean to them little more than a restoration of their former unfortunate condition. They may be restored as small landholders and farm tenants, but with the co trol over machines and markets such as capital has in the United States, there is no real prosperity possible for the Negro farmer. Again, they may retain their places as servants in low-paid positions with the stigma which menial service carries. And the place they will secure in industry will depend upon their

88-17-44

relation to the labor movement and to the plans of the leaders of organized labor.

Self Exploiation.- There is, therefore, only one real opening and hope for the Negro in the restoration of complete capitalism. That is the old plan which seeks to admit to the ranks of the capitalists enough of the Negro bourgeoisie to enable them to share in the exploitation chiefly of Negro labor and of white labor to some small extent. So far as the attitude of white capitalists is concerned, it is very doubtful if they will be more minded tomorrow than today to admit the Negro capitalists, save to outlying fields where the chances of profit and success are very small.

49-17-89

This means that the young men who have received in Northern and Southern colleges the prevailing economic training will be forced by severe competition to resort in the future, as they have to some extent in the past, to all of the worst forms of exploitation. They will incur the resentment and hatred of their own labor classes and any hope of solidarity in the fight of American Negroes against race prejudice or for their own material advancement will be gone. Furthermore, the laboring classes which the colored business man can exploit will be those receiving the least wages and working under the worst conditions. The possibility of exploiting them will depend upon unfair laws and administration, and inevitably the class interests of colored business men will be thrown with those very elements that today make capitalistic methods disreputable and harmful. In the South, particularly, the methods of taxation, the fines and penalties, the laws for the collection of debts, the system of installment paying, the irresponsible advertising, the agents and collectors who swarm in Negro homes, all these must inevitably have back of them the support of this Negro business class, who must either resort to these same methods or fail. There is, then, under ordinary and pro-

probable circumstances no chance for ultimate economic emancipation of the Negro through the ordinary working of the "Negro business program".

Other Dangers.-

There is,too, danger of two things: first, the increased use of the increased use of the accumulated wealth of American capitalists to guide through benevolence the education of Negroes, both in schools and in adult life. At present, the Negro is indebted to philanthropy for his higher training in colleges, universities and professional schools in the South. It takes but a step beyond this to make the trained elements of the American Negro indebted to such sources as to his chances of earning a decent living. In such case, the whole power of the educated classes among Negroes might be regimented in favor of any Fascist or near-Fascist movement which would seek to control labor and politics in the United States. This is a dangerous outlook and its consumation must be guarded against.

Such fascism,moreover,is bound up with militarism. Here is a land, the least threatened in the world by any sort of military aggression, which is spending immense sums for armaments and still larger sums in payment for past wars. The old statement that out of every dollar of Federal income 75 cents must go toward war is, more and more, an understatement as time goes on. If behind such militarism the political and economic power of American Negroes can be marshalled, the results would be most undesirable for their own race interests and those of the other weaker minorities of the world.

Finally, the old idea that among the rich and educated classes of America race prejudice is less and will gradually be dissipated entirely and that, therfore, the hope of those who wish to abolish discrimination rests with those who own the wealth of the country is a chimarical dream. There can be little doubt that so far as the best elements of the United States are concerned today, prejudice against color and race may be regarded as practically static. It will change,of course, in centuries, but not in decades; and

49-17-10

those persons now living, especially members of the Negro race who expect to see their problem solved or approach solution in these terms will be greivously disappointed. At least this is no added reason or adequate for the Negro to throw in his lot or his hopes with the ~~fax~~ fortunes of capitalism.

16-19-41

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Chapter XII.

WHICH WAY OUT: LABOR ALLIANCE?

The Radical Way.- Because of the hopelessness of any large gain by the conservative route, there has been a growing hope with many thinking Negroes that there was a radical way out, and that the future of the Negro lay in an alliance with the labor movement and its class philosophy. This is a revolution in thought from the earlier generations. The legacy of slavery was the abject admiration of aristocracy, wealth and power. The ordinary descendant of Negro slaves had the ambition to be rich and powerful and gain his livelihood through the hiring and use of laborers. It has taken hard experience and careful thought for a considerable number of American Negroes to see that they are an intggral part of the labor movement of the world, logically, if not actually.

49-17-92

Labor's Traditional Attitude.

If, corresponding to this, there had been the feeling on the part of white labor in the United States that Negroes did belong in the organized labor movement and if Negroes had been welcomed into it and given their chance to work at a decent wage, the history of the United States would have been radically different. Far from this being so, the experience of the Negro labor confirms him in the belief of the Negro bourgeois; namely that capital is his friend and organized labor his enemy.

Personal experience unfortunately reenforces these beliefs in the mind of the Negro worker. He does not see clearly the real motives of the employer who foments race prejudice and uses its results to cut down wages and make the conditions of labor administer to his greater profit, because the employer can work through agents and other hidden channels of indirect influence. Butthe Negro worker cannot help but see the laborer who hates Negroes and fears their competition or undercutting of wages; for he works personally through strikes, mobs and violence. So the Negro worker cannot forget the attitude of organized labor toward him for well-

nigh two centuries. He cannot see the present interests because of the past conditionings.

Labor's Newer Attitude.- It happens, however, that today the labor movement is bringing about changes in the attitude of organized labor. The movemnet toward shop unions and vertical unionization within single factories or single industries and the so-called "left-wing unions" - all these have worked to break down the color line and to admit Negro labor where the Negroes apply and are willing to abide by union rules and principles. But this movement is still small and embryonic as compared with the craft unions represented by the American Federation of Labor. There comes, therefore, a matter of practical policy. How far can Negro labor unite with a still weak minority of white laborers and work with them toward the emancipation of labor regardless of race? Manifestly, so far as the labor movement in the United States is working toward the goal of increasing wages and limiting profits; of maintaining the political power of the labor vote and using it for such reorganization of industry as will limit exploitation and divide the national income of some basis of reason and merit rather than by chance and uncurbed power. So far as this is true, the Negro must more and more become a part of an enlightened and emancipated labor if he expects to be a modern citizen of a modern country.

49-17-53

American Labor.- But what is the labor movement in the United States? A forty million American business employs about 40,000,000 workers. Of these, the American Federation of Labor declares that thirty million are "organizable" and over seventeen million eligible for membership in existing unions. In face of this, there are at present about four million members of the A½F. of L., while another four hundred thousand belong to the vertical unions or unions organized by shop and industry

making a total of less than five million organized laborers, not including

American Labor,-but what is the labor movement in the United States? American business employs about forty million workers of these, the American Federation of Labor declares that thirty million are "organizable" and over seventeen million elegible for membership in existing unions. In face of this, there are at present about four million members of the American Federation of Labor, four hundred thousand others in the railroad unions and other unions cooperating with the A. F. of L., while another four hundred thousand belong to the vertical unions or unions organized by shop and industry rather than by craft. This makes a total of less than five million organized laborers, not including two million or more in company unions. Or to put in in another way, if we include agriculture, the wage earners of the United States in 1930 were a little less than 11% organized as compared with a labor organization of 35% that Germany used to have and an even higher percentage which Great Britain still has. Even if we exclude agriculture and domestic service and clerks, labor in the United States is only one-fifth organized. Further than this, four-fifths of this labor is organized in the craft unions which are seeking the advance of small groups of skilled labor regardless of the situation of the mass laborers.

49-12-94

The conscious labor movement, therefore, in the United States, which seeks directly the uplift of the laboring classes consists of one-half million workers, to whom may be added those in the A. F. of L. who are rebelling against the craft organization system.

These rebels have been increasing in number and power, but they are still considerably in the minority. In practically all of the craft unions, with a few notable exceptions like the United Mine Workers, Negroes are excluded either by constitutional

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CHAPTER VI.

THE NATIONAL RECOVERY PROGRAM ~~1933~~

The real basic problem of the New Deal was whether an effort was going to be made to restore formerprosperity or whether a more fundamental effort was to be put forth to change the economic structure of the nation in essential particulars. In the first case, there was not much hope for the Negro. He simply could look forward to being "restored" to a situation in which to say the least his prospects for economic development were growing less and less. If Southern agriculture was to be put on its feet by government aid, the Negro would remain mainly the tenant-farmer and casual laborer. If the great industries were to be restored by the same means, the Negro would still be the ~~reservoir of~~ reserve labor with uncertain employment and low wage; and the restoration of the banking and credit meant comparatively little to a poverty-stricken horde of laborers.

On the other hand, if the relation of industry to labor in general was to be overhauled and readjusted; if the whole relation of the farming industry to the other industries of the land and the world was to be carefully studied and readjusted with regard to prices, methods, machines and markets; if unemployment was to be eradicated by shorter hours, a minimum wage, the forbidding of child labor and old-age security; if new housing and other public works were to be inaugurated; in fine, if these and other similar schemes were going gradually to change the basis of American industry, then as Americans and barring gross discrimination, Negroes were going to have a new chance in industry.

49-19-13

The National Industrial Recovery Act was designed to raise the buying power of workers in industry and employ those that had lost their jobs because of the depression. This would be accomplished by increasing wages and changing the number of hours worked. This would mean some increase in the ~~power~~ price of products, but the increase in cost, ~~which was promised,~~ would not be as great as the ~~capacity~~ increase in wages.

It is not easy to say with accuracy just what the effect of ~~the depression and~~ the New Deal has been on the American Negro. In a large way, however, we may be sure of certain things. The Negro felt the coming depression as early as 1927 and by 1929, at least 300,000 Negroes in the industries were unemployed. This unemployment has increased until there are from 30-60% more Negro workers in proportion to their numbers, unemployed than white workers. Moreover, when the Federal government attempted to deal with unemployment among Negroes there were certain developments that ~~must~~ had to be expected. The

representatives in Congress from the South elected on a basis which includes the Negro population and yet practically excludes Negro voters, form the most substantial bulk which supports the present administration. The House leader of the Democratic Party comes from Arkansas. The Vice President is from Texas and the Speaker of the House is from Tennessee. This means that as a matter of practical political strategy, the President and his Advisers could not affront the South. This not only explains the failure of the anti-lynching bill which commanded ~~the~~ a majority ~~of~~ in the Senate, but it also explains some peculiar results of the New Deal.

The execution of all the main measures of the New Deal was left to the states, which meant that in the South the race pattern had to be followed in the matter of wages, relief and public work. Even in the North, the administration dealt in labor matters primarily with the American Federation of Labor. Twenty-four of the constituent international unions in this organization exclude Negro workers either by direct provision in their constitutions or by the invariable action of the local bodies. The result of all this ~~is~~ was that in the very midst of the effort to raise wages and relieve unemployment, there existed a large body of laborers whose position either could not be bettered at all or had to be ameliorated with compromise and finesse.

Let us note some effects of this on Negro labor.

49-19-14

The first blow to Negroes was that farm laborers and servants were not to be subject to codes. ~~These~~ These

4 ~~Farm workers and domestics who~~ form about two-thirds of the Negro workers of the South ~~did not come under any code~~ or wage agreement. ~~These exempted persons~~ and amounted to 70%

49-19-1 3a

of the Negro workers in Georgia and Alabama and 80% in Arkansas, South Carolina and Mississippi. As per Rural Report

"Three million Negro workers, more than half of the total number of Negroes who must labor for their livelihood, will not be covered by the industrial codes now being formulated by the NRA!

"These three million black workers are the backbone of the Negro consumer market. For them there is no immediate rise in wages. For them an immediate rise in prices will mean additional insecurity and suffering. Furthermore, in certain areas where there have been uniform minimum wages established for white and black workers, employers have replaced Negroes with whites rather than pay them the same wages."

The first code of fair competition was that of the cotton textile industry and took effect July 17, 1933. It provided a minimum wage for all workers in the cotton textile industry except those occupied as outside workers or cleaners. The wage was $12 a week for the South and $13 a week for the North and the maximum hours of work was 40 hours, except for the "outside workers and cleaners." ~~It was evident that the excepted classes were Negroes.~~ Of the 14,000 Negroes in the industry in 1930, 10,000 were employed as outside workers and cleaners. This meant that for them there was no increased buying power and no new jobs. Objections were made to the code on the ground that wage increase should be parceled out to all workers in the industry and that the unemployment among the Negro workers was in every respect more serious than that among the whites. The only answer to this was that the President in approving the code made it mandatory that the textile industry should establish minimum wages and maximum hours of service for the exempted classes.

December 27, 1933, an executive order providing that the minimum weekly hours for ourside workers and cleaners should be 44 and that they should be paid a minimum wage of 75% of that set in the code. In the South, the minimum wage would thus be 9 hours a week for 44 hours' work. Also, the entire industry was put on half-time, which meant, of course, that the minimum wage was cut in two.

A colored investigator made a trip to the South in November, 1933. ~~and~~ He visited more than 200 mills, and interviewed workers ~~and tried~~ trying to find out what the situation was among these Negro ~~workers~~. His conclusions were that there was

49-19-15

widespread unemployment due to poor business conditions and labor discrimination; that Negroes had been discharged in numbers of cases and their places given to whites; no mill work and very little domestic work was available to Negro women and the unemployment of white mill families had seriously decreased the demand for domestic labor.

The relief funds in these localities were small and the distributors local white persons; the relief agencies, therefore, attempted to supply to the full extent the needs of white families before caring for Negro families. The communities where Negro workers lived were unhealthy and in ghettoes withbad water supply and usually no inside plumbing. Family after family was in debt to the company stores, due not only to their low earnings, but to the excessive prices and there was no escape from this. Negro labor was not organized and the result of the code was in some cases to reduce the wages of Negroes rather than increase them. P 9 on the Laundry code, which affected 30,000 Negro women,

49-19-16

CHAPTER VIII.

A differential wage was established giving Northern workers a minimum of 17¢ an hour and Southern workers a minimum of 14¢ an hour. This was finally modified so as to fix Southern wages at $1 a week below the national average. ~~This~~ South decisions brought up the whole question of difference of pay between white and Negro workers. This has been customary in the South since emancipation and has been defended on various grounds: the Negro was supposed to have a lower standard of living, and to be able to live on less; and on the other hand, the white man not only demanded more but in the interests of race equilibrium ought to have more. On the other hand, the lower Negro wage brought down and kept down the wages of the whites. Nearly half the laundry workers in the South were white, yet their minimum wage was fixed by the theory of what Negroes ought to receive. In other codes, these same differentials were made. Workers in iron and steel received a minimum of 40¢ an hour in Pennsylvania, but of 27¢ an hour in Alabama. Workers in the fertilizing industry got 40¢ an hour on the Pacific Coast and 25¢ an hour in the South.

Moreover, the word "South" is flexible. In some industries, it included 16 or 17 states and in others, 9 or 10. Possibly the number of states included depends upon the Negroes working at particular industries; although this cannot, of course, be proven.

In the tobacco industry where a large number of Negro employees were at work, there was for a long time no code at all, due to the disinclination of this prosperous industry to pay its workers, and particularly its colored workers, a living wage. In the contractors' code, the minimum wage which was set could be evaded by provisions which did not let the minimum apply to wages settled in the past by Federal consent.

A typical case that came early to notice was that of a garment making company in Arkansas which employed 450 persons, of whom 200 were colored women. In flat defiance of the code, these women were paid $6.16 a week instead of $12 a week. Finally, rather than pay the increased wages, all of the women were dismissed and long continued effort has failed to get them a refund of back pay due. When, finally, the courts decided that nearly $7,000 in back wages must be repaid, the decision of the United States Supreme Court gave this bonus to the employers.

46-19-17

In the lumber code there came another type of discrimination. Twenty-three cents an hour was established for the Southern branch of the industry where Negro labor was used and 40¢ an hour for the North and West where white labor was used. ~~In the steel code, the minimum wages previously paid Negroes in Alabama were adopted~~

Even the low rates established brought protests and considerable discharge of Negro workers by employers who refused to pay Negroes wages equal to whites in the cases where this was required. Many employers of labor in the South began a determined drive for differential wages for Negroes in all lines.

49-19-18

The Philadelphia Tribune, a Negro weekly, reports equally bad conditions in that city, as "the forty hour week and the minimum wage scale of $12 to $15 per week are raising havoc with Negro workers." Businesses that used Negro labor, because it would accept longer hours and less money, ~~are~~ were displacing it with white labor, since a higher wage scale had become obligatory. ~~It is the opinion of the Tribune that the loss of these jobs is creating an even more serious condition among Negroes than before the code went into effect.~~

The Baltimore Afro-American cited instances in Maryland and Virginia where white employers have ~~fired~~ discharged colored workers, rather than pay them the minimum wage of $15, and placed white workers in their places. It insisted that the employers who justify their action by saying that Negro workers ~~are~~ were not worth $15 a week, ~~are~~ were violating both the letter and the spirit of the National Recovery Act. It held out the hope, however, that with the creation of millions of new jobs, the black workers would eventually find new openings to take the place of those lost.

49-19-19

Some white persons, North and South, joined in the general protest. The Norfolk Virginia-Pilot, a white daily, appealed to the moral sense of the white employers in the following fashion:

> "If in the pre-code days an employer made use of Negro workers because he could hire them at low wages, there is a moral obligation on him to retain their services now that a national code requires that they be paid a little more money. It would be a grim and tragic commentary on the national recovery effort if a business and industrial regimentation directed to lifting the people out of depression should operate to plunge the most depressed of them in a worse depression still."

A white man writing in the Nashville Daily Tennessean in October, 1933, declared that Negroes of Nashville and southern cities were not being benefited by the NRA but that Negro help was being replaced by white; that the Negroes of Nashville had been given an economic set-back by the NRA. In October, 1933, the Associated Negro press declared that Memphis employers were discharging Negroes by wholesale because they were not worth $14 a week. In one county of Georgia where the population was 40% Negroes, 300 Negroes who were receiving 50¢ a day, were discharged because the code required 30¢ an hour. In Birmingham, white retail grocers drew up a code of $6 a week for Negro porters and delivery boys. In Arkansas, white farmers sent their sons to the CCC where they received $30 a month and replaced them with Negroes at $10 and $15 a month.

119-9-20

Beyond the letter of the law, undoubtedly, many Negroes consented to wages lower than the minimum and went on working in order to keep their jobs. On the other hand, there were cases where they shared in the benefit of shorter hours and increased wages. In some instances, they were displaced by white workers: for instance, in Columbus, Georgia, large numbers of Negroes lost jobs to whites. In mills, garages, department stores, filling stations and small businesses, a hundred or more Negro workers were displaced. At Montgomery, Alabama, colored girls in the cotton fabric factory lost their jobs. ~~Those~~, with other displacements, ~~amounted to 75 or more.~~ A ~~big~~ large factory in St. Louis employed white women instead of 75 colored women.

The gr atest loss of Negro labor under the NRA was the discontinuation of marginal work. Small businesses closed, small grocery stores stopped delivery service and office boys and casual workers were laid off. Bootblacks were told that they were not hired by the job, but that they rent the quipment and ~~are~~ were in business for themselves. Sometimes where wages were increased, most of the increased wage was paid back to the employer for food and "breakage." In the lumber industry, shorter hours were accompanied by a forced increased output.

429-19-21

They were able to do this by paying small wages, but when the wages were raised under the NRA, they could either install better machinery or close. Some installed better machinery and decreased their employees, while others closed.

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An official news release from the Department of Commerce says:

"A special word should be said concerning operations of the National Recovery Administration in connection with Negro employees in the coded industries. A great deal has been said about the displacements of Negroes from jobs; however, investigations that have been made so far indicate that there have not been so many proven cases of displacements exposed as there have been cases of violations of code wages. This is serious, but no more serious than the fact that these wage differentials are a continuation of differentials that have been in vogue for sixty-five years and constitute one of our national interracial problems that call for untiring and vigilant effort towards adjustment. It is encouraging to know, however, that investigation in a limited number of industries indicates that the 'spread' or the gap between Negro and white wages has tended towards a narrowing process, i.e. to bebome less." (sense)

A peculiar difficulty with regard to the Negro worker arose in the project to manufacture power in the Tennessee Valley. Within the 112 counties and 4,000 square miles of the area in 7 states are 2,335,907 whites and 268,048 Negroes. The Negroes constitute 10.2% of the population, the proportion declining for 40 years. The Negroes are mostly in Northern Alabama and West Tennessee and only a few of them in Virginia, North Carolina and East Tennessee. In this region are coal, phosphates and other minerals with abundant plant life, excellent climate and the possibility of generating 3,000,000 horse power of energy. The TVA is not merely to build dams and transmission lines, but also "to provide for the agricultural and industrial development of said Valley," and to "foster an orderly, physical and social development of such areas." What now has the TVA done with regard to the Negro?

After some initial difficulties, the TVA has been employing unskilled Negro labor at something like its proportion in the population, but when it comes to the main work of the project, as for instance, in the planning of the model town of Norris, these 450 homes built and rented by the Federal Government, were not opened to Negroes. But there is no objection or legal obstacle to Negro towns which would share in the cheap power and opportunities of the farmer. Yet here again comes the problem. Should Negroes accept the principle of segregation with almost legal sanction, for the sake of possible industrial development, or should they insist upon being allowed to enter such towns as Norris?

in the South were agreed upon in Alabama.

At Tuskegee "three great movements are under way here, one involving a Self-Help Cooperative Association in which 60 colored farm families have combined to develop a cooperative farm community a few miles from the school. Sixty-seven thousand dollars capital has been granted by the FERA. Another is the Tuskegee Homestead Unit which comprehends three different projects, one near the school, another at Lowdnes County and still another at Montgomery. The third is the 'Tuskegee Planned Land Use Demonstration' in which approximately 600 Negro farm families residing in Macon County where Tuskegee Institute is situated will be affected. As approved, the plan calls for the expenditure of $200,000 to purchase of some 60,000 acres of sub-marginal and resettlement lands."

The Emergency Housing Project brought the same difficulty about race segregation. Housing areas for Negroes, North and South, are notoriously bad and unsanitary. When the housing project was first proposed, the colored people of Atlanta came forward and secured a site near Atlanta University where $2,100,000 is to be furnished to provide 617 living units for Negroes.

Projects for slum clearance were eventually planned in seven cities: Atlanta, Cleveland, Detroit, Indianapolis, Montgomery, Chicago, Nashville and New York. Whether all of these projects can be furnished or not depends largely upon the future activity of the Supreme Court.

The relief program of the New Deal can be illustrated by these facts:

In 1932, $300,000,000 was made available for the states and territories to be used for furnishing relief and work relief to native people and relieving hardship resulting from unemployment. Not more than 15% of this sum could go to any single state and the money was lent to the states with interest.

Five hundred million dollars was made available under the relief act of 1933 and was to be furnished to the states as gifts. Half of the fund was available at the rate of $1 to every $3 of public relief furnished in the state during the preceding quarter; the second was a discretionary fund.

the subsistence homesteads necessarily involved segregation. With the present attitude of Americans it was simply impossible to conceive that in the South or in most places of the North, Negroes were going to be welcomed in the new towns or sub-divisions laid out. On the other hand, as I took occasion to say at Swarthmore, in 1933, subsistence homesteads were a necessary present step to help unemployed Negroes ward off starvation; that through them could be begun an inner co-operation for the Negro group between farmers and industrial workers. But no sooner had proposals been made for Negro subsistence groups than the N. A. A. C. P. and the Negro Joint Committee for Recovery vehemently opposed the move. They wanted no such homesteads organized for Negroes and they were not even willing that Negroes should themselves organize such homesteads. They congratulated themselves when homesteads were planned with no mention of restriction, although they knew that this meant restriction by local administration. Against independent self-governing Negro projects, they set a stern, unyielding countenance.

The result was that nearly all the various projects for Negroes were held up. This was called a triumph of the anti-segregation policy of some Negro leaders, when in fact it was nothing but a triumph of the policy of giving prejudice a free hand in starving American Negroes. The Jews had more sense and arranged in December for a subsistence homestead in Monmouth County, New Jersey, involving metal workers.

Here, in a Georgia project, the white people wanted no segregation. They wanted the Negroes to come in as servants and cheap laborers and the N. A. A. C. P. supported their contention.

Finally, despite the inner differences of opinion among Negroes, 3 subsistence homesteads

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In the Public Works administration, the Federal Government has usually insisted that there be no discrimination, but they had to deal with the problem of local administration policies. Usually, what happened was that Negroes were employed in the unskilled jobs, but had no chance for skilled work.

Chapter VIII.

In October, 1933, there were 2,117,000 Negroes in families receiving relief, or 17.8% of the total number of Negroes in the 1930 census. In January, 1935, the FERA reports 3,500,000 Negroes in families receiving relief, or 29% of the total 1930 population.

There is no doubt but that the portion of American Negroes on the border line of starvation w as dangerously large and the figures of relief do not reflect all the facts. For instance, in Mississippi, where the white and colored population is about even and the Negroes without doubt in the greatest economic need, only 9% of the Negroes ~~are~~ were receiving relief, ~~while~~ as compared with 13.7% of the whites. ~~are receiving relief.~~ On the other hand, in cities where Negroes were getting a fair deal, the proportion of them on relief shows their desperate situation: In New York City, the Negroes, forming less than 5% of the population, received in 1933 13% of the relief. In Detroit, forming 7.6% of the population, they formed 29.6% of the relief load.

In the whole Federal Relief Administration, of the total money expended between May 23 and December 31, 1933, 60.6% was furnished by the Federal Government, 14.2% by the state, and 25.2% by local authorities. The way in which the South has evaded responsibility and relied ~~gouged~~ upon the Federal Government is shown by the fact that in 10 Southern states, 95% or more of the relief funds have come from the Federal Government.

49-19-26

Dakota, Texas. In 1933, Georgia contributed to emergency relief the sum of $4.95; Virginia, $30.00; Kentucky, $127.00.

Mr. Arthur Raper of the Commission for Inter-Racial Co-operation, reports details with regard to the state of Georgia:

"Taking the state as a whole, three racial differentials stand out: first, in nearly half of the counties in August and in more than half in March (Direct Relief), a larger proportion of the total white population than of the total Negro population was on relief. This is especially meaningful when seen in the light of the fact that the white people own practically all of the lands and other productive properties in nearly every county in the state, whereas, the Negroes generally account for an excessive proportion of the propertyless and poorly remunerated agricultural laborers, farm tenants, casual day laborers and domestics; second, in eight per cent of the counties, the amount spent upon the white person for direct relief in March exceeded the amount spent upon the Negro; third, of the 1,214 CWA teachers in Georgia in mid-March, 1934, only 204, or 16.8 per cent were Negroes, despite the fact that in 1930 the Negroes accounted for 36.8 per cent of the state's total population and 77.5 per cent of the state's total illiterates had no white CWA teacher, while 72 counties, with a total of 56,877 Negro illiterates, had no Negro CWA teachers; in the 154 counties with white CWA teachers there was one teacher to every 45 white illiterates while in the 87 counties with Negro CWA teachers there was one teacher to every 521 Negro illiterates." (Arthur Raper)

Not only was there this discrimination as to the number of families relieved, but much discrimination in the South as to the amount given each family. For instance, in Jacksonville, Florida, in October, 1933, there were 5,493 white families on relief and 15,175 Negro families. Yet, the Negro families got 45% of the relief and the white families 55%.

In the matter of schools, the Emergency Federal Aid follows the same pattern as the states were accustomed to. The money was alloted to the state and spent as the state decided. Georgia, for instance, spent in 1929-1930, $23,000,000 of state money for schools and of this $21,000,000 went to the white schools. In 1933-1934, the Federal Government granted to Georgia $4,981,881 for education and of this $4,338,148 or 87.3% went to the white schools, despite the fact that colored school children formed 39.1% of the school population.

49-19-24

Not only was there this discrimination in the distribution of the Federal funds, but in a large number of cases, white teachers were designated to teach colored children despite the fact that colored teachers were largely out of work. The government was finally compelled to send out a memorandum on this subject saying that Negro teachers should always be employed for Negro pupils in states maintaining segregated schools.

During the year 1935, 2,780 colored students were given employment under the FERA in colored colleges in 20 states. They were paid in all $377,145 for repairs and equipment for school buildings and equipment for athletic and recreational facilities in connection with schools and playgrounds. ~~Howard University in Washington, D. C. with over $2,000,000 in appropriations for buildings and the North Carolina A. and T. College at Greensboro, N.C., are worthy of special mention.~~

Inthe Civilian Conservation Corps, there ~~are~~ were early in 1935 14,858 in the all Negro camps and a few in white camps, out of a total of 370,000, or about one-half the Negroes proper proportion.

A part of the far-reaching plan of the Roosevelt administration was not only to restore normal working conditions [illegible], but to provide for the future. The Committee on Economic Security, established June 29, 1934, was assisted by an Advisory Council, but no Negro had a place on that council, nor so far as can be learned, was the advice of Negroes sought in any way.

49-19-28

The Wagner-Lewis Bill for social and unemployment insurance expressly eliminates domestic and agricultural workers, thus leaving 15 out of 23 Negro workers unprovided for. It will at the same time allow individual states to enact almost any type of discriminatory legislation so far as races are concerned.

George E. Haynes pointed this out January, 1934 in the hearing on the Economic Security Bill. He argued that unless there was expressed provisions in the bill prohibiting discrimination on account of race and color, that Negroes could receive less compensation than whites and no minimum wage need be set upon which the earnings taxes were based. Appropriations from the Federal Treasury were to be given to the boards in the various states with no conditions as to discrimination in their distribution.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WORLD WAR

The situation of the American Negro at the outbreak of the war seemed feasable. His higher schools were increasing in efficiency and the elementary school system in the South, while still bad, was improving. His political power, while still curtailed, was increasing and beginning to be used with some intelligence in the North and in the Border states. Determined agitation was beginning to decrease noticeably the annual number of lynchings, which had reached the astonishing total of 235 in 1892, began now with some exceptions to fall below 75 a year.

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The Negro press began to increase in efficiency and boldness and Negroes looked with interest upon the war in Europe. They had taken a permanent part in the great Races Congresses held in London in 1911 and begun to conceive of the color problems of other groups. In the election of 1912, a considerable number of Negroes supported Wilson in an effort to divide the Negro vote and get some recognition. Again, in 1916, although disappointed with the results of the first election, nevertheless, Wilson received some Negro support. When unexpectedly the United States was swept into the World War, a sudden crisis faced the American Negro. How far could a black man fight loyally for this country and why should he in the face of disfranchisement and lynching? Persistent rumors of German propaganda among Negroes were flying here and there, perhaps with some small basis of fact but little tangible result. Nevertheless, it seemed necessary for Negroes to make this crisis in the national fortunes an occasion for bettering their own conditions. The N. A. A. C. P. took leadership and the first difficulty came in the matter of officers for Negro troops. The N. A. A. C. P. was immediately put in curious dilemma. It had been agitating against all discrimination and it asked for the admission of Negroes to officers' camps on the same terms as whites. This was naturally denied. Thereupon, the Chairman of the Association, abetted by some of the other officers, asked for a separate camp and received in this plan the enthusiastic support of students of Howard University and other institutions. The result was that a camp was established at Fort Des Moines, Iowa and 700 Negro officers trained. Then came further hesitancy. According to law, Negro and white troops were to be separated.

THE WORLD WAR

Were these officers to lead over Negro troops or were there to be white officers mixed with them? Were they to be over one division or indispersed among white troops? The final compromise, arranged with some hesitancy, was to form a division of Negro troops known as the 92nd Division with white field officers and Negro line officers. A second division, called the 93rd Division, was projected, but never actually formed. Meantime, in the Draft, the difficulties of racial discrimination came up. In the South, despite the widespread allegations that Negroes were physically inferior to whites and manifestly were poorer and more needed by their families, a larger percentage of Negroes were drafted than among whites. In the training of drafted troops there was a great deal of difficulty. In the North, single Negroes drafted, appearing in white camps, were refused or tossed about until the could be put in a Negro camp. In the Negro cantonments, especially those in the South, there was a great deal of discrimination and threats of mob violence. The government did considerable to counteract these difficulties. It called together the editors of the Negro press; it appointed a representative of the Negroes to consult with the Secretary. He had no power but could bring things directly to the ear of the Secretary of War. There was even a plan to put one or more Negro officers in the Intelligence Service but sudden fear stopped this. On the whole, however, the joining of Negroes led mainly by the N.A.A.C.P. and other organizations, resulted in giving the Negro a better status during the war, with officers over his troops and with some chance to show his prowess. It was, however, in his services as laborer that he did the greatest work in the war. His stevedore units made extraordinary records in the movement of goods and did brave work behind the lines. In the United States, the Negroes rushed North to take the place of drafted men and of skilled laborers. They met difficulties, riots broke out in East St. Louis and Chicago and even in the capital city, Washington, but the economic status of the Negro was distinctly better. As the war wore on, much bitterness was encountered by the treatment of Negro troops in France and the treatment of white officers against Negroes, nevertheless, some of this resulted in curious advantage to the Negroes, as for instance, when the white officers were so eager to get Negro troops out of France where they were treated with unusual consideration, they made the tactical error of having the first troops who landed ffom France black units, and that these units received overwhelming ovation in New York and elsewhere. The whole episode of war and migration led to increased self-assertion on the

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part of the Negroes and a determination by means of bold agitation to gain their social and political rights in the United States.

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CHAPTER IX.

PRESENT CONDITIONS, 1935

It is not easy to say with accuracy just what the effect of the depression and the New Deal has been on the American Negro. In a large way, however, we may be sure of certain things. The Negro felt the coming depression as early as 1927 and by 1929, at least 300,000 Negroes in the industries were unemployed. This unemployment has increased until there are from 30-60% more Negro workers in proportion to their numbers unemployed than white workers. Moreover, when the Federal government attempted to deal with unemployment among Negroes there were certain developments that must be expected. The representatives in Congress from the South elected on a basis which includes the Negro population and yet practically excludes Negro voters, form the most substantial bulk which supports the present administration. The House leader of the Democratic Party comes from Arkansas. The Vice President is from Texas and the Speaker of the House is from Tennessee. This means that as a matter of practical political strategy, the President and his Advisers could not affront the South. This not only explains the failure of the anti-lynching bill which commanded the majority of the Senate, but it also explains some peculiar results of the New Deal.

The execution of all the main measures of the New Deal was left to the states, which meant that in the South the race pattern had to be followed in the matter of wages, relief and public work. Even in the North, the administration dealt primarily with the American Federation of Labor. Twenty-four of the constituent international unions in this organization exclude Negro workers either by direct provision in their constitutions or by the invariable action of the local bodies. The result of all this is that in the very midst of the effort to raise wages and relieve unemployment, there existed a large body of laborers whose position either could not be bettered at all or had to be ameliorated with compromise and finesse.

Let us note some effects of this on Negro labor. The NRA proposed labor codes in the various industries with a minimum wage and limited hours of work, in order to put more money in the hands of laborers and employ more workers. One of the first codes considered was the laundry code which effected 30,000 Negro women. A

A differential wage was established giving Northern workers a minimum of 17¢ an hour and Southern workers a minimum of 14¢ an hour. This was finally modified so as to fix Southern wages at $1 a week below the national average. This brought up the whole question of difference of pay between white and Negro workers. This has been ~~curiously~~ customary in the South since emancipation and has been defended on various grounds: The Negro was supposed to have a lower standard of living, to be able to live on less and on the other hand, the white man not only demanded more but in the interests of ~~labor~~ race equilibrium ought to have more. On the other hand, the lower Negro wage brought down and kept down the wages of the whites. Nearly half the laundry workers in the South were white, yet their minimum wage was fixed by the theory of what Negroes ought to receive. In other codes, these same differentials were made. Workers in iron and steel received a minimum of 40¢ an hour in Pennsylvania, but of 27¢ an hour in Alabama. Workers in the fertilizing industry got 40¢ an hour on the Pacific Coast and 25¢ an hour in the South.

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A typical case that came early to notice was that of a garment making company in Arkansas which employed 450 persons, of whom 200 were colored women. In flat defiance of the code, these women were paid $6.16 a week instead of $12 a week. Finally, rather than pay the increased wages, all of the women were dismissed and long continued effort has failed to get them a refund of back pay due. When the Courts decided that nearly $7000 in back wages must be refund, the decision of the Supreme Court gave this bonus to the employers

This situation presented curious dilemma for colored people. Suppose, as in Montgomery, Alabama, a company says that it cannot afford to hire its colored workers at the minimum wage and that if compelled to it will close the factory?

Immediately, two strong bodies of opinion appeared: one, a colored man at Tuskegee says: "Keep the factory open and let these people at least earn their bread and butter. Low wages are better than none." On the other hand, one of the Negro advisers in Washington says: "It will be better for these workers to starve to death rather than give up the principle of equal wages and according with the legal minimum.

Furthermore, farm workers and domestics who form about two-thirds of the Negro workers of the South did not come under any code or wage agreement. These exempted persons amounted to 70% of the Negro workers in Georgia and Alabama and 80% in Arkansas, South Carolina and Mississippi. Beyond the letter of the law, undoubtedly, many Negroes consented to wages lower than the minimum and went on working in order to keep their jobs. On the other hand, there were cases where they shared in the benefit of shorter hours and increased wages. In some instances, they were displaced by white workers. and in other cases, they retained their jobs.

There have been instances of discrimination and displacement (for instance) in Columbus, Georgia, large numbers of Negroes have lost jobs to whites since the NRA came in. In mills, garages, department stores, filling stations and small businesses, a hundred or more Negro workers were displaced. At Montgomery, Alabama, colored girls in the cotton fabric factory lost their jobs. These, with other displacements, amounted to 75 or more. Big factories in St. Louis are employing white women instead of 75 colored women.

The greatest loss of Negro labor under the NRA has been (was) the discontinuation of marginal work. Small businesses have closed, small grocery stores have stopped delivery service and office boys and casual workers have been (were) laid off. Bootblacks have been (were) told that they were not hired by the jobs, but that they rent the equipment and are in business for themselves. Sometimes where wages have been (were) increased, most of the increased wage has been (was) paid back to the employer for food and breakage." In the lumber industry, shorter hours have been (were) accompanied by a forced increased output.

Another peculiar result is the shutting down of mills having poor equipment. (was)

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in the South were agreed upon in Alabama

At Tuskegee "three great movements are under way here, one involving a Self-help Cooperative Association, in which 60 colored farm families have combined to develop a cooperative farm community a few miles from the school. Sixty-seven thousand dollars capital has been granted by the FERA. Another is the Tuskegee Homestead Unit, which comprehends three different projects, one near the school, another at Lowdnes County and still another at Montgomery. The third is the 'Tuskegee Planned Land Use Demonstration' in which approximately 600 Negro farm families residing in Macon County where Tuskegee Institute is situated will be affected. As approved, the plan calls for the expenditure of $200,000 to purchase of some 60,000 acres of sub-marginal and resettlement lands."

The Emergency Housing Project brought the same difficulty about race segregation. Housing areas for Negroes, North and South, are notoriously bad and unsanitary. When the housing project was first proposed, the colored people of Atlanta came forward and secured a cite near Atlanta University where $2,100,000 is to be furnished to provide 617 living units for Negroes. A similar project is contemplated for Nashville. When such housing was proposed in the North, the matter of segregation came to the fore. It was partially avoided in Cleveland and Indianapolis by placing in projects in neighborhoods where Negroes predominanted; ~~while then~~ thus it ~~was~~ would not ~~especially~~ be nominally a Negro project, ~~it was~~ but actually so in effect. ~~Nearly $5,000,000 each was spent on these two projects, and~~ In Cincinnati and Detroit similar projects ~~have been started, parts of which will be designed for Negroes, either specially or otherwise. Montgomery, Alabama has a small project.~~ were planned The project in Washington, D. C. has not been accepted and a large project in Chicago, involving $25,000,000, will probably be carried through in part on the Southside where the bulk of the Negroes live. This housing has been a peculiarly difficult matter for the Negroes and their friends. Having kept off the statute books compulsory and legal ghettoes, they nevertheless have had to accept a large amount of separation and especially where new and modern housing has been proposed, they have only been able to profit by it when the project was avowedly designed for Negro families, as in the Rosenwald Apartments in Chicago and the Dunbar Apartments in New York.

On the other hand, in New York City, where housing conditions for Negroes are as bad as anywhere in the world, no movement ~~has been~~ was made by the local Negroes to secure relief by a housing plan. The attitude of the N. A. A. C. P. and other organizations, who are fanatic on the subject of segregation and would apparently rather have Negroes crowded in crime and degradation ~~rather than to accept~~ cheap housing which virtually, even if not

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In 1932, $300,000,000 was made available for the states and territories to be used for furnishing relief and work relief to native people and relieving hardship resulting from unemployment. Not more than 15% of this sum could go to any single state and the money was lent to the states with interest.

Five Hundred Million Dollars was made available under the relief act of 1933 and was to be furnished to the states as gifts. Half of the fund was available at the rate of $1 to every $3 of public relief furnished in the state during the preceding quarter; the second was a discretionary fund.

In October, 1933, there were 2,117,000 Negroes in families receiving relief, or 17.8% of the total number of Negroes in the 1930 census. In January, 1935, the FERA reports 3,500,000 Negroes in families receiving relief, or 29% of the total 1930 population.

There is no doubt but that the portion of American Negroes ~~living~~ on the border line of starvation was dangerously large and the figures of relief do not reflect all the facts. For instance, in Mississippi, where the white and colored population is about even and the Negroes without doubt in the greatest economic need, only 9% of the Negroes are receiving relief, while 13.7% of the whites are receiving relief. On the other hand, in cities where Negroes were getting a fair deal, the proportion of them on relief shows their desperate situation. In New York City, the Negroes forming less than 5% of the population, received in 1933 ~~there are over 13% of Negroes receiving~~ the relief. In Detroit, forming 7.6% of the population, they formed 29.6% of the relief load.

The new problem of poverty and actual starvation among the American Negroes ~~is~~ was simply an intensified problem of the whole country. There are two ways to attack the difficulty: one is by direct relief and the other by work and wages. The problem of direct relief has been immensely complicated by its size and by the indisposition of the states to help.

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Inthe whole Federal Relief Administration of the total money expended between May 23 and December 31, 1933, 60.6% was furnished by the Federal Government, 14.2% by the state and 25.2% by local authorities. The way in which the South has gouged upon the Federal Government is shown by the fact that in 10 Southern states, 95% or more of the relief funds have come from the Federal Government.

The following states contributed nothing to the relief budget in 1933: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Idaho, Mississippi, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, South

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Furthermore, farm workers and domestics who form about two-thirds of the Negro workers of the South did not come under any code or wage agreement. These exempted persons amounted to 70% of the workers in Georgia and Alabama and 80% in Arkansas, South Carolina and Mississippi. Beyond the letter of the law, undoubtedly, many Negroes consented to wages lower than the minimum and went on working in order to keep their jobs. On the other hand, there were cases where they shared in the benefit of shorter hours and increased wages. In some instances, they were displaced by white workers and in other cases, they retained their jobs.

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They were able to run by paying small wages, but when the wages were raised under the NRA, they could either install better machinery or close. Some installed better machinery and decreased their employees, while others closed.

An official news release from the Department of Commerce says;

"A special word should be said concerning operations of the National Recovery Administration in connection with Negro employees in the coded industries. A great deal has been said about the displacements of Negroes from jobs; however, investigations that have been made so far indicate that there have not been so many proven cases of displacements exposed as there have been cases of violations of code wages. This is serious, but no more serious than the fact that these wage differentials are a continuation of differentials that have been in vogue for sixty-five years and constitute one of our national interracial problems that call for untiring and vigilant effort towards adjustment. It is encouraging to know, however, that investigation in a limited number of industries indicates that the 'spread' or the gap between Negro and white wages has tended towards a narrowing process, i.e. to become less." (Jones)

A peculiar difficulty with regard to the Negro worker arose in the project to manufacture power in the Tennessee Valley. Within the 112 counties and 4,000 square miles of the area in 7 states are 2,335,907 whites and 268,048 Negroes. The Negroes constitute 10.2% of the proportion declining for 40 years. The Negroes are mostly in Northern Alabama and West Tennessee and only a few of them in Virginia, North Carolina and East Tennessee. In this region are coal, phosphates and other minerals with abundant plant life, excellent climate and the possibility of generating 3,000,000 horse power of energy. The TVA is not merely to build dams and transmission lines, but also "to provide for the agricultural and industrial development of said Valley," and to "foster an orderly, physical and social development of such areas." What now has the TVA done with regard to the Negro?

After some initial difficulties, the TVA has been unemploying unskilled Negro labor at something like its proportion in the population, but when it comes to the main work of the project, as for instance, in the planning of the model town of Norris, these 450 homes built and rented by the Federal Government, are not opened to Negroes. But there is no objection or legal obstacle to Negro towns which would share in the cheap power and opportunities of the farmer. Yet here again comes the problem. Should Negroes accept the principle of segregation with almost legal sanction for the sake of possible industrial development, or should they insist upon being allowed to enter such towns as Norris.

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CHAPTER IX.

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The whole plan of the New Deal was suddenly changed by the decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring the establishment of industrial codes unconstitutional and indicating that other efforts of the New Deal were probably going to be declared illegal. This brings forward the question as to whether the effort of the United States to reorganise industry is going to be stopped by court action, or whether the constitution is to be so changed and reinterpreted that the capitalistic system can be reconstructed or replaced. At present, the trend is to give up nearly all the efforts of the New Deal and to return to the profit-making economy depending upon investment and wages to restore prosperity. It is admitted that at best there will be under these circumstances many millions of persons permanently unemployed and many others employed irregularly or at wages too low to maintain a decent standard of living. Among the unemployed and casual workers will be large numbers of Negroes and particularly those upon the farms. The plans for the resettlement of farmers upon better lands are at present very hazy and it does not seem probable that Negro farmers are going to get much real attention or permanent help. The labor movement, thus faces a new problem or rather an extension of the old fight. Negroes struck and struggled in the textile strike and in the longshoremen's strike and in the sharecroppers strike in the Southwest. The Pullman Porters have won their right to be recognised as a union, but they have not been given the status to which they are entitled in the American Federation of Labor. The attitude of the Federation is still reactionary. The industrial union movement, while strong, is not yet triumphant and the craft unions continue to exclude black men. In this situation of flux and change no final word can be said concerning Negro workers at present. But something can be said concerning what Negroes, led by intelligent and sacrificing prophets, must do if in the future they are going to earn a decent living.

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THE NEGRO AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Draft fragments

~~For this reason, the Inter-~~ ~~national Association of Machinist was refused admission until 1895 when they removed the qualifications.~~ From 1890 to 1897, the American Federation continued to declare that labor must organize irrespective of creed or color, sex, etc. Nevertheless, these declarations did not remedy matters and Negroes were being excluded. In 1900, Samuel Gompers ~~appealed~~ separated separate local unions and separate central bodies of Negro workers. This was endorsed and in 1902 separate charters were granted. ~~Thus the A. F. of L. returned to the suggestion of the National Labor Union in 1867.~~ In 1910, however, ~~the matter came up again.~~ Gompers was accused of leading the Negro out of the labor movement. From 1910-1914, the A. F. of L. organized separate local and federal unions and had 3 Negro organizers. From 1916-1920, the A. F. of L. grew fast and the number of Negro workers in the North greatly increased. The A. F. of L. in the conventions of 1916, 1917 and 1918 decided that Negroes should be organized but provided no machinery. June 6, 1918, the Urban League appealed to Gompers asking for revision of the constitutions of such international labor bodies as excluded Negroes and a qualified Negro organizer on salary and a committee of colored and white persons to check on these activities. In the Atlantic City convention of 1919 move was made for an international charter for the Negro members and complaint was made against the union for metal trades. A special committee was asked but the Federation only expressed the hope that organizations excluding Negro workers "will take a broader view of this matter." In the convention of 1920, at Montreal, local and federal labor unions launched a concerted attack upon the indifference

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INGERS CHAPTER I~~:~~ ~~The Issued Committee Worked I the~~

To this the Guard replied in October 1933

"In the administration of the National Recovery Act, the Negroes in America have lately again been faced with disappointment. One of the most liberal members of President Roosevelt's cabinet is Harold Ickes. His sympathy with the colored people and their aspirations is proven by the fact that he was once an officer of the Chicago branch of the N. A. A. C. P. It is admitted that his administration of the Department of the Interior is one of the best ever inaugurated in recent times. It falls to Mr. Ickes to administer a part of the relief inaugurated by the President and Congress which is to re-establish industry in the United States and re-employ the idle.

"One-tenth of our population is of Negro descent and they form at least one-eighth of the workers. Their interests demand attention. According to the fundamental theory of the American government, no person is well enough equipped with knowledge or character to be the sole mouthpiece for his neighbor. And, therefore, the interests of colored workers ought surely to be voiced by colored men. Because of the hateful color prejudice born in slavery, and deliberately perpetuated since, every time a problem of this sort arises some white man is chosen to speak for the Negroes. Sometimes, in the past, men who were the open enemies of the Negro race were made their mouthpieces. Later, "friends" of the Negro were chosen, the idea being that the Negro was too ignorant and inexperienced to speak for himself and either did not know what he wanted or should not have what he wanted. We are in this phase of the problem now.

"A young man, Clark Foreman, connected with the Inter-racial Commission of Atlanta, Georgia, has been named by Mr. Ickes as his assistant to advise him on the best interests of the Negro worker, particularly in the South. And we learn on high authority that if Mr. Foreman had not been appointed some other white man would have received this place. Or in other words, that Mr. Ickes refused to let the interests of colored people be voiced by the colored man.

"Mr. Foreman is an excellent young man of training and ability. We believe that other things being equal, he would give the best advice possible for the interests of the Negro race, so far as he understood these interests. But other things are not equal and in the nature of the case Mr. Foreman does not understand the diffi-

culties of American Negroes, and it is an outrage that we again, through the efforts of some of our best friends, should be compelled to have our wants and aspirations interpreted by one who does not know them and our ideals and ambitions expressed by a person who cannot understand them.

(Editorial, THE CRISIS, October, 1933, p. 237.)

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and let no man listen to those who deny this.

"We want full manhood suffrage and we want it now, henceforth and forever.

"Second. We want discrimination in public accommodation to cease. Separation in railway and street cars, based simply on race and color, is un-American, undemocratic and silly. We protest against all such discrimination.

"Third. We claim the right of freemen to walk, talk and be with them that wish to be with us. No man has a right to choose another man's friends and to attempt to do so is an impudent interference with the most fundamental human privilege.

"Fourth. We want the laws enforced against rich as well as poor; against Capitalist as well as Laborer; against white as well as black. We are not more lawless than the white race, we are more often arrested, convicted and mobbed. We want justice even for criminals and outlaws. We want the Constitution of the country enforced. We want Congress to take charge of Congressional elections. We want the Fourteenth Amendment carried out to the letter and every State disfranchised in Congress which attempts to disfranchise its rightful voters. We want the Fifteenth Amendment enforced and no state allowed to base its franchise simply on color.

"The failure of the Republican Party in Congress at the session just closed to redeem its pledge of 1904 with reference to suffrage conditions at the South seems a plain, deliberate and premeditated breach of promise and stamps that party as guilty of obtaining votes under false pretense.

"Fifth. We want our children educated. The school system in the country districts of the South is a disgrace and in few towns and cities are the Negro schools what they ought to be. We want the national government to step in and wipe out illiteracy in the South. Either the United States will destroy ignorance or ignorance will destroy the United States.

"And when we call for education, we mean real education. We believe in work. We ourselves are workers, but work is not necessarily education. Education is the development of power and ideal. We want our children trained as intelligent human beings should be and we will fight for all time against any

The proportion of Negroes living in the country districts decreased, from 85.6% in 1890 to 80.9% in 1910 and then fell rapidly to 66% in 1920 and 56.3% in 1930. It is probable today that a majority of the Negroes of the United States are living in cities. 11-22-33

of the Federation toward Negro workers and demanded an educational campaign, interracial conferences and executive secretary and special committee for organizing Negro workers and Negro organizers in all crafts.

Ten unions in the American Federation of Labor denied membership to Negro workers, either in their constitution or their rituals and all of them at various times have been asked to change this, but have failed to do so. The N. A. A. C. P. asked for an interracial labor commission in 1924; the Communist Labor Congress in 1925 moved the A. F. of L. to make some reassuring promises. In 1925 and 1926, T. Arnold Hill of the Urban League appeared before the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. with suggestions. They promised most thoughtful consideration, but refused to pay even one-half the expense of a colored organizer.

The official version of the colored Federal advisers says:

6. The following are some of the other government services from which Negroes have received benefits and from which they are now profiting: Protection of mortgages through Home Owners' loans; protection of bank deposits through Federal Deposit Guarantees (Negro banks cooperate in this service); Farm Credit banks loans; U. S. Employment Service; loans for house renovation and modernization; scholarships and remunerative employment to aid students in schools and colleges;

30-22-36

having the first troops who landed from France black units and that these units received overwhelming ovation in New York and elsewhere. The whole episode of war and migration led to increased self-assertion on the

93-27-15

paying the Negro a lower wage than the code demands or supplanting him with white workmen.

"The Negro has become the unintended victim in that the codes do not cover agricultural and domestic service in which pursuits fully three-fifths of the race are engaged."

Jesse O. Thomas, writing in OPPORTUNITY in January, 1934, gave a series of instances and examples:

"Members of Boards of Education which are paying Negro teachers from fifty to seventy per cent as much as white teachers are paid, will not be enthusiastic about getting Negroes equal pay with whites in industry.

"In Macon, Georgia, a Negro teacher has to teach forty years before she receives the salary that a white teacher receives in her first year.

"First: our whole economic system in this section is predicated upon a differential basis, so far as the two racial elements are concerned. The Negro has never been included on equal terms with his fellow citizens in any activity, official or otherwise, public or private, in the South. The Negro's historical relationship to the industrial life of the South has kept him from being considered as an ordinary normal individual.

"In the South there are four classes of employers:

"(1) The class that takes the position that since Negroes are not given equal consideration in any other activity, and since the only reason they have employed Negroes is because they represent cheaper labor than white, or because when Negroes were first employed in the jobs they hold, previous to this depression, there were no white men available who would take their jobs, insist that if they have got to pay a living wage they will discharge Negroes and employ white people.

"(2) The class that is willing to increase the wages of Negroes above what was paid previous to the adoption of the code, but not

The report of Mrs. Mary Conner Myres has been suppressed by the Secretary of Agriculture. She was sent South to investigate the sharecroppers' situation. 258

X "A recent careful consideration of the Southern Negro farmer gives these conclusions: The great mass of rural workers in the South has never been farmers in any proper sense of the word. Two million families--eight and a half million persons--are merely attached to the soil as tenants or sharecroppers or otherwise dependent upon owners and boasses. This hugh population includes three million Negroes--three-fourhhs of all the colored farm population of the South--and nearly twice as great a number--five and a half millions--of white workers.

The plantation system, which enslaved the Negroes before the Civil War, has continued to exploit both Negroes and the poorer whites ever since. Virtual peonage, which shows itself to some extent in the tobacco and sugar plantations, spreads like an evil poison over the whole of the great cotton industry. King Cotton has ruled the South for generations, not as a benevolent despot, but as a ruthless tyrant ravaging the lives of the peons and blighting the economy of the whole region.

The system even under fair management makes the tenants and their families dedependents rather than farmers. In actual practice the owner often insists that all furnishings be purchased at his store--at fancy prices plus exorbitant interest. The tenants are kept in constant debt by high charges and easy manipulation of accounts. These debts, together with the pressure of traditional social customs, render the workers bound to the soil and to the system. The insistence over huge areas of the South that payments be made in the single crop, cotton, is often carried to such an extent that the tenant families

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grew not one item of any other produce, not even vegetables or any kind of fruits for their own tables, let alone chickens or cows which might so easily add to their proper nourishment. Thus in the midst of abundant land, farm workers have not been able to provide any of their own subsistence, but have had to buy for cash or credit such meager and ill balanced food and supplies as they obtain.

The system, bad in itself, is made abominable by the racial situation. Although there are five million white people in this near peonage, the system takes its tone from the relationship of "boss and nigger." The rural Negro during slavery and since emancipation has not rights which the white man need respect or does respect. The set pattern both of race relations and of farm relations is that of masters and serfs. Because of his economic condition and because of his race, color, and previous condition of servitude, the Negro is helpless before the white master. Every kind of exploitation and abuse is permitted because of caste prejudice. The poor white connives in this abuse of the Negro; in fact, he is the chief protagonist of it.

49-17-78

This "boss and nigger" tradition, which has added gross corruption and cruelty to an economic order bad enough in itself, has carried over to treatment of white tenants and croppers. Yet it has been impossible to bring about any change, even to get the poor white workers to make a stand, since any movement for reform was immediately confused with the race issue. The white farm workers have fastened the chains of peonage upon themselves because of their blind rage and prejudice toward the Negro. The white peons have never realized and the owners have been careful to see that they should never be allowed to realize, that the cause of white and colored peons is identical. "Divide and rule" is the slogan of the bosses of the Southern land system quite as much as it was of the Hapsburgs. And in the South, race prejudice is an ever easy means of keeping the white peons divided against their colored fellow sufferers. Because of prejudice against three million Negroes, five and a half million white farm workers continue to keep themselves in slavery.

Servile dependents are in no position to plan or carry through any programs of real education for themselves and their children. Here lies the basic trouble with rural schools in the South, for white as well as for colored. Peons have neither ability to conduct schools nor incentive to become educated. The great bulk of the rural population of the South is in no position to plan its own life. The rural masses are owned and controlled; they must take what is given them and do as they are told. Education does not improve the quality of mere

Agreement was reached on a definite plan of action to be urged upon the government for financing a huge program of distributing small farms to former tenants and croppers and so at one fell swoop: (a) to begin to substitute ownership for the former tenancy system and (b) to turn back the tide of rural relief dependents on to self sufficiency on their own farms.

~~Forrester Washington urged a special set-up for Negro farm families.~~ Secretary Wallace ordered a survey by Calvin Hoover of Duke University. Hoover reported that "it is plainly the duty of the AAA to expend no effort in preventing the unequal distribution of the advantage of the acreage productive program and particularly prevent the operation of this program from making the situation of any class of producers worse." Hoover practically confirmed the reports and noted in the past four or five years a steadily increasing number of squatter families. "Their standard of living is appalling."

The answer of the administration to the problem may be found in Senate Bill Number 1800 known as the "Farm Tenant Homes Act of 1935", --or the Bankhead Bill.

49-17-80

The purposes of the bill are stated to be: to check the rapid increase of tenancy in the United States; the lessening of economic instability of tenant operators (Report of Secretary Wallace, page 68, states average occupancy of farm tenants to be 2 to 3 years); alleviating of conflicts between landlords and tenants which tend to develop.

The bill establishes the "Farm Tenant Homes Corporation" (Similar in legal structure to the Subsistence Homestead Corporation) which may either purchase farm land for lease or resale to farm tenants and sharecroppers or may make loans to these classes for the purposes of purchasing farm homes.

The Corporation is under the control of the Secretary of Agriculture, who may establish the capital of the Corporation up to one hundred million dollars. Bonds may be issued by the Corporation up to one billion dollars.

Preference is to be given to farm tenants of good, moral character, with dependent families and who have had practical experience in farming. Persons selected are to be allowed from 30 to 50 years to repay the purchase price of the land made by the Corporation.

~~The land purchased must be land at present in use as farm land.~~

Normal Thomas says: (The Plight of the Sharecropper, by Norman Thomas)

~~"Sooner or later any search among the millions of exploited Americans for those~~

"An emergency is on. It calls for forthright leadership that will indoctrinate Negro masses with an awareness of the effect of economic relationships upon other aspects of life. It demands leadership that will provide a program for insulating Negroes with industrial and occupational information and firing them with devotion to a cause that is just and fruitful. This leadership is needed to compel the respect of the Administration and to build an esprit de corps among the masses of Negroes who are ready psychologically for a program as they have never been before."

49-16-91

The difficulty arose, first, in the application of the codes.

"As consumers Negroes need protection. Remove the differential wage, eliminate the company store and commissary from competition with private enterprise, establish minimum wages for the domestic occupations in which Negroes are employed—and something still remains undone. Negro areas are ones in which some of the most undesirable merchandising practices are conducted. The Negro consumer finds his neighborhood stores cluttered with a large supply of inferior and cheap goods at prices that are high under any standard. These goods include food, housing and clothing, commodities of all sorts. Furthermore, the goods being cheap means that they are produced under undesirable conditions of labor and distribution. The elimination of these cheap goods would, of course, diminish the purchasing power of the average Negro consumer. The continuance of such merchandising practices as have accompanied the distribution and sale of these goods, including some nefarious practices of partial and installment payments, would violate both the spirit and the letter of NRA standards. There is a price for economic recovery —is it to be paid?

49-16-92

Rank in Opposition

~~to our ear and broken it to our hope.~~ "Today 24 national trade unions exclude us from their ranks and proscribe us in our employment.

"Organized labor, also, has contributed its share in the establishment of the race differential. The working class philosophy in such instances has been for the white workers. In Charleston, South Carolina, for example, where Negro building tradesmen were largely organized ten years ago, these Negro artisans worked at a lower scale than the white workers although they belonged to the same unions as their fellow-unionists. Separate unions for whites and blacks in other Southern cities likewise promoted a differential wage in favor of the white worker. In such cities as Jacksonville, Florida, and Birmingham, Alabama, and New Orleans, Louisiana, (where there were two central labor bodies, one for whites, the other for Negroes) the ill-effects of such duplicity in labor's aims have been most pronounced.

"Advocates of the equal pay for equal work theory maintain that in view of the reasons advanced by employers for a differential wage, (1) the difference in wage costs should be made a fixed charge against the competition of other industries; (2) the payment of equal wages would standardize wages and check the unscrupulous acts of employers who permit low labor charges to offset inefficient management; (3) the elimination of a differential wage would result in the levelling of wages for the whole working population and would check petty abuses in many industries; (4) equal wages would end the subsidizing of inefficient management and antiquated methods of many industries at the expense of Negro employees; (5) equal wages would result in the displacement of many unemployables—unemployables being determined not so much by race as by industrial efficiency; (6) equal wages would protect the white worker against under-bidding in the labor market; (7) the elimination of the differential would, in part, compensate for the restrictons on promotions which adversely affect Negroes in industry.

"It is a strong belief that the differential wage is a very pertinent part of the wage system whereby the workers' share is determined by the rule of thumb bargain. Under such a system, neither the employer nor the employee is certain that he is getting a fair deal. Many of the reasons that employers give justifying a racial differential, however, are due to faulty labor control, inadequate labor management

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and inadequate and improper rate-setting rather than to racial differences.

"The much talked of productive ability of white and Negro workers has not been sufficiently authenticated by scientific studies. It is certain that there should be a study of the capacity of Negro and white racial groups—a capacity not vitiated by various differences in cultural background and opportunity. One of the most recent and most outstanding studies of this relative ability was made by Alma Herbst.* This study showed that the "earning capacity of colored groups as demonstrated by weekly earnings and premiums, though far from conclusive, rules out the assumption of their (the Negroes') lack of ability and industrial efficiency as the only explanation of their status and rates of pay." On the question of labor mobility, Miss Herbst concludes that the "shiftlessness and unreliability of individual colored workmen have not been conclusively demonstrated." It was also found, in an analysis of the earnings of Negro and white employees in a typical meat packing establishment between 1922 and 1926, that under the Bedoux Premium System of Wage Payment, affecting 617 employees of whom 502 were white and 115 Negroes, 20.3 per cent of the whites earned no bonus while all of the Negroes earned some bonus. Furthermore, of those earning a bonus, 45.8 per cent of the whites and 42.6 per cent of the Negroes earned the lowest bonus; while 22.1 per cent of the whites and 26.1 per cent of the Negroes earned the highest amount available under the system.

Even where codes were adopted, employers of Negro labor did not always live up to them.

Meantime, reports continued to come in as to working conditions.

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41-9-166

I. Because, we believe in the sincerity of purpose governing the National Administration's efforts for economic security;

II. Because, we are convinced that the NRA offers to workers a most significant opportunity for intelligently improving their economic and social status, thereby raising the economic level of the nation;

III. Because, we are convinced that the Federal program must be known to, and effective for every one of 12,000,000 Negroes if they are to profit thereby;

IV. Because,we are convinced that there is need for bringing to the attention of the various constituted authorities of the NRA exclusions of Negroes as practiced in certain areas since they deter and prevent recovery;

V. Because, we are convinced that the purchasing power of 12,000,000 Negro consumers is too potent a factor in our national economy to be subjected to exploitation such as is usually practiced against Negroes;

VI. Because, we are certain that the various emergency acts passed by the last Congress involving relief to the unemployed, the creation of a national employment exchange, the reemployment of workers, public works, farm and home mortgage loans, and all the others ought to be extended fully to Negroes.

Its objects was to continue a nation-wide educational program to acquaint Negroes with the NRA. It has a National Council of 15 members at large and state advisory councils and various committees. The National Chairman was C. C. Spaulding; the National Advisor, T. Arnold Hill."

As a result of this, on November 1, the office of Adviser on Negro Affairs and the Secretary of Commerce, was established and E. K. Jones, head of the National Urban League, was appointed to that office.

Pressure still continued for appointment of Negroes as administrators and especially as investigators to learn the real truth about conditions. A meeting was held September 18 of what was said to be the "Special Industrial Recovery Board". There were present Secretary Ickes, chairman of the Board, Secretary Perkins, General Hugh Johnson, Judge Stephens, Dr. Ezekiel and Dr. Dickinson. What was said and done has never been officially reported, but an alleged transcript of the remarks was published which ~~seems so plausible that~~ we reproduce in part without vouching for its absolute accuracy.

~~Chairman Ickes. The next item is No. 10, the appointment of a Negro investigator.~~

Secretary Perkins: Are you all so situated that every day brings demands from a group of Negroes to be appointed to something or other?

Chairman Ickes: The demand was made on me for the appointment of a Negro Deputy Administrator of Public Works.

Secretary Perkins: They want a Negro Assistant Secretary in the Department of Labor. We already have a Negro economist in the Bureau of Statistics which we could call our Bureau of Economics. He is not very satisfactory but he holds a Civil Service position; and there is a division of Negro economics and a Negro is at the head of that. I do not know how we are going to deal with them. They claim the thing Mr. Roper set up here is not satisfactory - that it is political in its setup.

49-19-29

Chairman Ickes: I do not see how we can appoint them as Negroes. If we did that we would have to appoint women as women and nationalities as nationalities.

Secretary Perkins: I do think there should be in my department a division studying the problems of Negroes.

Chairman Ickes: Has Mr. Foreman been up to see you yet?

Secretary Perkins: Yes, sir. I have eight or ten others. These Negroes do not agree with each other.

Chairman Ickes: I was criticised for appointing Foreman. It seems to me that he will give them better service than a Negro would in his position.

General Johnson: Dr. Sachs has appointed a Negress to look into certain matters with respect to Negro labor. I questioned the wisdom of it and the extent of authority he had given her.

Secretary Perkins: You have to watch your assignments very closely.

Chairman Ickes: I think Negroes have to be dealt with as individuals.

Secretary Perkins: The Negroes are treated differently as workers than any other group of people and it is just possible that one who has experienced discrimination against Negroes and who has the necessary training in other fields is not qualified to follow up their complaints. Other things being equal, a Negro investigator sent out would be able to bring back the facts better than anybody else.

Judge Stephens: That is true.

Secretary Perkins: But you would have to have a man or woman trained in the collection of facts.

General Johnson: If the Board thought well if it, we could appoint a Negro Advisory Committee. They are becoming very clamorous.

Secretary Perkins: Delegations have come to me and asked that since I nominate the members of the Labor Board, I also nominate another one who is a Negro.

General Johnson: I got the request that we must have a Negro Deputy Administrator.

Dr. Ezekiel: In the extension we have appointed Negroes to work with the Negroes in those counties. You might use a similar mechanism by appointing a Negro Board to work with Negroes who are on the consuming end.

Secretary Perkins: A Negro (John P. Davis) made a good statement of the case. He pointed out that for the most part in the South where Negroes are not factory workers, they were domestics and that the domestics' wages are not increasing and that there is no likelihood of a code for domestics. I agreed with him that there would not be. He explained that in the meantime they are being paid $2.00 a week wages with no chance of raising them and that the price levels are increasing, perhaps by only small fractions, but still sufficient to make it difficult for those getting only $2.00 a week to get along.

Dr. Dickinson: Might I say that the units of the NRA--the Research Unit, I believe--was about to send down into the South a colored female research worker, who comes from Oregon, I believe; and who has done very competent work at the University of Chicago; but the thought is that the selection of the research worker from the Negro race to go down and make that investigation would perhaps meet with

40-19-58

difficulties that would not be met by a research worker of some other race, and that if it were desired to win the confidence of the Negroes in the result of a research investigation, that purpose could be accomplished in a more tactful way which would be, instead of sending a research worker from their race, to put the investigation in the hands of some outstanding Negro, like Mr. Moton, or somebody of that kind; and then if he wanted, to let him employ the research worker. That was my suggestion, but the point here is whether this research worker shall be given her ticket and sent down there this afternoon.

General Johnson: I stopped that. I think it was very unwise.

Dr. Ezekiel: We would be playing with fire to send a Northern trained Negro to the South and certainly anyone trained in Chicago.

Secretary Perkins: I think you are right that it is very much better to put a distinguished Negro citizen on some of the central boards.

Dr. Dickinson: Or perhaps use him for a particular job.

General Johnson: This was crazy. It gave this colored woman authority to go in and interrogate employers and all that kind of thing.

All this complaint and agitation brought further efforts by Negroes. First of all, a number of Negro organizations united under two young men in Washington and formed a Joint Committee on National Recovery which proceeded to agitate for better conditions ~~appointments~~ and to interrogate leaders of the NRA. This committee ~~The Joint Committee on National Recovery,~~ formed in July, 1933, included ~~the following~~ twenty-four member organizations:

George E. Haynes, Chairman
John P. Davis, Executive Secretary
Nannie H. Burroughs, Treasurer

Member Organizations

African Methodist Episcopal Church
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority

49-19-31

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Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

National Association of Colleges for Colored Youth

National Association of Colored Women's Clubs

National Baptist Convention, U. S. A.

National Catholic Interracial Federation

National Council Protestant Episcopal League

National Housewives League

National Medical Association

National Negro Bar Association

National Negro Business League

National Technical Association

Negro Industrial League

Omega Psi Phi Fraternity

Public Affairs Committee, National Young Women's Christian Association

Race Relations Department, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America

Women's Auxiliary, National Baptist Convention, U. S. A.

Women's Parent Mite Missionary Society

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49-10-32

Of these organizations, 10 were religious, 4 academic fraternities and sororities, 1 a fraternal order, 1 an organization for agitation and reform, 4 organizations of professional men, 1 an organization for club work and 3 industrial organizations.

If we divide these organizations according to their outlook on economics and industry, we find that half are reactionary in outlook or believe in the essential soundness of the present capitalistic system. Of the other 12, 8 may be classed as liberal in their economic outlook, while 2 are distinctly labor organizations and 2 organizations of capitalists. Under these circumstances, it was naturally impossible that the Joint Committee should attempt to lay down any guiding program.

There was only one matter on which all the organizations agreed and that was that in the administration of the recovery program there should be as little color discrimination as possible. But as to the program itself and its general objects and ends, it had nothing to say and it certainly had no desire to consider or lay down a distinct program for the guidance and development of the Negro race in industry.

The Urban League did not join the Joint Committee, but attempted to set up an Emergency Advisory Council.

T. Arnold Hill, acting executive secretary, in sending out an open letter to Negro workers urging them to organize workers' councils, wrote in part:

> "For fourteen months we have been witnessing in the United States a most unprecedented effort at economic stabilization. The cause of labor is riding 'high, wide and handsome,' with the possibility for attaining many desirable goals. Yet the cause of Negro workers has not been one with labor's general aims. The appeals of social organizations in your behalf to the National Recovery Administration, the American Federation of Labor, independent labor organizations and many persons of influence and prestige, while partially successful, have fallen far short of the desired goal. These shortcomings have convinced us that the position of Negro workers will be strengthened only if they themselves realize the necessity for action."

49-18-34

"It has been a matter of great interest and speculation to thinking Negroes throughout the country as to what extent have been the activities and accomplishments of the NRA with respect to giving the race worker a square deal in the New Deal. The apathetic and often unfriendly attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the Negro wage-earner in the past has not kindled a feeling of expectancy that organized labor will at present include all workers, regardless of race or color, in its ambitious program.

"The Negro would do himself incalculable harm for many, many years to come were he to agree to any plan whereby he is to receive less pay than the white wage-earner for the same kind of work. The thought of giving the black laborer increased pay and less working hours has greatly agitated Southern employers, some of whom have become so excited as to raise the cry of secession."

Apparently this proposed organization has never actually functioned, and the Secretary, E. K.Jones, Adviser in the Department of Commerce, seems to have turned to the movement for fully restored capitalism. On the other hand, the NRA stirred by the investigator's complains and the pitiless publicity of John P. Davis and Robert Weaver, who headed the Joint Committee, executed an adroit blank movement and invited Dr. Weaver to join Clark Foreman as ~~Joint~~ Adviser on Negroes in the Department of the Interior. Davis and others protested against Weaver's acceptance, but nevertheless, he eventually accepted.

When conditions got worse in October, 1933, the FERA inaugurated a Civil Works program, November, 1933. This was to provide work at once for 4,000,000 unemployed persons on short-time public projects and $400,000,000 was allocated to finance this plan.

August 9, 1933, the FERA authorized funds to be used for the hiring of unemployed teachers. ~~After a while,~~ Dr. Ambrose Caliver, from the Office of Education in the Department of the Interior, was ~~made Specialist in~~ put in charge of Educational Relief for Negroes in December, 1933.

~~The same month,~~ A Negro was appointed as Director of Negro Work in the FERA. ~~He was~~ Forrester Washington of the School of Social Work in Atlanta, Georgia, He selected a tentative body of welfare workers to help him, but after a few months, resigned, ~~presumably~~ because he found he was to be given no real power. His assistant was named as his successor, but instead of being ~~delegated~~ designated as Director of Negro Work, he was called the "Colored Asistant in the Correspondence Division." He received complaints from Negroes concerning the administration of relief funds by local authorities and communicated ~~be~~ with the state administrator. ~~He has an assisbant and a stenographer.~~

The Farm Credit Administration was created by Executive Order and is under a Governor appointed by the President. The purpose is to provide a complete and co-ordinate credit system for agriculture. One colored man, Henry Hunt, is assistant to the Governor and has an office with a secretary and stenographer. He receives complaints from the colored farmers and makes every effort to remedy injustices placed upon Negroes in the administration of the funds. He has no administrative responsibility, but makes observation tours and inquiries at the offices of the Federal Land Banks.

49-19-35

"The Adviser urges the appointment of qualified Negroes by the Department of the Interior; he observes the degree to which Negroes are being employed by the agencies under the Secretary's control and reports the conditions to the Administrator;

44-16-96

Chapter VIII

he develops suggested lines of approach to assure a greater degree of participation by Negroes in the programs of the agencies.

"The Adviser review all projects of the Division of Subsistence Homesteads affecting Negroes. His purpose is to develop a well-rounded and sound program of participation for colored Americans in this program. In connection with housing, the Adviser on the Economic Status of Negroes, urges the appointment of Negro technical men,

NA-16-94

the inclusion of Negroes on local housing committees, the use of Negro labor on projects and the selection of qualified Negroes for local management. As a consultant to the Housing Division, he is constantly in touch with the housing program and attempts to expand the number of projects developed in Negro slum areas.

There are also certain matters of routine, such as answering letters, seeking information, receiving and following up complaints of racial discrimination and maintaining old and opening new employment opportunities for Negroes". (The Sphinx, p. 3)

The Federal Subsistence Homestead Corporation has been incorporated under the division of Subsistence Homesteads in the Department of the Interior. It is to provide for the re-distribution of the over-balance of population in industrial centers and has a fund of $25,000,000. It was organized November 21, 1933.

The Adviser on Negro Economic Status in the Interior Deparmtnet has put a good deal of time on the subsistence homesteads. Many Negroes have been interested in this and several projects proposed. A Negro Subsistence Homesteads division was organized under a white official and an attempt made to start such a homestead at Bricks, North Carolina. In all, 5 young college men and 2 women were employed in this division.

449-16-98

The white official tried to start several Negro subsistence homesteads, but the Adviser protested against all such efforts. One Hundred or more applications have been filed by Negroes from all sections of the United States and, finally, most of these projects came to nothing--because of a ruling that they were agriculture rather than concerned with city population. The only plan that has gotten through is one at Tuskegee, where $200,000 has been allocated for 3 units, 2 agricultural and 1 industrial. Because the Solicitor-General ruled out agricultural products and the Office of the Adviser was adverse to Negro projects, there was a statemate and the office of the white specialist was given up and the colored personnel transferred to the Planning Division. A bi-racial project at Lackawanna, New York was planned, but because it stated that 15% were to be colored and 85% white, it was abandoned. Another

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project which may come through is that at Newport News, Virginia and there were further proposals at Indianapolis, Garvy, Pennsylvania and Dayton, Ohio.

In the Planning Division of the Subsistence Homesteads are more highly trained colored people than in any other division.

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Chapter VIII

1. Important appointments made:

Lawrence A. Oxley, Chief, Division of Negro Labor, Department of Labor

John Aubrey Davis, Research Assistant, Department of Labor

Robert C. Weaver, Adviser on the Economic Status of Negroes, Department of Interior

H. B. Evans, Executive Assistant to the General Manager Subsistence Homesteads, Department of the Interior

Theophilus Mann, Member of the Legal Staff of the Public Works Administration (Interior)

William Hastie, Assistant Solicitor, Department of the Interior

Ambrose Caliver, Senior Specialist in Negro Education, Department of the Interior and Specialist in the Educational Relief among Negroes, Fed. Emergency Relief Adm.

James A. Atkins, Assistant in Education in the Fed. Emergency Relief Adm.

Forrester B. Washington, Director of Negro Work in the Fed. Emergency Relief Adm. (appointed Feb. 1, 1934; resigned Sept. 1, 1934)

Alfred E. Smith, Special Assistant, Correspondence Division, Fed. Emergency Relief Adm.

Earl Moses, Research Staff of the Fed. Emergency Relief Adm. (resigned on Oct 1, 1934 to take a position in Research Department of District of Columbia Board of Education.)

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Edgar G. Brown, Special Assistant to the Director, Emergency Conservation Work

Victor Cools, Project Analyst, Subs. Homesteads Div., Department of the Interior

J. P. Murchison, Associate Adviser on Economic Status of Negroes, Department of the Interior

Hilyard R. Robinson, Architectural Draftsman, Subs. Homesteads Div., Department of the Interior.

William J. Thompkins, Recorder of Deeds, District of Columbia

H. A. Hunt, Assistant to the Governor, Farm Credit Adm.

Roscoe C. Brown, Heatlh Education Specialist and Special Consultant, U. S. Public Health Service.

Charles E. Hall, Specialist on Negro Statistics, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce.

Eugene Kinckle Jones, Adviser on Negro Affairs, Department of Commerce

Abram S. Harris, Associate Professor of Economics at Howard University, member of the Consumers' Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration (resignation effective Sept. 15, 1934)

The current political and social pattern in the South, from 1868-1876, was for the planting class to make alliance with the poor whites on terms that either retained leadership in the hands of the planters or at least leadership in the hands of those poor whites who replaced the planters and assumed the planter ideology toward labor.

But in Atlanta, the change was more subtle than this. The planters haranged in vain five hours on a hot day in Alabama Street against a combination of Northern merchants, but whites and Negroes who dominated the situation had made Bullock Governor. Thereupon some representatives of the planters, like ex-Governor Brown and eventually Ben Hill, determined that the new commercial profits of Atlanta should not go to a combination of Northerners, poor whites and Negroes. They, therefore, secured the alliance of Northern capital and forced Northerners, like Kimball, to ally themselves with them, and he and other poor white merchants willingly did this so long as the object of the combination was to make money and

44-16-45

Chapter IX

On the other hand,

It is the opinion of the Inter-Racial Commission that the NRA has been of more benefit than harm to the Negro and that the amount of wages going into the Negro community after the appearance of the NRA exceeds the amount immediately before. In the larger business, Negroes who were on the payroll when the NRA launched, have remained and in some cases, additional ones hired at code wages. This is true in the service of the newer office buildings, in the distribution and sale of the largest magazines, of automobile tires and gasoline, in distributing products of packing houses, in the electric power business and street railway systems and delivery of parcels for department stores. In oil refining, mining and steel industries, Negroes have received reasonably good treatment. The wages of Negroes in fertilizing factories and cotton-seed oil mills have been increased, in some cases from 50-100%.

This better treatment of Negroes has been true in businesses where the workers were not under the public eye, as was the case in mining and manufacturing, or where they were before the public as servants, as in office buildings and filling stations.

J1-9-169

not being befafited by the N.R.A. but on the whole were sustaining an economic set-back." Extreme examples may be cited where in one county of Georgia, where 300 Negroes who were receiving 50cents a day were discharged when a code fixed wages at 30 cents an hour. In Birmingham, Ala., white retail grocers drew up a code of their own of $6 a week for Negro porters and delivery boys. In Arkansas, white farmers sent their sons to the C.C.C. camps where they received $30 a month and replaced them with Negroes at $10 and $15 a month.

This is a typical picture of what the Negro got economically under the major effort of the New Deal to raise the average worker out of the depression.

49-19-36

(INSERT)

34-1-84

The whole plan of the New Deal was suddenly changed by the decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring the establishment of industrial codes unconstitutional and indicating that other efforts of the New Deal were probably [illegible] illegal. This brings forward the question as to whether the effort of the United States to reorganize industry is going to be stopped by court action, or whether the constitution is to be so changed and reinterpreted that the capitalistic system can be reconstructed or replaced.

B

At present, the trend is to give up nearly all the efforts of the New Deal and to return to the profit-making economy depending upon investment and wages to restore prosperity. It is admitted that at best there will be under these circumstances at least 10 millions of persons permanently unemployed and many others employed irregularly or at wages too low to maintain a decent standard of living. ¶ Among the unemployed and casual workers will be large numbers of Negroes and particularly those upon the farms. The plans for the resettlement of farmers upon better lands are at present very hazy and it does not seem probable that Negro farmers are going to get much real attention or permanent help. The labor movement, thus faces a new problem or rather an extension of the old fight. Negroes struck and struggled in the textile strike and in the longshoremen's strike and in the sharecroppers strike in the Southwest. The Pullman Porters have won their right to be recognized as a union, but they have not been given the status to which they are entitled in the American Federation of Labor. The attitude of the Federation is still reactionary. The industrial union movement, while strong, is not yet triumphant and the craft unions continue to exclude black men. ¶ In this situation of flux and change no final word can be said concerning Negro workers at present. But something can be said concerning what Negroes, led by intelligent and sacrificing prophets, must do if in the future they are going to earn a decent living.

"At Norris will be established a working experiment in coordination between industry and agriculture, the ideal which the TVA envisions for the whole Tennessee Valley. The natives of this cooperative community will receive extensive training in the arts, trades, and skills essential to such a mode of living. That they may become expert in agriculture, for instance, they will be provided a farm-garden for demonstration, a model poultry plant, and a dairy farm with pasteurizing plant connected. Men will also be taught skill in woodwork and in metal work. The women will receive courses in home planning and management. All homes will be electrified for providing lights and heat. Roads will be kept free from sign-boards, hot-dog stands, and road-side clutter. From all this the Negro, as desperately as he needs training, is to be absolutely excluded. He can not even live on the outskirts of the town in his customary hovel.

Promises, nebulous and indefinite, are being made Negro groups that other cooperative communities are to be established in which their rights will be taken care of. It is hoped, not without some assurance, that such a community may be established near Huntsville, Alabama, in connection with the state supported Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes. This would be all the more practicable since one service of such a community is to provide a field for student labor for cooperative colleges which proceed according to a work-study program."

(Cranston Clayton, OPPORTUNITY, April, 1934.)

49-16-102

"Soon after we got to the school and made fire we saw Mr. Murphy come up. We called him in to get warm. He was the one Negro then working on the Teachers' Home. (FERA project.) The white men working on the project had not shown up. (They did not show up at all that day.) Mr. Murphy talked (rather, he mumbled) quite a bit while he was warming. He found that he was making fifteen cents an hour for eight hours a day, three days a week. He supported his family of nine children, a wife, and himself on this wage. He walks seven miles every morning to get here to work. His children walk that seven miles to come here to school." (Red Oak, Ga., 1935.)

A report from one of the Negro officials of the New Deal gives this out of relief measures for Negroes:

"Negroes have received emergency relief in proportion to their needs rather than in proportion to their population. The record shows that in October 1933, there were 2,117,644 Negroes in relief and 10,309,844 white persons, i. e., 17.8% of the Negroes and 9.5% of the whites. Of course, they are individual Negroes who have not received a square deal in relief, as has been the case with many whites. Furthermore, the causes behind this undue proportion of Negroes are reprehensible in that a much greater proportion of Negro workers were in marginal employment prior to the depression. But one cannot criticize any administration for the condition it finds on coming into office. The fact is that the Federal Emergency Relief Administration has been and is giving relief to all elements of the public on the basis of need."

44-16-95

During 1935, the following students were employed and the following sums allowed in the various states by the FERA for colored colleges:

	No.	
Alabama	185	$24,975
Arkansas	146	19,710
Delaware	9	1,215
Florida	87	11,745
Georgia	281	37,215
Kentucky	75	6,885
Louisiana	143	19,305
Maryland	57	7,695
Mississippi	69	9,315
Missouri	49	6,615
North Carolina	283	38,205
Ohio	71	9,585
Oklahoma	66	8,910
Pennsylvania	52	7,020
South Carolina	135	18,225
Tennessee	235	31,725
Texas	321	49,140
Virginia	228	30,780
West Virginia	94	12,690
District of Columbia	194	26,190
Total FERA grants to Negro colleges.....		$377,145

SECTION VII.

The following notes will illustrate other activities of the New Deal with regard to the Negro:

Sixteen training centers were established by the FERA to prepare teachers for workers' education; 2 for Negroes; 1 at Atlanta University and 1 at Washington, D. C.

There are nursery schools but how many there are for Negroes, it is not known: 11 are reported in Georgia, 5 in the District of Columbia, 15 in North Carolina and 5 in West Virginia. There is a colored supervisor of nursery schools in the District of Columbia.

There is no information as to what has been done for the Negro under the rural rehabilitation program. There are state transient directors in nearly all the states and separate Negro transient camps in the District of Columbia, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, Arizona and Kentucky. The one at Maryland has a colored supervisor. No colored women of experience or training is employed by the FERA.

The Civilian Conservation Corps was created by the Executive Order April 5, 1933 under the Emergency Conservation Work Organization. Former Representative De Priest secured a proviso in this act "that no discrimination be made on account of race, color or creed." The men received $30 a month, together with subsistence and clothing and the Department of Labor supervised the selection of the persons enrolled.

49-11-43

There is no Negro representative in the United States Employment Service in the Department of Labor.

"There are Sixty-seven all-Negro Camps out of a total of 7,128 in operation today (figures given by the Director in his Radio Broadcast of October 24, 1934), and are located as follows in the corps areas as hereinafter indicated:

First Corps Area.....	None	Sixth Corps Area.....	5
Second Corps Area....	5	Seventh Corps Area...	5
Third Corps Area.....	26	Eighth Corps Area..	None
Fourth Corps Area....	15	Ninth Corps Area...	3
Fifth Corps Area.....	8		

"The total authorized strength of the forest camps (CCC Camps) is 370,000," said the Director of Emergency Conservation Work in his Radio Broadcast of October 24, 1934, and the proposed quota for Negro Enrollees in all-Negro CCC forest for the fourth and last enrollment period is 14,858. This does not necessarily mean that the total of Negro enrollees in all the CCC forest camps is only 14,858 out of a grand total of 370,000, because there are Negro enrollers in these camps located in States where there is no law against segregation, but how many, there is no way of knowing unless the Camp Commanders of these camps are consulted.

of Negroes and a change in policy early last Spring has resulted in the appointment to date of 55 Negro educational advisers in these camps.

Obviously, this is not all that could be stated, as the subject could not be exhausted in a short summary. But assuredly the spirit of the officials in Washington is favorable to according the Negro all the benefits of the Recovery Program. For example, the administrative officials of the newer services, such as the Federal Housing Administration, Federal Credit Unions, and the Labor Relations Board, have given assurance that they will make every effort to guarantee the Negro full benefits from these activities. Recently the Division of Press Intelligence has subscribed to some 16 or 18 Negro newspapers and periodicals with the idea of bringing Negro editorial comment on the Government's acitivites to the attention of those officials who control policies and practicies within the several departments and administrations.

38-27-10

of the decline in agricultural employment for the year 1934 alone being a quarter of a million. The larger portion of these are unskilled Negro agricultural workers - now without income and unable to secure work or relief.

But the unemployment and tenant evictions occasioned by the crop reduction policies of the AAA is not all. For the tenants and sharecroppers who were retained on the plantations, the government's agricultural program meant reduced income. Wholesale fraud on tenants in the payment of parity checks occurred. Tenants complaining to the Department of Agriculture have their letters referred back to the locality in which they live and trouble of serious nature often results. Even when this does not happen, the tenant fails to get his check. The remainder of the land he tills on shares with his landlord brings him only the most meagre necessities during the crop season, varying from three to five months. The rest of the period for him and his family is one of "root hog or die."

The past year has seen an extension of poverty even to the small percentage (a little more than 20 percent) of Negro farmers who own their own land. For them compulsory reduction of acreage for cotton and tobacco crops, with the quantum of such reduction controlled and regulated by local boards on which they have no representation, has meant drastic reduction of their already lwo income. Wholesale confiscation of the income of the Negro cotton and tobacco farmer is being made by prejudiced local boards in the South under the very nose of the federal government. In the wake of such confiscation has come a tremendous increase in land tenantry as a result of foreclosures on Negro-owned properties.

- Farmers Exploited Under AAA -

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration has used cruder methods in enforcing poverty on the Negro farm population. It has made violations of the rights of tenants under crop reduction contracts easy; it has rendered the enforcement of these rights impossible. The reduction of the acreage under cultivation through the government rental agreement made unnecessary large numbers of tenants and farm laborers. Although the contract with the government provided that the landowner should not reduce the number of his tenants he did so. The federal courts have now refused to allow tenants to enjoin such evictions. Faced with this Dred Scott decision against farm tenants, the AAA has remained discretely silent. Farm laborers are now jobless by the hundreds of thousands, the conservative government estimate

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30-27-80

I do not pretend to like rough water. I once said that I was willing to die for the President, but that I refused to become sea-sick for him. Yet I find myself continually thinking of the whole term of this administration as a storm at sea. The Spring of 1933 was like the sinking of a great liner in a hurricane. A nervy skipper in a rescue cutter stood by. There was no partisanship then; no criticism of him for the cold and the wet and the danger. Everybody took that skipper's orders because no one else knew what to do or dared to take the responsibility for doing it. Business, large and small; labor, organized and unorganized, were glad to hear a voice ring with command. Not a single rugged individualist even peeped about letting nature take its course or about the survival of the fittest. Finance, commerce and industry were prostrate, thoroughly frightened, thoroughly hopeless. They did not cry: "Leave us alone." They knelt on their slanting decks and prayed: "Save us or we perish." At least those [illegible] had not forgotten how to pray. They grabbed at the lifeline extended to them without asking where they were being taken and that line held in the hour of need. But now, temporarily safe in a calmer sea, they are quarreling over what port it shall be.

These probably has been no similar period in our history when one man might so fundamentally have changed the destined course of a free people. If Franklin D. Roosevelt at that time had desired to supplant the profit system with some new collective form of economic organization, all he would have to do would have been to let nature take its course, permit unrestrained individualism to continue to deflate for thirty days more. If he had done that, no one knows what kind of economic doctrine would have taken root in the ruins of our traditional business and banking system. The course of unrestrained individualism was the surest road to the destruction of that system. Scarcely less sure would have been a yielding to the desperate demands of leaders of business and finance that the government stop their losses by taking over their enterprises, taking up their debts, limiting production, fixing prices, guaranteeing profits —in a word, complete regimentation.

Administration Chose The Hardest Course

The course that the new administration did take was the hardest course. It conformed to no theory, but it did fit into the American system—a system of taking action step by step, a system of regulation only to meet concrete needs, a system of courageous recognition of change. It was a middle of the road course of using the facilities and resources available only to the government until individual enterprise could resume its normal functions in a socially sound competitive order.

The deflationary process has stopped. To achieve that, the administration placed the national credit back of every bank which could reasonably be expected to be restored to a solvent position over a period of years. It gave generous help to railroads and insurance companies. It gave to agriculture and industry instruments to prevent the glutting of markets by forced liquidation and sweated labor. The skipper got aboard his cutter all who could possibly be saved.

The old idea that there was work in America for every individual who wanted work is too precious a heritage to abandon. It was a priceless ingredient in the individual optimism and self-reliance that made us a confident, vigorous nation. I am old-fashioned enough not to want to see it pass from our national life; I am modern enough to be willing to use the power of government to create conditions which will insure that it shall not pass. Until the average man has attained a standard of life and security far beyond that which he now enjoys, there must be work for every one. It is the duty of the government to see that it is provided. When private initiative cannot give work to every man able and willing to work, there is no decent alternative for this nation from the President's determination to assure that work through a public works program.

11-6-176

Negroes ~~for the time being were largely~~ had been eliminated from politics in the South. But they still remained a major factor in Southern poverty. The low purchasing power of the Negro population makes the South a poor market for the products of its own factories and causes outside producers to consider it the poorest market in the nation. Every dream of economic emancipation for the South has been impossible of realization, for every such dream has failed to include Negroes as an economic factor in Southern development. The South has continued to insist on a political remedy to one of its major economic ills. (cf Alexander, loc cit)

Insofar as Negroes are admitted to the white labor movement, they should be loyal. Most Negroes are not admitted and must, therefore, refuse to be goats.

According to the NEW YORK TIMES, a survey by the 20th Century Fund says that there are some 32,000,000 wage earners in the United States at the beginning of 1935. The American Federation estimates that there were 38,934 in February, 1935, of these 4,200,000 were in trade unions and 2,500,000 in company unions.

The American Federation of Labor reports an average membership of 2,608,011 for the year ending August 31, 1934. They are, of course, far below the peak figure of 4,078,740 in 1920. There are about 40 independent unions having a national status, the most important being the railway brotherhoods.

41-9-177

The rise of company unions is pronounced. There were 1,300,000 members in 1932 and now 2,500,000. There is no doubt but what most of the young Negro intellectuals have gone Communist. They do not all say so, but they are cynical and unmoved when any other proposal to better the Negro's condition is made, except communistic revolution. If these young men were white, they might have some strong intellectual reasons for this conclusion, but they, like their fathers, continually deceive themselves into thinking that they can in some way identify their salvation with that of white America. As a matter of fact, they are not white and for this reason alone cannot today in America go Communist.

The Negro church, also, can easily become a center of community medical service, dental care, health preservation and legal defense.

The Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933, approved May 12, provided for a co-operation between the Federal Government and the several states in relieving hardships and suffering caused by unemployment.

In all New Deal legislation and especially in the FERA grants, the states rights principle was kept; that is, after receiving Federal grants, states were left to go their own way. In only one case was there an attempt to guide them and that was when it was found that white teachers were being paid by Federal funds to teach colored children. A memorandum was then sent out stating that Negro teachers should always be employed to teach Negro pupils and adults in states maintaining segregated school programs.

49-16-89

Aroused by the complaints of the cotton growing states, Secretary Wallace summoned the directors of extension work in the Southern states to Washington for a conference in May, 1934. The planters were given a subsidiary by the government for each acre they agreed not to plant in cotton. For these idle acres the planters received a little less than $5.50 for an acre. If the planters had acted fairly most of this money would have gone to the tenants. In most cases, the planters signed up for themselves and their tenants; received the entire check; and would not share it with the tenants. The cotton tenants were supposed to re-

ceive one-ninth of the money granted the land owners; the total amount varying according to the amount of acres. Tobacco sharecroppers, most of whom are white, received one-half of the money granted owners.

In many instances, the landlord promptly evicted the sharecroppers, leaving them homeless and with no means of support. He was then used as surplus labor. (Norfolk Journal and Guide, May 19, 1934.)

Dr. Haynes argued the need for clauses in the Bill under Titles I, II, III, IV, VII, and VIII providing for no discrimination on account of race or color; and presented evidence of the manner in which this type of discrimination in the past has affected the state administration of federal appropriations. He showed that under the Smith-Hughes Act and the Smith-Lever Act, which laws do not contain clauses against discrimination account of race or color, federal funds have been appropriated on the basis of population for vocational education, teacher-training, and agricultural and home demonstration work, and have been unfairly and inequitably distributed between white and Negro populations according to their proportions in each state. In contrast he cited the administration of the Morrill-Nelson funds for the establishment of land-grant colleges as amended in 1890 which prohibited the payment of funds to a college where distinction of race or color is made in the admission of students, but allows separate institutions for white and Negro students provided funds are equitably appropriated to each according to terms set forth in the law.

30.27-78

There are specific provisions under the several titles of the Economic Security Bill which could be readily used for discrimination against eligible persons on account of race or color:

> "Under Title I, Section 4, (a) a plan for old age assistance offered by a state authority must furnish 'assistance at least great enough to provide, when added to the income of the aged recipient, a reasonable subsistence compatable with decency and health.' In many communities there is a prevailing idea that Negro persons can have such a reasonable subsistence on less income than a white person. In states and communities, North and South, fair-minded citizens have had to contend strenuously against this notion being made a basis for lower wage rates in the NRA codes, for low allowances, for lower standards for Negroes in relief budgets, and other measures. It would very probably be widely used to give less assistance to aged Negroes than to aged whites.

"Under Title II, Section 204 (c) the same standard of reasonable subsistence compatible with decency and health is involved in the approval of state plans for the aid of dependent children. The lack of consideration for the Negro child in nearly all of the Southern states and in many of the large Northern urban communities is generally known and admitted, as one may readily prove from the reports of the President's White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.

"Under Title III, Section 301, there is no minimum for wages upon which the earnings taxes shall be based. It is commonly accepted knowledge that the wages of Negro workers are frequently lower than those of white workers in the same plant and on the same jobs or in the same occupations. Wherever there is this discrimination in wages on account of race or color this Bill should provide an equalization of the percentage of the tax to be paid by the employee so that the employer will be required to pay a larger percentage of the tax.

"Under Title IV, Section 403, it is proposed that the appropriations of specified sums be made from the Federal Treasury, of which sums 98 percent is to be apportioned by the Social Insurance Board among the states. Unless this Bill requires the distribution of benefits irrespective of race or color there is grave danger that in the regulations governing eligibility and other conditions for receiving benefits, unfair practice against Negro aged will arise.

"Under Title VII, Section 701 (a) allotments of federal funds are provided for 'furthering and strengthening state and local health services to mothers and children, extending maternity nursing services in counties predominantly rural, and conducting special demonstration and research in maternal care and other aspects of maternal and child health service.'
In view of the evidence presented here it is clear that specific provision is needed to ensure equitable use of these funds and a fair distribution of benefits from their expenditure to Negro mothers and children.

"Under Title VIII, Section 802, a clause against racial discrimination is needed to ensure equitable expenditure of funds for public health services to Negroes in states where there are separate services provided, and in states where there are no separate service arrangements to ensure that doctors, dentists, nurses and lay workers shall have full opportunity to quality for such service irrespective of race or color.

"Under Title III, Sections 301, 4, 7, in the Unemployment Provision, the Bill applies to employers having four or more employees. Thus practically all domestic and personal servants are excluded from old-age benefits. Further, share tenants and sharecroppers on farms and plantations who are little if any different in their economic condition from laborers, are not covered in the Bill.

"These features affect a larger proportion of Negroes in the United States than any other group. Of 5,000,000 Negroes gainfully employed in 1930, 2,000,000 were in agriculture, and one and a half millions were in domestic and personal service. Any nondiscriminatory provision would certainly have to take this into account.

Chapter V. ~~75~~ 99 ~~31~~ Chapter X

By P. RAYMOND DANIELL.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MEMPHIS, Tenn., April 15.—The city of Marked Tree, a community of about 2,000 inhabitants, half of whom are Negroes, squats among the cotton fields of Northeastern Arkansas about forty miles from Memphis, on the inadequate banks of the St. Francis River. Since the first of the year it has been the scene of much of the mob violence to which, the workers say, the landlords and riding bosses of the big plantations have resorted in their effort to stamp out the seeds of unionism sown among their share-croppers by Socialist organizers.

There on March 25 a band of forty-odd masked night-riders fired upon the home of C. T. Carpenter, attorney for the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and an old-time Southern Democrat whose father fought with General Robert E. Lee in the Army of the Confederacy. The raid upon Mr. Carpenter's home was the climax to a series of similar attacks upon the homes of Negro members of the union.

On March 30 an armed band of vigilantes mobbed a group of Negro men and women returning home from church, beating several of them with pistol butts and flashlights. That same night in the neighboring town of Lepanto night-riders shot out all the lights in a Negro church, terrorizing the women and children of the congregation.

Just over the Poinsett County line in Mississippi County is the town of Birdsong, where on March 16 Norman Thomas and a group of his followers were threatened with violence and run out of town.

The most imposing building in town is the First Methodist Church. It is to that church that most of the business men and planters go on Sunday and it is in the basement of that church that the luncheons of the local Rotary Club are held. The pastor is the Rev. J. Abner Sage, who usually can be found in conference with Mr. Spellings at the commissary store, and who has taken upon himself the task of presenting the views of the planters in letters to editors, and especially to United States Senator Joseph T. Robinson.

He Backs Plantation Owners.

"Brother" Sage, as he is known to his congregation, has a great deal of sympathy for the plantation owners. Of the share-croppers, he says they are a shiftless lot with only themselves to blame if they are not as well blessed with this world's goods as they would like to be.

He also feels pretty strongly about the way in which Northern organizers prefixed the names of Negroes with "Mister," shook hands with them and "gave them ideas about social equality."

Things had come to a pretty pass, he explained, when he hit upon the idea of forming a cooperative society among the merchants to relieve the unemployment situation, which had become acute and which he recognized as one of the causes of unrest among the share-croppers.

In response to the urging of "Brother" Sage the merchants subscribed cash and credit amounting to nearly $1,000 a month, which was used to put men to work beautifying the town at about $1 a day. The

Sitting in his office in the back of the Marked Tree Bank, with "Brother" Sage nodding approval and offering a suggestion now and then, Mr. Stafford told of his efforts to protect American institutions as he understands them, from the "Reds" who he thinks threaten them.

"We're on our toes, I'll tell you," he said. "Only the other day we intercepted a message sent by Norman Thomas to one of his crowd over in Memphis. It said something about getting all the publicity he could for the union and then went on to say that he had arranged through Rexford G. Tugwell to present the share-croppers' case to President Roosevelt."

Brother Sage took up the narrative of the intercepted message.

"Yes, sir," he said, "and it wasn't long before we had Senator Joe T. Robinson on the telephone, and after we talked to him Norman Thomas wasn't going to have any interview with the President."

The minister continued:

"We've had a pretty serious situation here, what with the mistering of these niggers and stirring them up to think the government was agoin' to give them each forty acres. Why, it even got so they held a parade here one day of nigger and white share-croppers, and a nigger with a cane tried to hold up a car with a white lady in it.

"I saw one man reach into his hip pocket for a gun and I grabbed him. I don't know, though, but what it would have been better to have a few no-account shiftless people like that killed at the start than to have had all this

...MOND DANIELL.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 21.—The condition of the share-croppers of the Cotton Belt has not escaped the attention of the planners in President Roosevelt's administration. Steps are being taken now to bring immediate relief to this distressed class of tenant farmer and eventually to eliminate a system of farming that has existed in the South since slavery was abolished.

Dr. Calvin B. Hoover, Professor of Economics at Duke University and economic adviser in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, who made a survey of conditions on the cotton plantations under the acreage reduction program for Secretary Wallace, reported that the share-cropper had not shared equally with the landlord in government benefits.

To win cotton planters to the crop reduction plan, he said, it was deemed necessary to divide the

lot of inexperienced young s
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the usual home of the share-cropper of the section.

[illegible] Campbell, who is the owner of a Georgia cotton plantation which provides employment for sixty-five families of share-croppers, said he sometimes wondered if, in constructing homes with all modern conveniences, the government was not killing with kindness the people it was trying to help. There is a limit to what a given number of acres can earn, he said.

Seen As Hope for Cure.

Yet it is through just such projects as this that persons who have studied the problem of the share cropper see the possibility of a cure for a system of farming which reduces a large portion of the population to a condition not much better than peonage. The large plantations must be broken up and the government must take the leadership in effecting a transition from tenantry back to land ownership these observers say, if the evils of the share cropping system are to be eliminated.

It is to accomplish this end that Senator Bankhead of Alabama recently introduced his bill for a Farm Tenant Homes Corporation "to promote more secure occupancy of farms and farm homes, to correct the economic instability resulting from some present forms of farm tenancy, and for other purposes."

The corporation would be authorized to lend tenant farmers and share croppers the money to buy farms and farm equipment, allowing the purchasers of such farms to amortize their debt over a thirty to fifty year period at as low a rate of interest as that at which the corporation can obtain money plus a small charge for administration. The corporation would be empowered to sell stock not to exceed $100,000,000 to the Secretary of the Treasury and issue bonds not to exceed $1,000,000,000 to obtain funds to carry out its purposes.

Endorsed by Wallace.

This bill has the endorsement of Secretary Wallace. A week ago last Saturday, in an address at Atlanta, he said, in defending the acreage reduction program:

"[illegible] of the problems of ten[illegible] cropping is not to [illegible]carding a program [illegible] means substantially [illegible] income to divide [illegible]mers, but rather in [illegible]nd industrial recov[illegible] of two-way foreign [illegible]h measures as the [illegible] bill."

[illegible] of the speech he [illegible] tedly endorsed [illegible] roposal of S[illegible] w pend[illegible] nm[illegible]

It [illegible] to Mr. Camp[illegible] ly responsible [illegible] plaints which pou[illegible] when the acreag[illegible] tracts became ope[illegible] of the Department show that between [illegible] and Jan. 1, 1935, 6,[illegible] were received. Most [illegible] Campbell said, came [illegible] sas, where the So[illegible] Farmers Union was [illegible] Socialist leaders.

Of the total numb[illegible] received 2,299 we[illegible] by a special adjustm[illegible] Of this number 1,6[illegible] to be "unjustified," [illegible] adjusted by field re[illegible] the department an[illegible] county committees[illegible] twenty-five cases in [illegible] justment could be [illegible] which cancellation [illegible] was recommended.

TORTOISE ESCA[illegible]

R[illegible]

February 23, 1935

The Bankhead Bill, introduced February 11,

In 1930 there were in the United States 676,043 Negro farm tenants. They were 81.8% of the total number of Negro farmers. Negro sharecroppers in this census year numbered 382,304 or 46.3% of the total Negro farmers. Negro tenants (this term includes sharecroppers) farmed 70.8% of all the acreage farmed by Negroes in the United States. Negro croppers farmed 33% of the acreage farmed by all Negro farmers, but this was but 4% of the total acreage farmed by all farmers in the United States.

The data given above is for the United States as a whole. If the South is taken alone, it is revealed that every state from South Carolina west to Texas in the South had more than 60 per cent of tenancy. Moreover, much of the land still owned by farmers was heavily mortgaged to local banks and Eastern insurance companies, which were the real landlords. In Mississippi, for example, only 13% of the farmers owned their land free of debt. (See J. M. and E.W.S. Maclachlan, "Abolish Tenant Farming" New Republic--June 13, 1934)

Thus absentee landlordship abounds in the South. The Negro tenant, whether tenant on a cash rental agreement or a sharecropper, has suffered a precarious economic and social existence even in good times. In bad times, when cotton sells for less than ten cents a pound instead of 29 cents a pound, his lot is intolerable. The common experience of investigators is that the Negro sharecropper gets from 50 to 75 dollars in "furnishings" from March to September or October. For this pittance, he and his whole family produce the crop and harvest it. Both the crop and any benefit payments accruing as result of crop reduction programs are swallowed up by the landlord. From October until the following March the tenant is left with no job, no income and practically no means of subsistence. Moreover he may even be barred from relief--either because of mal-administration of relief funds by county officials or because of administrative rulings debarring farm families who made a crop from receiving relief. (Such a ruling exists in Alabama and other Southern states. Thus even though both crop and benefit payments are taken for past debts or alleged debts, relief officials in this state refuse relief to the penniless tenant families.)

Recent federal legislation has added an additional factor to this picture. Reduction of acreage devoted to major crops in the South (cotton, tobacco, sugar cane and rice) by about 40% has reduced the need for farm tenants. Unemployment among the farm tenant population has thus increased. And though this is denied by the AAA, another government bureau (The Central Statistical Board) has estimated an increase of 250,000 in the number of unemployed farm tenants and casual laborers for 1934 alone.

Present trends indicate smaller and smaller need for croppers and tenants. Control of crop production (The Agricultural Adjustment Program) and technological advances in cotton culture (use of tractors and possible use of mechanical cotton pickers--See "Revolution in Cotton" by Oliver Carlson, American Mercury, February, 1935) have created this condition. Plantation owners interested in profits now seek to relieve themselves of even the very tenuous responsibility for "furnishing" farm tenants from March to October. This is recognized by the Secretary of Agriculture in his report for 1934. He stated: "Moreoever many plantation owners in the South can no longer operate their plantations by the old methods which called for annual advances to croppers." (See Page 65, Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1934.) It is repeatedly substantiated in Rural Problem Areas Survey Reports of the Research Division of FERA.

The worsening of conditions among farm tenants in the South has led to their attempts to better their conditions through organizational methods. These organizational attempts, like similar beginnings in the trade union movement, have been met with violent opposition by landlords. (The Elaine, Arkansas riots several years ago had this basis. A number of lynchings have been caused because of disputes between tenant and landlord. See "Tightening the Cotton Belt", Webster Powell and Addison Cutler, Harpers' Magazine, February, 1934; and NAACP accounts of incidents at Marked Tree, Arkansas in January, 1935, which resulted in jailing of Ward Rogers, white organizer of a sharecroppers' union.)

49-16-75

Davis charged:

the reduction of the acreage under cultivation through the government rental agreement made unnecessary large numbers of tenants and farm laborers. Although the contract with the government provided that the landowner should not reduce the number of his tenants, he did so. The Federal courts have now refused to allow tenants to enjoin such evictions. Faced with this Dred Scott decision against farm tenants, the AAA has remained discreetly silent. Farm laborers are now jobless by the hundreds of thousands, the conservative government estimate of the decline in agricultural employment for the year 1934 alone being a quarter of a million. The larger portion of these are unskilled Negro agricultural workers--now without income and unable to secure work or relief.

But the unemployment and tenant evictions occasioned by the crop reduction policies of the AAA is not all. For the tenants and sharecroppers who were retained on the plantations, the government's agricultural program meant reduced income. Wholesale fraud on tenants in the payment of parity checks occurred. Tenants complaing to the Department of Agriculture have their letters referred back to the locality in which they live and trouble of serious nature often results. Even when this does not happen, the tenant fails to get his check. The remainder of the land he tills on shares with his landlord brings him only the most meagre necessities during the crop season, varying from three to five months. The rest of the period for him and his family is one of "root hog or die."

The past year has seen an extension of poverty even to the small percentage (a little more than 20 percent) of Negro farmers who own their own land. For them compulsory reduction of acreage for cotton and tobacco crops, with the quantum of such reduction controlled and regulated by local boards on which they have no representation, has meant drastic reduction of their already low income. Wholesale confiscation of the income of the Negro cotton and tobacco farmer is being made by prejudiced local boards in the South under the nose of the Federal government. In the wake of such confiscation has come a tremendous increase in land tenantry as a result of foreclosures on Negro-owned properties.

The Department of Agriculture has suppressed a report on conditions in Eastern Arkansas. Arkansas courts have denied sharecroppers the right to sue landlords or enjoin them for violating contracts between the Secretary of Agriculture and the landlords for the benefit of the tenants.

"(a) John Vance of Panola County, Mississippi owned a 40 acre farm, subject to a mortgage of less than $400. He was several times refused the opportunity of securing mortgage relief through Federal authorities, the real reason being that his mortgage holder wanted to foreclose on the valuable property. Vance secured for his son a tract of land for sharecropping promising to pay a bale of cotton as rental. When the poor land thus rented produced only 424 pounds of cotton, Vance offered to make up the 76 pounds difference to the landlord, despite the fact that his son was the renter. The landlord insisted instead that Vance pay the cost of the "tags" on the cotton. When Vance refused, the landowner had the parity checks held up both for the land rented by him and for the acreage reduced on Vance's own property. Vance wrote to Washington. Officials here sent a copy of his letter to the County Farm Extension Agent. When Vance went to the latter's office to inquire about his checks he was beaten over the head and face and kicked in the groins by the government agent. Later the landlord with whom the controversy had arisen gave him 24 hours to leave Panola County. Vance left for Memphis. In leaving he had to turn over a part of his livestock, two horses, a cow and a heifer to his mortgage holder for $20 cash, one of the horses alone bringing that amount for the lender. Later this same mortgage holder refused to let Vance's son manage the place or his wife remain there. Without court action of any kind he took possession of the land and is in complete control. Later he wrote to Vance advising him to sign a quit-claim deed to the premises since 'it is no longer safe for you or your family in Panola County.' Vance is now destitute in Memphis."

About this case the Department of Agriculture has done nothing.

"(b) The case of Will Rideout of Snow Lake, Arkansas is substantially the same. Rideout walked one hundred miles to Little Rock to seek out a lawyer to 'get me my justice.' His story was that he had been forced to sign away his cotton checks to a landlord in the presence of the government agent and a sheriff. Later when he complained he was denied 'furnishings' for last year's cotton season. He worked on the Mississippi Levee for a while at $2.00 a day. Later his former landlord offered him 75 cents a day to chop cotton. When Rideout refused to work, the landlord had him fired from levee work."

A number of similar cases reflect the same conditions and the same callous indifference of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

A correspondent of the NEW YORK TIMES, F. Raymond Daniell, tells of the situation in Arkansas in April, 1935:

49-16-74

Today the situation which exists is simply this: hundreds of thousands of farm tenants are no longer needed by plantation owners. They cannot be absorbed in industrial or urban communities already glutted with unemployed workers. There is no employment for them on the farms. They have no land, farm implements or capital necessary for seed, fertilizers and other items necessary to begin commercial farming. Even if they had, the effect of thousands of new commercial farmers beginning operations in the South would be to flood the market with surplus farm products. These surpluses would depress farm prices, since the buying power of urban dwellers has not been made large enough for them to consume even the farm goods at present produced.

The problem stated above has been given some attention by the federal government. The Secretary of Agriculture in his 1934 annual report pointed out the depletion in soils value due to the one crop system, the growth of farm tenancy, urged an improvement of conditions of agricultural tenure (See Pages 65 to 69, "Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1934.) He stated: "It may be desirable to plan for a larger number of small semi-commercial or partially self-sustaining farm families, and for some reduction in the number of large commercial farms." But he also pointed out, "Ordinarily an increase in the farm population increases both production and fixed charges. As a result the income of farm operators declines."

Students of the problem have also pointed to subsistence farming as a partial solution. (See Abolish Tenant Farming cited above). Thus the Maclachlans (authors of the above article) urge immediate establishment of subsistence homesteads for farmers (the present subsistence homesteads are planned for industrially stranded workers and do not include stranded farm families). As a part of their plans, however, they urge: 1. long term periods for repayment; 2. use of land which is average or better; 3. settlements large enough to make adequate support of school and medical facilities possible; 4. complete series of home-craft processes established, as projects for grinding grain, mixing fertilizer, etc.; 5. Dealing with Negro tenants on the basis of need and according them community self-government.

44-16-87

Chap. V

Corn, per can.	.12½	.10
Salmon, per can.	.15	.12½
5 lb. sugar.	.34	.25

"Finally, in the most unscrupulous cases, share-croppers are denied any settlement whatsoever at the season's end. Out of 338 families upon whom the figures are reasonably clear, our records contain 86 cases who report that no settlement was ever made. In such a case the cropper ends the season as he began, without cash resources. Even when settlement is made, cash is frequently not paid. The cropper is furnished with a supply of "dodolum" books, containing credit coupons. Such books are widely used at all seasons to facilitate the credit business of the commissary stores."

49-12-80

Ch XIII
125 The Path of Consumers' Cooperation.

~~MEMORANDUM ON THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO IN THE DEPRESSION~~

~~November 20, 1934~~

From long thought, I am convinced that the solution of the present economic problem of the American Negro is a matter of organizing his power as a consumer and entering, through this path, employment as a middle-man and producer.

I believe that the campaign of appeal for social justice has reached at present its limits. Every essential charge has been answered and every demonstration made. No one today can maintain successfully that Negroes cannot be educated; that they cannot work as free and skilled laborers; that they cannot contribute to science and art; and that they do not deserve civil and political rights under the same limitations that are applied to other American citizens.

Despite this, they still form in the main a servile caste on the edge of economic subsistance, largely deprived of civil and political rights, with limited chances for education and small opportunity to enter the higher walks of life.

Power is now needed to reinforce appeal, and this power must be economic power; that is, the nation must be shown that the Negro is a necessary part of the wealth-producing and wealth-consuming organization of the country, and that his withdrawal from these functions in any degree diminishes the wealth and efficiency of the country.

This fact might be demonstrated if a way were opened for the Negro to enter modern industry at a decent wage and with civilized treatment. This way might be opened by employers, which was the plan of the late Booker Washington; or by trades-unions and labor organizations, which is the plan of many of the younger Negro economists and of the white radical groups.

18-91-64

To these, the Communists (oppose an absolute denial. They ridicule such pacifists as cowards ~~and even (revolutionaries.)~~ They accuse them of hedging and inability to see facts or use reason. They regard the Marxism ~~characteristic~~ doctrine as an inspired whole which must be held as a religious dogma and they seek for Marxian texts to support their every position and ~~to~~ oppose all people who do not agree with them. In fact, a complete parallelism between a religion like Christianity and a religion like communism may be drawn. It is not enough for the orthodox Christian to acknowledge the peculiar ~~miracles~~ means of Jesus Christ, his ~~loyalty~~ conduct his moral ideals and his influence upon man. They want to add to that a system of theology, including a plan of salvation, a doctrine of atonement, and a metaphysical explanation of the Trinity, and ~~out of this~~ thus they proceed to let out of the church and the congregation of the righteous persons willing to follow the Golden Rule and to acknowledge the moral ~~teachings~~ majesty of Jesus.

No one can categorically deny that the Marxism dialectic may ~~not~~ be true, just as no one can deny that ~~the~~ a virgin birth, but it is possible for persons to assume that gradual processes of reform can bring in the more perfect state, and that war and violence and blood shed is not absolutely inevitable. ¶ Assuming this and working toward it, the liberal elements of nearly every modern state could slowly achieve socialism in face of the dangerous and selfish and organized opposition. ~~But~~ The difficulty is that not only the Communists, but also the Socialists, have adopted the slogan of "All or none." They will not co-operate with Liberals and reform, but want the whole socialistic state either ~~at~~ by general election or to through revolution, and the result is that in England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy and other countries where socialistic sentiment is either in actual majority or a powerful minority, their action is absolutely nullified by division ~~among themselves~~ and taking advantage of these divisions as to method and immediate aim, capitalism or Fascism rules the state. ¶ It may be said, then, that the labor movement in America which accepts nothing less than violent revolution as the end of its organization, ~~paralyses~~ and inhibits all reform action, and that ~~the~~ a minority group like Negroes which suffers in itself every disadvantage of being the poor and disfranchised, cannot take part in any such movement. Even if it believed in the inevitable violent revolution of the proletariat, Negroes of the United States would know that nothing would so quickly crush and overwhelm attempted revolution as to have black people a part of it; and if they do not believe in it, they cannot allow themselves to be made the shock troops of communistic advance. This

49-16-10

does not for a moment deny that the main objects of communism and ~~Fascism~~ Social; that is to say, the purpose of putting the ownership and control of capital in the hands of the state, the purpose of making incomes equal, the purpose of concentrating political power in the hands of the workers, that this is not all a legitimate and in the long run inevitable reform if we are to escape the recurrent ~~oppositions and~~ depressions of the capitalistic regime. This leaves the American Negro in a difficult position. He does not need to be taunted by Communists or threatened by capitalists not to know this, but he does need to keep his head clear and his purpose firm and to search for such action as will further the realization of the ideals of socialism for himself and all men, while at the same time just as clearly and firmly avoid bloodshed and violence in its accomplishment.

If the white world is unable to re-build and reform the economic structure without violence and bloodshed, that is their drear misfortune and it is our business not to lead or abet such revolution, but before and after, to begin ~~their~~ our re-education and training of men + there to make ~~them~~ us fit for the socialistic state.

It must be remembered that what the world is threatened with today despite propaganda to the contrary, is not a bloody insurrection of the working classes, but it is violence, repression and armed attack on the part of organized wealth and capital which uses this Fascist method to protect ~~and~~ preserve its present power.

I know something of Russia. I have been in Leingrad and I have lived in Moscow. I have seen Nishni-Novorod and the Volga. I have looked upon the flattened domes of Kiev and I have stood in Odessa. I have talked with some of the leaders of the new Russian state and studied before and after my visit the history and development of this land.

I firmly believe that Russian today has the most progressive program of social reform of any nation on earth and is doing more toward accomplishing it. ~~And despite this firm and deep-seated belief, I believe that the American~~

Nevertheless the United States is not Russia. The analogy of ~~facts~~ Jews and other races in Russia with the situation of Negroes in the United States is absolutely false and misleading. The key to the success of reform in Russia has been the fact that the people who led the Revolution were Russians; knew Russia and its history and knew the psychology of its people; and were perfectly willing, despite the howls and antics of their own fellow Communists, to modify Marxism and even set it aside, when it was necessary to do this in order to accomplish the great ends of the Russian Revolution. ~~And that~~ Tentatively

28-91-44

As Reinhold Niebuhr has recently said: "In the "Revolutionary Socialistic Review" for February, 1935:

"A wise radical will not assume the onus of breaking with the democratic process or of finally tearing the fabric of traditional political procedure. Neither will he put himself in the position of the pathetic German Socialists who defended democracy long after their opponents had destroyed it so that what they were defending had become the shadow of a shadow. The wise radical will rather take the position that he will try to preserve the essentials of democracy by force before he will allow its enemies to destroy it completely. The R. P. C. program sacrifices all the advantages which socialism ought to have as the fulfillment of the democratic dream. It announces an insurrectionary revolution without a word about the kind of situations which arise in the decay of the capitalistic structure in which it becomes impossible for any party to act in terms of

taught their interdependence with the workers. There is not a word about the ambiguous position of the agrarian in modern industrial society which makes him, however much a victim of capitalism, something less (or more, if tion of an organized social will, h... integrated, against a social will which is no longer able to maintain the peace and order of society.

A wise socialism, no matter how revolutionary, will exploit American history very much more than the R. P. C. has done and will not deal so cursorily with distinctive American aspects of the social problem. I know of no left wing Socialist in England who doesn't intend

to exploit the constitutional history of England since the 17th century and place the onus of breaking that constitutional tradition upon the conservatives. Put in specific terms, radical Socialists of England are not certain that the crown will ultimately abide by the will of a socialist parliament. But they will act as if they are quite certain that it will abide by it (meanwhile no doubt preparing for other eventualities). The way that question is being handled in England and the way our romantic Socialists speak of revolution is the difference between politics as a science (which understands the tremendous importance of imponderables) and politics as romance, unconsciously used as a way of satisfying perso... emotional needs. T...

A careful knowledge and study of the situation in America and the history of its constituents ~~eliminates~~ any easy way out for the mass, ~~or costly ways of reform than that which Russia followed and~~ but certainly, so far as the American Negro is concerned, there is absolutely no choice. While he fights the battle of labor with its laborers willing to fight with him, he does not accept or follow the program of war and revolution.

49-16-103

~~124~~ 106 Chap. XII

INSERT...~~Chapter XIV.~~

We must, on the one hand, avoid revolution or the fomenting of violence and bloodshed. First, because no reasonable belief in the socialism which Karl Marx so bravely and clearly advocated restates a further implicit faith in his Hegelian materialism which makes revolution inevitable; secondly, because even though one is bound to accept the Marxian interpretation, nevertheless, as Stolberg says:

"It must clarify the issues between the coming American revolution and the reactionary terror which monopoly capitalism will institute against it. It must chart a course through all the winds of doctrine and the chaos of a dying order. The principles of revolutionary cartography are everywhere the same, but the map of every culture differs."

Thirdly, because the American Negroes does not represent any class conscious laboring group and is not recognized in its membership and because of public opinion in the laboring class, it is a hinder rather than a help to any revolutionary movement which it should join.

46-16-83

But while we avoid revolutionary methods and propaganda, we must just as carefully and indeed more carefully avoid allowing ourselves to be made the tools of capitalism to crush the proletariat. Our sympathies must be with the laboring classes and within our own group we must strive with desperate effort to put the power in the hands of the laborers rather than in the hands of any incipient bourgeosie. This will, I admit, call for difficult steering, but it is a matter of life and death.

American

If communism is the answer, we are speechless, for first of all, we represent no class conscious proletariat in the United States and never will in any easily conceivable future.

our

to our plight

~~#23~~ Chap. XII

~~United States, the planning and [illegible] of our Emancipation, is pure nonsense.~~ We have got inside of our group a life and death struggle for the triumph of radical ideas for Negro uplift, but that is no reason why we should surrender to a crowd of ignorant folk whose sole excuse for leadership is the fact that they read a few pages from "Das Kapital", and that they do not wash their socks. Negroes who have any sense at all know perfectly well that it would be in absolute agreement with the plans of this crazy group to push the Negroes into abortive revolution in the United States; to make them the helpless victims of a hope lost before it was born; and then, if they won, a radical kingdom over the shrivelled corpses of 12 million fools; they would still count it a splendid success.

~~Communist~~ ~~Their~~ went into the Scottsboro case, not just to free those boys, but to advertise ~~themselves~~ Communism. They went into the North Carolina strike, not to help Negroes, but to help themselves ~~whites~~. They went into the tenant-farmers agitation, not caring a bit what happened to these helpless and ignorant folk, so long as they raised hell. This kind of foolishness must stop. The influx of these people into ~~our~~ conferences for earnest planning and careful study of our situation with the idea of taking the initiative from us and covering our leaders with ridicule, and smashing through to something which they think will be ~~victory~~ despite

its effect upon us, is more than silly, and must not be forwarded and acquiesced in by the younger group of Negroes. We have got to achieve for the American Negro a dictatorship of his proletariat in his own group as part of the proletariat of the nation, but we have not got to commit suicide simply because we are threatened with ridicule and mob violence by people who have not brains enough to know what they are talking about.

46-16-

"You count on the Negro middle-class to usher in this co-operation. What you need to do, Dr. Du Bois, is to cease dulling your vision to the fact that the Negro middle-class is after all a lousy minority bourgeoisie, of which your late associates at the N.A.A.C.P. should have given you ample proof.

"Your economic thought is too much determined by the notion that the establishment of a Negro bourgeoisie is an essential first step to an ultimate solution. What if the larger white bourgeoisie is crumbling? I went to Hampton the other day. A young Negro teacher of economics was talking about the great field for Negroes in building and operating filling stations. Does he know that there is already 1 to every 87 motor vehicles in the country? He does not. He simply has an injection of race pride."

"And I have a couple of letters from Bennett teachers who were equally hurt over your complete acceptance of the leadership of the stinking Negro middle-class.

"All Negro intellectuals are hoping to work either for relief or in some government job. That is the traditional way out for the Negro intellectual. Post Office, schools and now relief. What of the future? Will not these black bureaucrats behave precisely as Britain's Nigerian chiefs and priests?

100-9-14-175

"As I get your program: socialism is coming. We will work for it separately. We will work for a socialist Negro to be handed over to the movement when fully developed. But who are your teachers? Young men brought up on the Foundations and suckled on teaching jobs. Young men and women who have three hours credit in labor history taught by persons who decry the class struggle. In short, you want only conservative young intellectuals who live as they can beg, who abhor violence without knowing that the class in power determines that."

"Violence? The CP of USA is led by stupid men, but it is nevertheless a working men's organization. The SP is confused and inept for the reason that its leaders feel just as you are writing and talking. In writing about Violence, you write like an apostle of Abdul Bahia. We are criticized for being the communists that we are, but certainly we are not above criticizing the CP. But in criticizing the CP we are not doing so in the belief that the big interests with their private police, gas guns, etc., are going to say:

Now in the present conflict and in all similar endeavors for social uplift, we lack the false sympathy and brutal singleness of aim which characterizes war. When, therefore, the Joint Committee complains of discrimination in the New Deal, both parties lack effective answers. The one doesn't know what war it wishes to win and the other has no plans to guide it in winning its own war. The New Deal does not clearly know its objects. Does it want restoration of prosperity? If so, this cannot satisfy the Joint Committee, because the Negro never adequately shared American prosperity. If now the New Deal envisages a bread idea of social security and economic justice, how far does that include the American Negro? The answer to this question involves a carefully thought-out plan by Negroes for Negroes and the Joint Committee has no such plan. All it can do is to be shrill in complaint and protest when others present plans for themselves which not unnaturally do not include us, but when it comes to positive constructive measures for ourselves, the Joint Committee offers none and has none. And how could it considering its constituent supporters. Would anyone expect a plan of economic adjustment from the National Baptist Convention or of effective labor organization from the N. A. A. C. P.?

If such a careful plan and clearly recognized objectives existed, then the Joint Committee could arrange its strategy accordingly. Its object would be not to fight discrimination, but to gain such economic foothold as to make discrimination a losing proposition for the land. It would recognize the fact that attacking and victorious armies often retreat to consolidate their positions, to build up reserves and to make liaison with the Allies. It would not be guilty of the cruel asininity of asking 300 poor outcasts in Alabama to starve for a principle which does not cost Mr. Oxley a damned

49-16-84

There are about 8,000 colored persons monthly working on various work relief projects in the national capital with a payroll in December of $157,000. A total of over $2,000,000 during 1934 was expended on the relief for Negro workers.

cent to proclaim. If the principle of a minimum wage under all circumstances and everywhere was so sacred to us that these workers out there ~~three in this room~~ would give ~~tonight~~ half or even more of their incomes to feed those who have no relief funds or wages ~~go~~ without feed and clothes and shelter to maintain it, then we could just and honestly yell defiance.

But how shall we decide the essential basic principles for which we must stand, bleed and die? Evidently by wide, careful, intelligent social planning of Negroes, based on knowledge and research. Lacking this, and not having the sense to recognize this lack, the Joint Committee falls back on a National Negro Congress to make confusion worse confounded. Such popular congresses ratify plans already carefully thought out. They do not and cannot initiate such programs and in our present muddle such a vast mass meeting would inevitably result in something worse than nothing.

44-1-98

Now in the present conflict and in all similar endeavors for social uplift, we lack the false sympathy and brutal singleness of aim which characterizes war. When, therefore, the Joint Committee complains of discrimination in the New Deal, both parties lack effective answers. The one doesn't know what war it wishes to win and the other insists that ~~has no plans to guide it in winning its own war~~ the winning the war for whites includes Negroes. The New Deal does not clearly know its objects. Does it want restoration of prosperity? If so, this cannot satisfy the Joint Committee because the Negro never adequately shared American prosperity. If now the New Deal envisages a broad ideal of social security and economic justice, how far does that include the American Negro? The answer to this question involves a carefully thought-out plan by Negroes for Negroes and the Joint Committee has no such plan. All it can do is to be shrill in complaint and protest when others present plans for themselves which not unnaturally do not include us; but when it comes to positive constructive measures for ourselves, the Joint Committee offers none and has none. And how could it considering its constituent supporters? Would anyone expect a plan of economic adjustment from the National Baptist Convention or of effective labor organization from the N. A. A. C. P.?

41-9-167

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41-9-174

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41-9-173

It is the duty of socialism to battle the war psychologically and not to promote it. Early Christianity with its battle hymns and war metaphors made the same ghastly mistake,--"Its blood-red banner streams afar" down to our own day.

If, now, reaction toward capitalism can no more save Negroes today than it could in the past; and if the opportunity to ally the Negro with white labor has been limited in the past and while wider today is still too limited for effective action and if a program of avowed violence is out of the question, what can the Negro do?

41-9-172

Such discrimination, represented in the United States by various patriotic women's organizations, by war veterans' leagues, by the army and navy and its friends, are the most dangerous advocates of war and murder; and it is foolish for those who believe in world Peace and economic Justice to be so misled by this reaction as to burst into wild words and futile deeds and thus give greed a chance to kill the innocent.

Granted that the Marxian dialectic is a masterful statement of a great truth, yet the Revolution which it sets down as inevitable, may logically, (even if not probably,) come by votes without violence, by restricted violence, or if with widespread violence, not with cruelty and unnecessary bloodshed. They are fools who think that successful and beneficial revolution consists primarily in raising the devil and it is very doubtful if such persons will ever lead America to Peace and Justice. It may well be that in the awful and fundamental changes to come, calm, silent and com-

It is for this that Tuskegee fought," he declared.

"Do not let the effort of Tuskegee Institute be misconstrued and misrepresented to the board.

"It is not an attempt to undermine the code.

7-1-38

"It is not an attempt to undermine the labor union, or the standards that have been set up for labor in this country. It is an attempt to get the black man a chance under those standards. It is an effort to gain for the black man the protection of that code, in the opportunity that he does have to work. But I do insist, to those who talk of equality, that the beginning of equality is the equality of opportunity.

"That is the start of it

Constructive Segregation.-But our program in the future cannot be confined to this. It has got to be changed from one mainly of agitation and appeal to one of inner organization for self-defense. Not for offense, not for blind Chauvinism, but for sheer existence. If we were today earning a living; if we had average incomes which would support life on a plane that meant health, education and the essentials of culture, we could sit down fx before the ramparts of race hate and continue our slow, determined, unceasing undermining of the walls. But we are on the edge of starvation and we do not need to be. Most persons writing concerning the present depression seem to regard the Negro as utterly helpless; and even in normal times the current philosophy is that both in the United States and elsewhere, we are absolutely at the mercy of the surrounding economic organization. This assumption arises from the fact that we believe that no group can approach economic independence or a position of self-sustaining inter-dependence unless it is organized as a nation with law-making powers, armies and mx police.

49-17-83

On the other hand, we should remember that the A merican Negro numbers about 12,000,000 and thus we are much larger than either Benmark, Greece, Hungary, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal or Sweden and very nearly the size of Egypt, half the size of Spain, and one-third the size of Brazil. This surely indicates that we must have great economic power. This power is curtailed by the fact that we have no decisive economic place in production or transportation, in commerce or credit, or in government; we sell our labor and farm produce at prices determined by a market in which we have little influence; and we must buy what is offered to us at prices determined by others.

Discussion Questions.

What ~~defenxexdid~~ opposition did the Negro offer to his subjection to slavery,-in Africa,-in colonial America,-in pre-Civil War days?
How was that opposition and defense broken down and off-set?
Was the Negro always submissive, and what was his attitude toward war,-revolt- violence?
What outlets did American conditions allow the Negro for his desire for freedom and independence? Did the Negro have special motives and incentives for engaging in war and military service? How was this related to his own desire for freedom?
What was the Negro's war record,-in the Revolutionary War,-in the War of 1812,-in the Civil War?
What effect did his direct and indirect participation in the Civil War have upon the outcome of the slave cause?

8-81-44

References.

Edwards, Bryan: History of the West Indes- Volume 1.
DuBois, W.E.B.: Black Reconstruction
Helps, Samuel: The Spanish Conquest
Stewart, T.G.: The Haitian Revolution
Woodson. C.G. : The Negro in Our History Chaps. II & III
Woodson, C.G.: The Story of the Negro Retold- Chaps. II

Discussion Questions.

What were the main reasons for the loss of Civil Rights after they had been guaranteed to the Negro?

Can political freedom and power exist without some economic strength to support it?

Could the Negro laborer have held his gains during Reconstruction without the right to vote? Which was of greater importance; the right to vote or land ownership?

What measures did the Republican party take to protect Negro civil rights? At what time did the Republican party really desert the traditional policy of "protecting the Negro"? Was it fair to fight corruption in Southern politics by cutting down the Negro vote in the Republican conventions?

Did the Republican party desert its principles in acquiescing in the disfranchisement of the Negro? What was the effect on Southern political life and the effectiveness of democratic machinery.

What is the division of public opinion about the right of Negroes to hold public office? To what extent have Negroes held public office in American political life? Is that greater or less today than it has been in the past?

49-18-20

Reading References.

Brawley, B.G.: Social History of the American Negro

Merriam, : The Negro and the Nation

Woodson, C.G.: The Negro in Our History- Chaps. III & IV.

Chapter III

Discussion Questions.

What were the real motives back of Booker Washington's program for the Negro?
How did the Washington program serve the interests of the industrial capitalists? Was he in open collusion with capitalists or did he think that his plan was really in the best interests of Negroes?
What was Booker Washingtons attitude toward segregation? toward voting? toward the necessity of cooperating with the better element in the South toward Northern [redacted]-industry and [redacted] philanthropy?
What were the practical effects of this program? Did Mr. Washington regret the set-backs?
Does the [redacted] future of the Negro really lie, as he thought, on land-ownership, farming and trade labor? What handicaps have since developed along these lines in the path of the Negro's progress?

Reading References.

DuBois, W.E.B.: Souls of Black Folk- Chap.

Johnson, Charles S. ;The Negro in American Civilization.
Nowlin, W.F.: The Negro in American National Politics.
Washington, Booker T. "Up From Slavery

49-18-25

Chapter IV.

Discussion Questions.

What started the Civil Rights movement among Negroes? Who were some of its leaders?

Did the civic and social treatment of the Negro improve or grow worse after 1879? What happened in 1879 to start a reaction?

What was back of disfranchisement and "Jim Crow" legislation in the South? How far did the movement spread and what forces checked it? Would it have gone further except for vigorous Negro agitation and resistance.

Was Booker T. Washington's program responsible for "Jim Crow" legislation? Did he approve of it?

Why was not the Niagara Movement more effective? What was the origin and the platform of the N.A.A.C.P.?

How far should the Negro rely on legal appeals and decisions in the fight for freedom and equality and civic justice? With what hope of success?

Reading References.

Miller, H.A.: Races, Nations and Classes-

Skaggs, : The Southern Oligarchy

Stephenson, : Race Distinctions in American Law.

Young, Donald : American Minority Peoples.

49-18-33

heavy unemployment among Negro teachers. The government was finally compelled to send out a memorandum on this subject ruling that Negro teachers should always be employed for Negro pupils in states maintaining segregated schools.

In the matter of Emergency Federal Aid for schools, the discrimination was still more flagrant. Here the money was alloted to the state and spent as the state decided, following the pattern of its usual differential. Georgia, which in 1929-30 spent $21,000,000 out of its total $23,000,000 school appropriations on white schools, took a Federal grant of $4,981,881 in 1933-34 and spent 87.3% on white schools despite the fact that colored school children formed 39.1 % of the population.

49-17-64

Security and Unemployment Provision.- The Committee on Economic Security, established June 29,1934, was assisted by an Advisory Council, but no Negro had a place on that council. The Wagner-Lewis Bill for social and unemployment insurance which was legislated largely as a result expressly omits from unemployment protection domestics and agricultural workers, thus leaving 15 out of every 23 Negro workers unprovided for in this regard. With respect to security and old age provision, as Dr. Geo. Haynes pointed out in the hearings, without express provisions in the bill prohibiting discrimination on account of race and color, Negroes would receive less compensation than whites since Fedreal grants were given to the Boards of the various states with no guarantees of equitable distribution.

49-17-68

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260

establish the "Farm Tenant Homes Corporation", similar in legal structure to the Subsistence Homestead Corporation under the control of the Secretary of Agriculture to "purchase farm land for lease or resale to farm tenants and sharecroppers or make loans to these classes for the pupposes of purchasing farm homes." The corporation with capital established at $ 100,000,000, was authorized to issue bonds up to one billion Prefernce was to be given to farm tenants of good,moral character with dependent families and who have had practical experience in farming, and they were to be allowed from 30 to 50 years to repay the purchase price of the land as loaned by the Corporation.

49-17-81

(1934) [in Black Dawn]

1. We American Negroes are threatened today with lack of opportunity to work according to gift and training and lack of income sufficient to support healthy families according to standards demanded by modern culture.

2. In industry, we are a labor reserve, fitfully employed and paid a wage below subsistence; in agriculture, we are largely disfranchised peons; in public education, we tend to be disinherited illiterates; in higher education, we are the parasites of reluctant and hesitant philanthropy.

3. In the current reorganization of industry, there is no adequate effort to secure us a place in industry, or to open opportunity for Negro ability, or to give us security in age or unemployment.

4. Not by the development of upper classes anxious to exploit the workers, nor by the escape of individual genius into the white world, can we effect the salvation of our group in America. And the salvation of this group carries with it the emancipation not only of the darker races of men who make the vast majority of mankind, but of all men of all races. We, therefore, propose this:

BASIC AMERICAN NEGRO CREED

(Banc)

A. As American Negroes, we believe in unity of racial effort, so far as this is necessary for self-defense and self-expression, leading ultimately to the goal of a united humanity and the abolition of all racial distinctions.

B. We repudiate all artificial and hate-engendering deification of race separation as such; but just as sternly, we repudiate an enervating philosophy of Negro escape into an artificially privileged white race which has long sought to enslave, exploit and tyrannize over all mankind.

C. We believe that the Talented Tenth among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in determining by study and measurement the present field and demand for racial action and the method by which the masses may be guided along this path.

D. We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment, Education and Health; these three: but the greatest of these is Employment.

E. We believe that the labor force and intelligence of 12 million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure. Therefore, we believe that, if carefully and intelligently planned, a cooperative Negro industrial system in America can be established in the midst of and in conjunction with the surrounding national industrial organization and in intelligent accord with that reconstruction of the economic basis of the nation which must sooner or later be accomplished.

F. We believe that Negro workers should join the labor movement and affiliate with such trade unions as welcome them and treat them fairly. We believe that workers' councils organized by Negroes for interracial understanding should strive to fight race prejudice in the working class.

47-8-98

G. We believe in the ultimate triumph of some form of Socialism the world over; that is, state ownership and control of the means of production and equality of income.

H. We do not believe in lynching as a cure for crime; nor in war as a necessary defense of culture; nor in violence as the only path to economic revolution. Whatever may have been true in other times and places, we believe that today in America we can abolish poverty by reason and the intelligent use of the ballot, and above all by that dynamic discipline of soul and sacrifice of comfort which, revolution or no revolution, must ever be the only real path to economic justice and world peace.

I. We conceive this matter of work and equality of adequate Income is not the end of our effort, but the beginning of the rise of the Negro race in this land and the world over, in power, learning and accomplishment.

J. We believe in the use of our vote for equalizing wealth through taxation, for vesting the ultimate power of the state in the hands of the workers; and as an integral part of the working class, we demand our proportionate share in administration and public expenditure.

K. This is and is designed to be a program of racial effort; and this narrowed goal is forced upon us today by the unyielding determination of certain elements in the white race to enslave, exploit and insult Negroes; but to this vision of work, organization and service, we welcome all men of all races and colors so long as their subscription to this basic creed is sincere and is proven by their deeds.

65-8-47

FOREWORD

1. We American Negroes are threatened today with lack of opportunity to work according to gifts and training and lack of income sufficient to support healthy families according to standards demanded by modern culture.

2. In industry, we are a labor reservoir, fitfully employed and paid a wage below subsistence; in agriculture, we are largely disfranchised peons; in public education, we tend to be disinherited illiterates; in higher education, we are the parasites of reluctant and hesitant philanthropy.

3. In the current reorganization of industry, there is no adequate effort to secure us a place in industry, or to open opportunity for Negro ability, or to give us security in age or unemployment.

4. The labor force and intelligence of 12 million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure. Therefore, we believe that, if carefully and intelligently planned, a co-operative Negro industrial system in America can be established in the midst of and in conjunction with the surrounding national industrial organization and in intelligent accord with that reconstruction of the economic basis of the nation which must sooner or later be accomplished.

5. We welcome the burden of the uplift of our own masses until they as a conscious and intelligent proletariat can co-operate with all workers in assuming democratic control of the state in the interests of the working class. Only in this way can the American Negro enter the new industrial kingdoms of the world standing on his own economic feet.

6. Not by the development of upper classes anxious to exploit the workers, nor by the escape of individual genius into the white world, can we effect the salvation of our group in America. And the salvation of this group carries with it the emancipation not only of the darker races of men who make the vast majority of mankind, but of all men of all races. We, therefore, propose this:

41-9-168

BASIC AMERICAN NEGRO CREED

(BANC)

A. As American Negroes, we believe in unity of racial effort, so far as this is necessary for self-defense and self-expression, leading ultimately to the goal of a united humanity and the abolition of all racial distinctions.

B. We repudiate all artificial and hate-engendering deification of race separation as such; but just as sternly, we repudiate an enervating philosophy of Negro escape into an artificially privileged white race which has long sought to enslave, exploit and tyrannize over all mankind.

C. We believe that the Talented Tenth among American Negroes, fitted by education and character to think and do, should find primary employment in determining by study and measurement the present field and demand for racial action and the method by which the masses may be guided along this path.

D. We believe that the problems which now call for such racial planning are Employment-Education and Health; these three: but the greatest of these is Employment.

E. We believe that the labor force and intelligence of 12 million people is more than sufficient to supply their own wants and make their advancement secure. Therefore, we believe that, if carefully and intelligently planned, a co-operative Negro industrial system in America can be established in the midst of and in conjunction with the surrounding national industrial organization and in intelligent accord with that reconstruction of the economic basis of the nation which must sooner or later be accomplished.

F. We believe that Negro workers should join the labor movement and affiliate with such trade unions as welcome them and treat them fairly. We believe that workers' councils organized by Negroes for interracial understanding should strive to fight raceprejudice in the working class.

47-8-103

G. We believe in the ultimate triumph of some form of Socialism the world over; that is, state ownership and control of the means of production and equality of income.

H. We do not believe in lynching as a cure for crime; nor in war as a necessary defense of culture; nor in violence as the only path to economic revolution. Whatever may have been true in other times and places, we believe that today in America we can abolish poverty by reason and the intelligent use of the ballot, and above all, by that dynamic discipline of soul and sacrifice of comfort which, revolution or no revolution, must ever be the only real path to economic justice and world peace.

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K. This is and is designed to be a program of racial effort and this narrowed goal is forced upon us today by the unyielding determination of the mass of the white

BASIC AMERICAN NEGRO CREED (BANC) Continued

race to enslave, exploit and insult Negroes; but to this vision of work, organization and service, we welcome all men of all colors so long as their subscription to this basic creed is sincere and is proven by their deeds.

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49-17-65

C.C.C. Corps.-

49-17-66

[1935]

The Negro and Social Reconstruction

16th - 19th C

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- II — Migration — 8th
- III — Political [illegible] 6th
- IV — Legal Defense 6th
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Immediate Release

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
WASHINGTON

N-37
4-22-36

COLORED FARM OWNERS INCREASED AND TENANTS DECREASED IN THE SOUTH, 1930 to 1935

Director William L. Austin of the Bureau of the Census announces an increase, during the five years 1930 to 1935, of 4,046 farms operated in the South by colored owners, i. e., by Negroes, Indians, Chinese, Japanese and other nonwhite races. Increases in colored owners were reported for Virginia, South Carolina, Florida, North Carolina, Louisiana, Texas, West Virginia, Delaware, and Tennessee. However, South Carolina and West Virginia were the only southern states to report increased acreages for colored owners. There was a decrease of 69,986 other colored farm operators, including 448 managers, 24,489 croppers, and 45,049 other tenants. During the ten years 1920 to 1930 there was a decrease of 35,570 colored farm owners in the South.

From 1930 to 1935 the land in farms of all colored operators in the South decreased by 2,219,482 acres. This represented a decrease of 945,216 acres for colored owners, 86,362 acres for managers, 492,415 for croppers, and 695,489 acres for other tenants. There was a decrease in the average number of acres per farm for both colored and white owners in the South, accompanied by a proportionate decline in the value of owned farm land and buildings.

In the North and West the number of colored farm operators - all tenures - increased in the States comprising the New England, the Middle Atlantic, the East North Central, the Mountain and the Pacific geographic divisions. The number of white farm operators increased in each geographic division and in each State.

STATE AND TENURE	NUMBER OF FARMS		ALL LAND IN FARMS (ACRES)		VALUE OF LAND AND BUILDINGS		INCREASE OR DECREASE (-)		
	1935	1930	1935	1930	1935	1930	Number of farms	Land in farms (acres)	Value of land and buildings
Colored Farmers									
THE SOUTH.....	815,747	881,687	35,586,283	37,805,765	$788,402,422	$1,393,104,941	-65,940	-2,219,482	-$604,702,519
Owners.....	186,065	182,019	10,533,682	11,478,898	207,932,597	339,242,651	4,046	-945,216	-131,310,054
Managers and Tenants.1/	629,682	699,668	25,052,601	26,326,867	580,469,825	1,053,862,290	-69,986	-1,274,266	-473,392,465
Croppers.....	368,408	392,897	11,477,282	11,969,697	311,196,676	550,188,887	-24,489	-492,415	-238,992,211
Delaware.....	827	807	50,576	54,756	1,755,795	2,628,590	20	-4,180	-872,795
Owners.....	398	373	13,249	13,781	535,800	804,240	25	-532	-268,440
Managers and Tenants...	429	434	37,327	40,975	1,219,995	1,824,350	-5	-3,648	-604,355
Croppers.....	71	60	6,960	4,445	161,650	187,750	11	2,515	-26,100
Maryland.....	4,894	5,267	295,226	345,569	10,415,445	18,907,182	-373	-50,343	-8,491,737
Owners.....	2,720	2,941	92,536	107,935	3,909,574	6,706,219	-221	-15,399	-2,796,645
Managers and Tenants...	2,174	2,326	202,690	237,634	6,505,871	12,200,963	-152	-34,944	-5,695,092
Croppers.....	600	597	46,998	46,990	1,770,846	3,184,849	3	8	-1,414,003
Dist. of Columbia.	12	11	140	95	100,300	82,000	1	45	18,300
Owners.....	8	8	16	28	52,600	43,500	--	-12	9,100
Managers and Tenants...	4	3	124	67	47,700	38,500	1	57	9,200
Croppers.....	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Virginia.....	43,211	39,673	2,038,149	2,046,028	47,192,224	71,905,270	3,538	-7,879	-24,713,046
Owners.....	27,662	24,448	1,129,181	1,183,134	27,319,244	41,854,127	3,214	-53,953	-14,534,883
Managers and Tenants...	15,549	15,225	908,968	862,894	19,872,980	30,051,143	324	46,074	-10,178,163
Croppers.....	6,102	6,797	289,747	283,896	6,921,778	10,074,519	-695	5,851	-3,152,741
West Virginia.....	693	491	28,230	28,085	1,139,320	1,484,128	202	145	-344,808
Owners.....	511	373	19,309	18,542	561,195	836,053	138	767	-274,858
Managers and Tenants...	182	118	8,921	9,543	578,125	648,075	64	-622	-69,950
Croppers.....	11	23	594	1,416	29,400	74,100	-12	-822	-44,700
North Carolina....	69,373	76,873	3,169,466	3,392,535	98,646,593	159,285,251	-7,500	-223,067	-60,638,658
Owners.....	20,373	19,711	947,567	982,111	26,301,365	38,696,137	662	-34,544	-12,394,772
Managers and Tenants...	49,000	57,162	2,221,901	2,410,424	72,345,228	120,589,114	-8,162	-188,523	-48,243,886
Croppers.....	30,001	34,805	1,103,882	1,211,903	41,267,796	67,320,866	-4,804	-108,021	-26,053,070
South Carolina....	76,537	77,425	3,489,252	3,171,976	69,828,296	106,006,235	-888	317,276	-36,177,939
Owners.....	18,394	15,992	795,077	787,551	14,827,788	22,891,942	2,402	7,526	-8,064,154
Managers and Tenants...	58,143	61,433	2,694,175	2,384,425	55,000,508	83,114,293	-3,290	309,750	-28,113,785
Croppers.....	30,237	31,046	1,148,170	1,090,545	27,179,448	42,060,865	-809	57,625	-14,881,417
Georgia.....	73,285	86,789	5,333,181	5,104,659	74,230,550	114,695,850	-13,504	228,522	-40,465,300
Owners.....	10,571	11,081	838,573	883,324	11,485,134	17,532,822	-510	-44,751	-6,047,688
Managers and Tenants...	62,714	75,708	4,494,608	4,221,335	62,745,416	97,163,028	-12,994	273,273	-34,417,612
Croppers.....	38,753	49,450	2,377,709	2,380,069	37,596,384	60,573,143	-10,697	-2,360	-22,976,759
Florida.....	12,764	11,043	488,585	514,831	10,240,619	15,519,957	1,721	-26,246	-5,279,338
Owners.....	6,792	5,576	266,064	281,919	5,737,952	8,511,057	1,216	-15,855	-2,773,105
Managers and Tenants...	5,972	5,467	222,521	232,912	4,502,667	7,008,900	505	-10,391	-2,506,233
Croppers.....	1,521	1,393	65,599	59,343	1,230,288	1,449,330	128	6,256	-219,042
Kentucky.....	8,250	9,104	303,221	341,833	9,698,968	16,157,593	-854	-38,612	-6,458,625
Owners.....	4,052	4,175	168,141	183,148	4,633,744	7,348,683	-123	-15,007	-2,714,939
Managers and Tenants...	4,198	4,929	135,080	158,685	5,065,224	8,808,910	-731	-23,605	-3,743,686
Croppers.....	2,756	3,116	60,491	74,059	2,404,110	4,241,852	-360	-13,568	-1,837,742
Tennessee.....	34,396	35,138	1,281,618	1,357,374	34,569,379	56,384,060	-742	-75,756	-21,814,681
Owners.....	7,843	7,832	381,190	419,211	8,839,297	14,173,473	11	-38,021	-5,334,176
Managers and Tenants...	26,553	27,306	900,428	938,163	25,730,082	42,210,587	-753	-37,735	-16,480,505
Croppers.....	16,096	16,559	417,204	441,718	12,885,023	20,886,769	-463	-24,514	-8,001,746
Alabama.....	91,275	93,829	3,903,659	4,158,609	63,306,486	104,844,239	-2,554	-254,950	-41,537,753
Owners.....	15,709	15,931	1,053,710	1,189,873	15,906,940	25,007,786	-222	-136,163	-9,100,846
Managers and Tenants...	75,566	77,898	2,849,949	2,968,736	47,399,546	79,836,453	-2,332	-118,787	-32,436,907
Croppers.....	33,257	27,572	1,105,572	938,107	19,934,847	28,494,405	5,685	167,465	-8,559,558
Mississippi.....	169,006	182,888	5,545,452	6,073,239	126,231,458	249,551,108	-13,882	-527,787	-123,319,650
Owners.....	21,288	22,650	1,592,580	1,730,558	21,898,399	36,118,980	-1,362	-137,978	-14,220,581
Managers and Tenants...	147,718	160,238	3,952,872	4,342,681	104,333,059	213,432,128	-12,520	-389,809	-109,099,069
Croppers.....	106,156	102,992	2,254,076	2,205,973	73,328,708	131,863,243	3,164	48,103	-58,534,535
Arkansas.....	71,300	79,579	2,230,743	2,487,762	62,214,395	118,235,901	-8,279	-257,019	-56,021,506
Owners.....	11,343	11,455	669,746	705,156	13,022,749	21,792,734	-112	-35,410	-8,769,985
Managers and Tenants...	59,957	68,124	1,560,997	1,782,606	49,191,646	96,443,167	-8,167	-221,609	-47,251,521
Croppers.....	40,978	45,465	816,287	960,719	30,489,695	57,612,782	-4,487	-144,432	-27,123,087
Louisiana.....	70,315	73,770	2,205,151	2,315,402	61,704,562	108,714,923	-3,455	-110,251	-47,010,361
Owners.....	10,839	10,503	543,827	602,967	11,639,632	19,594,526	336	-59,140	-7,954,894
Managers and Tenants...	59,476	63,267	1,661,324	1,712,435	50,064,930	89,120,397	-3,791	-51,111	-39,055,467
Croppers.....	33,513	32,214	754,929	718,377	25,583,970	41,599,600	1,299	36,552	-16,015,630
Oklahoma.....	17,824	22,937	1,401,881	1,965,752	27,063,528	67,780,371	-5,113	-563,871	-40,716,843
Owners.....	6,762	8,334	644,775	914,689	13,070,586	32,026,890	-1,572	-269,914	-18,956,304
Managers and Tenants...	11,062	14,603	757,106	1,051,063	13,992,942	35,753,481	-3,541	-293,957	-21,760,539
Croppers.....	2,681	4,560	112,235	217,717	2,673,067	9,383,200	-1,879	-105,482	-6,710,133
Texas.....	71,785	86,063	3,821,751	4,447,260	90,064,504	180,922,283	-14,278	-625,509	-90,857,779
Owners.....	20,800	20,636	1,378,141	1,474,971	28,190,598	45,303,482	164	-96,830	-17,112,884
Managers and Tenants...	50,985	65,427	2,443,610	2,972,289	61,873,906	135,618,801	-14,442	-528,679	-73,744,895
Croppers.....	25,675	36,248	916,829	1,334,420	27,739,566	71,181,614	-10,573	-417,591	-43,441,948

1/ The South reported 381 Colored farm managers in 1935 and 829 in 1930.

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11-6-11

2 000 000 farmers & farm labourers

25 000 lumbermen

~~37 000 Coal~~ miners

75 000

5 000 fishermen

11 000 masons

32 000 carpenters

23 000 stationary engineers & firemen

8 000 machinists

21 000 Automechanics

8 000 iron moulders

18 000 tanners

13 000 plasterers

4 000 aluminum

7 500 Leather

4 000 Chemical workers

20 000 Cigar & Tobacco factory workers

32 000 Clothing factory

18 000 food industries

24 000 iron & steel

10 000 lumber & furniture

18 000 musical instruments

~~224 000 Railway workers~~

605 000 Laborers

25 000 longshoremen

137 000 Chauffeurs & drivers

24 000 garage workers

59 000 street & road workers

102 000 railway workers

4 800 locomotive firemen

6 000 mail carriers

25 000 delivery men

26 000 Laborers coal & lumber yards

13 000 salesmen

35 000 Laborers, textiles service

136 000 professional service

16 000 Barbers & beauty

4 000 cleaning & dyeing

17 000 elevator boys

18 000 janitors

56 000 laundry workers

9 000 restaurant keepers

~~212 000 accountants & clerks~~

17 000 clerks

15 000 textile workers

89 500 semi-skilled

49-16-94

A PAGEANT IN SEVEN DECADES, 1868 - 1938

A Pageant In Seven Decades

1868 - 1938

by

WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DUBOIS

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by
W. E. B. DuBois

A Pageant In Seven Decades

1868 - 1938

by

WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DUBOIS

Professor of Sociology

Atlanta University

An address delivered on the occasion of his seventieth birthday at the University Convocation of Atlanta University, Morehouse College, and Spelman College
February 23, 1938
Atlanta, Georgia

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ERRATA

Page 9—line 15—"Broomfield" should read "Bromfield."
Page 11—line 19—delete whole line.
Page 13—line 27—"Lawrence" should read "Laurence."
Page 18—line 36—a period should follow "dictionary."
Page 23—line 35—"ploy" should read "plough."
Page 31—line 30—"confussion" should read "confusion."
Page 34—line 15—"Oliver" should read "Olivier."
Page 35—line 12—"Keynes" should read "Clynes."
Page 41—line 19—"centuary" should read "century."

A PAGEANT IN SEVEN DECADES, 1868-1938

By W. E. B. DuBois

I HAVE been asked to review my life and I have chosen to essay this from the aspect of an historical pageant of human kind in which I have been a more or less active spectator, and whose end and meaning I have sought to see. It is not easy to do this; deeds, facts and fancies flow so ceaselessly and, with occasional whirlpools, so smoothly on, that one grasps and arranges them and views them with difficulty. Temptation to topical treatment is barred by the alchemy of time which not simply prolongs life but successively changes all perspective and interpretation. I find it better then to group my years in decades from childhood to today; seeking in each term of ten years the more or less elusive unity that may lie therein and checking somewhat my present memory by such documents as may partially recreate the past.

The First Decade—Childhood, 1868-1878—*birth-10 years.*—The year of my birth was the year that the Freedmen of the South were enfranchised and for the first time as a mass took part in government. Conventions with black delegates voted new constitutions all over the South; and two groups of laborers—freed slaves and poor whites—dominated the former slave states. It was an extraordinary experiment in democracy. Thaddeus Stevens, the clearest headed leader of this attempt at industrial democracy, made his last speech impeaching Andrew Johnson on February 16 and on February 23 I was born.

I had a pleasant childhood. I can remember no poverty although my family was certainly poor. I represented the third generation from three small land holding brothers on my mother's side and the fourth generation from a West Indian planter on my father's. The outstanding thing in my earliest memory was the school. In a letter which I began to my grandmother in 1877, after conventional thanks for some present, I plunged

right into the real subject, "My school house stands a little way from Main Street." I remember it vividly; down a lane with a great choke-cherry tree on the right; on the left the wooden primary and grammar school and farther on the right, the brick grammar and high school. I attended these schools regularly from five or six years of age until I was sixteen with hardly a day's absence.

The town and its surroundings were a boy's paradise: there were mountains to climb and rivers to wade and swim; lakes to freeze and hills for coasting. There were orchards and caves and wide green fields; and all of it was the free property apparently of the children of the town. My family were pleasant and miscellaneous: the father was dead before I can remember; the mother brown and quietly persistent; the aunts and one uncle a bit censorious but not difficult to get on with; and then an endless vista of approving cousins.

The town was shut in by its mountains and provincialism—cut off both from Boston and New York state. My first glimpse of the outer and wider world was through Johnnie Morgan's news shop which occupied the front end of the post office. There newspapers and books were on display and I remember very early seeing pictures of "U. S." Grant and of Tweed who was beginning his extraordinary career in New York state; and later of Hayes and the smooth and rather cruel face of Tilden. Of the great things happening in the United States at that time, we were touched only by the Panic of 1873. When my uncle came home from the little town east of us where he was the leading barber, he brought me, I remember, a silver dollar which was an extraordinary thing; up to that time I had seen nothing but paper money. I do not remember hearing anything said about the Fifteenth Amendment which became law in 1870; but there were a few new colored people, "contrabands," who came to town. One family particularly I liked, they were so jolly and darkly handsome.

Charles Sumner died and the Freedmen's Bank closed when I was but six years old, and when I was eight there came the revolution of 1876. But I hardly knew of it. And, too, of the world overseas: the Franco-Prussian War; the ups and downs of Disraeli and Gladstone; the opening of the Suez Canal;—of these things my little village said nothing nor did they mention the fact that the Medji Emperors of Japan ascended to new and ever growing power in the year I was born.

The Second Decade—Youth, 1878-1888—10-20 *years.*—The United States in the decades 1870-1890 was an extraordinary country. Grant Hayes, Garfield, Arthur and Grover Cleveland were Presidents. James G. Blaine was an aspirant who barely missed the highest office, and the country was reckless and prosperous; squandering its seemingly endless resources; tying east and west with railways; exploiting iron and coal and oil and making fortunes for a new and ruthless caste of business men who were cashing in on the cost of Civil War. The results of this I could easily see in my town. I grew up in the midst of definite ideas as to wealth and poverty; work and charity. Wealth was the result of work and saving and the rich rightly inherited the earth. The poor, on the whole, were to be blamed. They were lazy or unfortunate and if unfortunate their fortunes could easily be mended by thrift and sacrifice.

There were some differences of wealth in Great Barrington; there were mills and mill-owners; there were German and Irish factory hands. Singularly enough I knew the mill-owners and their children much better than I knew the workers, but I was no flunky for the rich. My people always had a certain independence. They were by occupation small farmers, servants, laborers, barbers and waiters. They earned their way. I early came to understand that to be "on the town," the recipient of public charity, was the depth not only of misfortune but of a certain guilt. I presume some of my folk sank to that but not to my knowledge. We earned our way.

I have a post card dating from 1883 in which "Miss Smith," September 19, writes, "We would like to have you come certainly next Saturday as you did last week to do some splitting for us." This was a matter of splitting up kindling for two maiden ladies and was one of my ways of beginning financial independence. I remember well my first regular work: as a high school lad I went early of mornings and filled one or two of the so-called "base-burning" stoves with coal in a little millinery shop. I received twenty-five cents a week which represented the beginning of affluence. From then on, all through my high school course, I worked after school and on Saturdays, mowing lawns, doing errands, and for a few months through the good will of Johnnie Morgan, I rose to be local correspondent of the *Springfield Republican.* For some time, too, I sent weekly letters to the *New York Age,* and before the A. and P. stores dealt in groceries and simply were selling tea, I was one of their local agents.

Thus in all sorts of little ways I managed to earn some money and never asked nor thought of gifts save in one case: my school principal suggested, quite as a matter of fact, that I ought to take the college preparatory course in high school, which involved Latin and Greek. This meant a considerable expenditure for books, but the wife of one of the mill owners, or rather I ought to describe her as the mother of one of my playmates, offered to furnish all the necessary high school books, which became my one charity.

The other class of rich folk with whom I came in contact were summer boarders who made yearly incursions from New York. I think I was most impressed by their clothes. Outside of that there was little reason so far as I could see to envy them. The children were not very strong and rather too well-dressed to have a good time playing. There were few slum areas in my town and almost no crime. The one indulgence was liquor and there my mother quietly took a firm stand. I was never to enter a saloon. I never did. Alcohol gave perhaps the one reaction that this pleasant but rather drab little town had against the monotony of life, and rich and poor got drunk more or less regularly. I have seen a mill owner staggering; and my own very dignified uncle used to come home now and then walking very straight.

In one respect my training in this town has had rather momentous results. It was not good form in New England or in Great Barrington to express yourself volubly, to give way to emotion:—people held themselves in. They were sparing even of their greetings. There was only on the street a curt "Good Morning" to those whom you knew and no greeting at all for others. The result was that because of this and probably from growing racial consciousness I was early thrown in upon myself. I found it difficult and even unnecessary to approach other people and by that same token my own inner life grew perhaps the richer. Later the habit of repression often returned to plague me, for so early a habit could not easily be unlearned.

I entered the high school at the age of twelve and was graduated at the age of sixteen in 1884. I had during that time my first chance to travel and to get little glimpses of the world. I was sent, for instance, by my mother across the state to see my grandmother and grandfather in New Bedford. I wrote back about this in 1883, "The house is white with green blinds. The yard is full of flowers. Grandma is about my color and

taller than I thought. I like her very much. Grandpa is short and rather thick set. I like him better than I thought I would. He says very little but speaks civilly when I say anything to him. Grandma says by and by he will talk more."

When I was graduated from the high school we all had speeches and mine was on Wendell Phillips. He had died in February and I spoke in June, fired by new and unusual knowledge of his sort of man. Then there came in my life the first great change. My mother died and it was decided that I was too young to go to college. I suspect that money matters had something to do with it. At any rate instead of being able to go to Harvard in the fall of 1884, as I had fondly hoped, I was given a job and promised that the next fall I should begin my college work.

The job brought me in curious touch with the world. There was a great uncle of mine, Tom Burghardt, whose tombstone I had seen often in the village graveyard. My family used to say in undertones that the money of Tom Burghardt helped to build the Pacific Railway and that it came in this wise: Nearly all his life Tom Burghardt was a servant in the Kellogg family, only the Kelloggs forgot to pay him but did give him a handsome burial. Then Mark Hopkins married into the family and used presumably my uncle's unpaid wages, with other assets, to make millions in railways. His widow came back to Great Barrington and planned a mansion out of the beautiful blue granite which formed our hills. A host of workmen, masons, stonecutters, and carpenters were assembled and in the summer of 1884 I was made timekeeper for the contractors, receiving the fabulous wage of a dollar each day.

It was a most interesting experience and had bits of romance. There was the English architect who appeared on the scene and the colored steward who committed suicide when the architect married the widow; then came the death of the widow and the passing of the Hopkins millions into foreign hands. In the meantime the fabrication and growth of this marvelous palace proceeded, beautiful beyond anything that Great Barrington had seen; and always I could sit and watch it grow and handle delegated powers in dismissing workmen and rewarding them.

Finally in the fall of 1885 there came a proposal which made all my cousins and aunts raise their eyebrows. I was to have a scholarship to go South to Fisk University. The South had an unholy name in my

village and the family was not at all sure that I ought to go. Only one black Burghardt had ever gone South and he a Union soldier, but I never hesitated. I started out and went into Tennessee at the age of seventeen to become a sophomore at Fisk University. It was to me an extraordinary experience. I was thrilled to be for the first time among so many people of my own color or rather of such various and such extraordinary colors, which I had not seen before, but who seemed close bound to me by new and exciting ties. I had never seen such beautiful girls in my life or men who gave themselves such merited airs.

The three years here were years of growth, strength and expanding ambition. I learned new things about the world. I came in contact for the first time with a sort of violence that I had never realized in New England. I remember going down and looking wide-eyed at the door of a public building filled with buckshot where the white editor of the leading daily paper had been publicly murdered the day before. I was astonished to find many of my fellow students carrying firearms and to hear their stories of adventure. I suddenly determined that I was going out to teach during the summer vacations. It was not necessary. My scholarship would have supported me but it was adventure. I walked into east Tennessee ten or more miles a day until at last in a little valley I found a place where they had had a Negro public school only once since the Civil War and there for two successive summer terms I taught at $28 and $30 a month; paid immediately in promises and in cash three or four months later.

I began my writing and public speaking at Fisk. I wrote an article of which the *Century Magazine* said, "We shall be glad to print 'The New Negro' if we may take our time and we are afraid we shall have to take a great deal." It did, for it hasn't been printed yet. For three years I was on the editorial staff of the *Fisk Herald;* as editor-in-chief the last year; contributing essays and one novel. I became a considerable orator and for a long time the older students of Fisk took deep joy in remembering the debate where in the very midst of impassioned periods I forgot my lines.

The persistence, however, which I had learned in New England stood me now in good stead. The interlude at Fisk did not turn me from it. When I heard that Harvard was offering scholarships in various parts of the country I immediately wrote and to the astonishment of teachers and fellow students, not to mention myself, received Price Greenleaf aid of

$300. I was graduated from Fisk in 1888 and took as my subject Bismarck. It showed my already growing interest in the wider world. I knew of the great jubilee of Queen Victoria, of the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War and the triumph of the Mahdi in Khartoum. I had followed the fortunes of Gladstone and Salisbury and was filled with enthusiasm at the rise of the new German empire under Bismarck. So I talked of Bismarck and then turned back to the North.

Third Decade—Education, 1888-1898—20-30 *years.* — This decade covered the years of my education at Harvard and at Berlin and the beginning of my teaching career. The members of the Fisk Glee Club went to Lake Minnetonka, a resort in Minnesota, for the summer of 1888, with the idea of working in the dining room and giving concerts. I was to act as their business manager. During college I had developed as the executive and planner, the natural secretary of affairs rather than the ornamental president and chairman. The only difficulty about the Minnesota excursion was that I had never worked in a hotel in my life; I did not know how to wait on table and therefore became one of the bus boys. It was so unusual a pageant to watch the dining room that I made no tips and for a long time had difficulty in getting enough to eat, not realizing that servants in great hotels are not systematically fed. But after the season I went on ahead and succeeded in making a respectable number of concerts for the students who followed me down all the way to Chicago; while I went on to Harvard to enter the junior class in the fall of 1888.

The Harvard of 1888 was an extraordinary aggregation of great men. Not often if ever since that day have so many distinguished teachers been together in one place and at one time. There was William James, the psychologist; Palmer in ethics; Royce and Santayana in philosophy; Shaler in geology; and Hart in history. The president was the cold, precise but exceedingly efficient Charles William Eliot and there were a dozen lesser lights. By extraordinary good fortune I was thrown into contact with most of these men. I was repeatedly a guest in the house of William James; of all teachers, he was my closest friend. I was a member of the philosophical club; I talked often with Royce and Shaler; I sat alone in an upper room and read Kant's Critique with Santayana; I became one of Hart's favorite pupils and was afterwards guided by him through my graduate course and started on my work in Germany.

It was an extraordinary opportunity for a young man and I think I realized it. I evolved habits of work rather different from those of most of the other students. I burned no midnight oil. I did my studying in the daytime and had my day planned out almost to the minute. I spent a great deal of time in the library and did my assignments with persistent thoroughness and with a rather interesting pre-vision of the kind of work I wanted to do later. I have before me a theme which I wrote October 3, 1890, for Barrett Wendell, the great pundit of Harvard English. I said: "Spurred by my circumstances I have always been given to systematically planning my future, not indeed without many mistakes and frequent alterations, but always with what I now conceive to have been a strangely early and deep appreciation of the fact that to live is a serious thing. I determined while in the high school to go to college—partly because other men went, partly because I foresaw that such discipline would best fit me for life. I believe foolishly perhaps but sincerely that I have something to say to the world, and I have taken English 12 in order to say it well." Barrett Wendell rather liked that last sentence; he read it to the class.

I tried to take culture out into the colored community of Boston; I visited, joined clubs, lectured, and once actually gave the *Birds of Aristophanes* in a colored church on Thanksgiving night. The matter of meeting my college expenses presented some difficulties. I had scholarships for $300 for both college years but that was not enough. One year after careful calculation I found that I needed $50 more and noted with interest that this was exactly the stipend of the Boylston prizes in oratory. I had to have one of the prizes in order to make ends meet for the year and I got it. Then with a colored classmate, Clement Morgan, who was also a Boylston prize-man, I made a tour of the summer resorts of New England. We gave readings in hotels, parlors and churches and did in this way much toward making our expenses. In my senior year the death of my last near relative, my grandfather, left me a fortune of $400.

In 1890, I took my bachelor's degree from Harvard and was one of the six commencement speakers, taking as my subject Jefferson Davis. On the platform of Sanders Theatre were President Eliot, the Governor of Massachusetts and the Bishop of New York. I am glad that the New York *Nation* could say July 3, 1890, that I handled the theme "with absolute good taste, great moderation, and almost contemptuous fairness."

I was graduated just at the beginning of the term of President Har-

rison when the trusts were dominating industry and the McKinley tariff making that domination easier. The understanding between the industrial North and the new South was being perfected and in 1890 a series of disfranchising laws was passed by the Southern States destined in the next six years to make voting by Southern Negroes practically impossible. Already I had received more education than most young white men, having been continuously in school from the age of six to the age of twenty-two. But I did not yet feel prepared. I knew that to cope with the new and extraordinary situation then building in the United States I needed to go further and that as a matter of fact I had just well begun my training and my knowledge of social conditions.

On the other hand, I was quite penniless with no resources in wealth or friends. I applied for a fellowship in the graduate school. If I had not gotten it I should have had to go to work; but I was appointed Henry Broomfield Rogers fellow for a year and later the appointment was renewed so that from 1890 to 1892 I was a fellow in Harvard University studying in history and what would have been social science if Harvard had then recognized such a field.

I worked on my thesis, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade," taking my master's degree in 1891 and hoping to get my doctor's degree in another two years. Then came one of those tricks of fortune which seem partly due to chance, but in this case undoubtedly due to a good deal of stubborn persistence. In 1882 the Slater Fund for the education of Negroes had been established and the board in 1892 was headed by ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes. President Hayes at John Hopkins University talked frankly in 1890 about the plans of the Fund. He said among other things that they had wanted to find some young colored men to whom they could give a chance for graduate training but they had only been able to find "orators."

The statement was brought to my attention at a card party one evening and it not only made me good and mad but also set me thinking. I wrote President Hayes. I received a pleasant reply saying that they did not have any present plans for such scholarships. That really aroused me. I proceeded to get letters from every person I knew in the Harvard Yard and places outside and literally deluged the unfortunate chairman of the Slater Fund. He wrote again and said that he was sorry but the plan had been given up; that they might otherwise have given me some attention.

It has been my experience that most of my small successes have been due to steps that I have taken after all hope seemed lost. I sat down and proceeded to write Mr. Hayes a letter that could be described as nothing less than impudent. I intimated plainly that somebody was lying. I reiterated my plans and added many written references. President Hayes was undoubtedly disturbed and almost apologized to me, reiterating his good faith and promising to take up the matter the next year with the board. Whereupon promptly the next year I proceeded to write the board: "At the close of the last academic year at Harvard, I received the degree of master of arts, and was reappointed to my fellowship for the year 1891-92. I have spent most of the year in the preparation of my doctor's thesis on the suppression of the slave trade in America. I prepared a preliminary paper on this subject and read it before the American Historical Association at its annual meeting at Washington during the Christmas holidays. The paper will shortly be published in their proceedings and a preliminary report of it may be seen in the *Independent* of January 7, 1892, pp. 10, 11; also in *Congregationalist* of about the same date. The first draft of the larger thesis was completed March 28 and it will be formally finished May 1, and, I hope, eventually published; besides this I have worked on a number of general studies. Properly to finish my education, a careful training in an European university for at least a year is in my mind and the minds of my professors, absolutely indispensable. I therefore desire, respectfully to lay these suggestions before you: First, that the board grant me aid to study at least a year abroad under the direction of the graduate department of Harvard or other reputable auspices. Second, if this be not practicable, that the board loan a sufficient sum for this purpose."

The Trustees of the Slater Fund granted my request and gave me $750, half gift and half loan, to study in Europe. I shall never forget my interview with ex-President Hayes in the old Astor House in New York, nor the extravagant shirt I immediately bought in celebration. In the summer I sailed for Europe, saw Holland and the Rhine, and lived in a fine German family in Eisenach with a group of gay young folk who made me realize that white folk were human.

In the fall I went up to Berlin and registered in the University. In groups of one hundred we were ushered into a room. "It was a large room, with high ceiling, and a row of four windows on one side in the deep recesses of which stood busts of Berlin's famous professors. The center of

the room was occupied by chairs, in which the students seated themselves; at the upper end was a long table about which perhaps a dozen officials were grouped. Near the left end was the present year's *rector magnificus*, the widely famous Rudolf Virchow, doctor of medicine, laws and philosophy, city councillor and member of the Reichstag. He is a meek and calm looking little man, white-haired and white-bearded, with a kindly face and a pleasant voice. At smaller tables arranged before the windows were the deans of the various faculties . . . Recognizing with some difficulty my Germanicized name I presented myself with trepidation at the bar. The stiff secretary (it's quite the thing to be stiff in new Germany) with my help more clearly deciphered my name, ascertained under which faculty I wished to study, firmly declined to examine any of my sheepskins, and passed me over to the rector; Rector Virchow smiled benignantly, made some remark as to my faculty, and after filling out the blanks with some remarkably poor writing, presented me with a large 24 by 18 inch sheet of paper: this stated that a certain Gulielmus had in the general goodness of his heart endowed the present Mr. Virchow with various powers; among these was that of making me (who was described with some infelicity of phrase as a "most ornamented young man") a legalized and licity of phrase as a 'most ornamented young man') a legalized and licensed student of the University of Berlin."

I had again at Berlin as at Harvard unusual opportunity. Although a foreigner I was admitted my first semester to two semesters under Schmoller and Wagner, both of them the most distinguished men in their lines; and I received eventually from both of them pleasant testimony of my work. My work was in economics, history and sociology. I sat under the voice of the fire-eating Von Treitschke and heard him assert the general inferiority of mulattoes and mixed races; I wrote on American agriculture for Schmoller and discussed social conditions in Europe with teachers and students. But more especially I travelled; living cheaply I saved good sums for the numerous vacations. I went to the Hansa cities; I made the celebrated Hartzreise up to the Brocken in the spring. "My Christmas vacation I spent in making a trip through south Germany along with a German-American and an Englishman. We visited Weimar, Frankfort, Heidelberg and Mannheim. During Christmas and New Years we stopped in a little German dorf in the Rheinfalz, where I had an excellent opportunity of studying the peasant life closely and comparing it with country life in the South. We visited perhaps twenty different families, talked, ate

and drank with them; listened to their gossip and history, attended their assemblies, etc. We then went to Strassborg, Stuttgart, Ulm, München, Nürnburg, Prague and Dresden. In those places we stayed from one to five days, following our Baedeker closely, and paying much attention to the Münchner and Dresden art galleries. The trip cost about $80." Later I went down to Italy, to Genoa, Rome and Naples and over to Venice and Vienna and Budapest and finally up to Krakau, where the father of a fellow student was the head of the Polish library and where I learned of the race problems of the Poles, and then came by Breslau back to Berlin.

I have a curious document of a birthday which came in Berlin in 1893. "Today I am a quarter of a century old. It seems so strange—my boyhood and youth are but memories now and I am a full grown man. I wonder what the next quarter of a century will bring me—if it will be as rich in work and happiness as the past—as awfully full of fulfilled plans . . . These twenty-five years of mine have been rich in personal history. I remember school days, the brook by Sumner's house, the attic rooms where we lived, the little stove that used to fall down and the window I proudly called a bay window. I remember little sorrows of life when I found no companions to play with and busied myself in making great plans for a toy with which I could play alone. I remember the gate where I looked into the great town—wonderful world to me then."

I returned to the United States by way of Paris, where I stayed as long as possible and then having reduced myself almost to the last cent, took passage to the United States in the steerage, quite penniless. It was by no means a pleasant trip, but perhaps it was a good introduction to the new life, because now at last at twenty-six years of age and after twenty years of study I was coming home to look for a job and to begin work. I need not dwell on the difficulties of landing that job. It was a disturbed world in which I landed; 1892 saw the high tide of lynching in the United States, 235 untried Negroes being slaughtered in that one year. Cleveland had entered his second term in 1893, and the Chicago Exposition had taken place. The Dreyfus case had opened in France with his conviction and imprisonment and he was destined for twelve years to suffer martyrdom. The war between China and Japan broke out the year of my return, and Nicholas II was ruling in Russia.

I wrote everywhere offering my services and at last received three offers. On August 17, 1894, the chair of Latin and Greek at Wilberforce

University, Ohio, with a salary of $800 was offered, which I immediately accepted with gratitude. A little later there came an offer of a position at Lincoln Institute in Missouri at $1,050, but I stuck to my first promise; and finally August 25 I received this telegram from Tuskegee, "Can give you mathematics if terms suit. Will you accept? Booker T. Washington." It would be interesting to speculate just what would have happened if I had accepted the last offer instead of the first.

Wilberforce was a small denominational college married to a state normal school. The church was too poor to run the college, the State did not want the normal school, and there were consequently enormous difficulties in both church and state politics. Into this situation I landed with the cane and gloves of my German student days; with my rather inflated ideas of what a university ought to be and with a terrible plainness of speech that was continually getting me into difficulty; when, for instance, very suddenly and without warning the student leader of a prayer meeting announced that Professor DuBois would lead us in prayer. I simply answered, "No, he won't," and as a result nearly lost my job. It took a great deal of explaining to the board of bishops why a professor in Wilberforce should not be able any time to lead in extemporaneous prayer. I was really saved by the fact that I was so willing to do endless work when the work seemed to me worth doing. My program for a day at Wilberforce looks almost as long as a week's program today. I taught Latin, Greek, German and English and wanted to add sociology to it but the college demurred. I had charge of the most unpleasant of the duties of discipline and did outside work in study and investigation; I met many new friends: First of all, my wife; then my good friend Charles Young, not long graduated from West Point; Charles Burroughs was a student in my classes; Paul Lawrence Dunbar came over from Dayton to read to us. I had known his work but was astonished to find that he was a Negro.

We younger teachers had a hard team fight at Wilberforce and soon saw that we were licked. It was impossible for me especially to stay, for I had talked too plainly and acted too independently. When, therefore, a temporary appointment came from the University of Pennsylvania, it was a message from heaven. I was offered work for one year as "assistant instructor" for $600. I accepted forthwith and in addition to that showed my faith in life by getting married. My wife was one of the Wilberforce students and lived in Iowa, where the marriage took place in the fateful

year 1896. In that year the great battle of Adua occurred, when Abyssinia overthrew Italy and when England suddenly seeing two black nations in ascendency threw her army back into the Sudan and recaptured Khartoum. The next year when my son was born, there burst in the United States the free silver controversy of Bryan and McKinley and it was that year that President Bumstead of Atlanta University, asked me to come to Atlanta and take charge of the work in sociology and of the new conferences on the Negro problem which the University was inaugurating.

Fourth Decade—Research and Propaganda—1898-1908—30-40 *years.* This fourth decade was the real beginning of my life work. My education was finished and I had travelled in the world. The two years at Wilberforce being a sort of uneasy prelude, I began with my advent into the University of Pennsylvania a planned career which had an unusual measure of success and yet was in the end pushed partly aside by forces which, if not beyond my control, were certainly of tremendous weight. My vision was in the beginning clear. The Negro problem called for systematic investigation and intelligence. The world was thinking wrong about races because it did not know. The ultimate evil was ignorance and its child, stupidity. The cure for it was Knowledge based on Study. The opportunity opened at the University of Pennsylvania was exactly what I wanted. I had tried to teach social science at Wilberforce outside my overloaded program but they did not want it. At the University of Pennsylvania I ignored the pitiful stipend. It made no difference to me that I was put down as an "assistant instructor" and even at that my name never actually got into the catalogue; it goes without saying that I did no instructing and rather to my dismay I found as much jealousy and politics in this great white institution as in the smaller black one.

But here at least I had a clear-cut job. The city of Philadelphia at that time had a social theory, and the theory was that this great, rich and famous municipality, founded by godly Quakers, was going to the dogs because of the crime and venality of its Negro citizens. These Negroes lived largely centered in a slum at the lower end of the seventh ward. Philadelphia wanted to prove all this by figures and I was the man they picked to do it. Of this thought and plan I neither knew nor cared. I was simply asked to study, know and tell. I saw here a chance to study an historic group of black folk and to show exactly what their place was in the community. I did the work despite extraordinary difficulties both within

and without the group. The Negroes resented being studied at all and especially by a colored stranger; the whites endured the study as a gesture toward an answer which they already knew.

I made a study of the Philadelphia Negro so thorough that it has withstood the criticism for forty years. It was as complete a scientific answer as could have been given under the limitations of time and money; it showed the Negro group as a symptom and not a cause; as a striving, palpitating human group and not an inert, sick body of crime; it traced, analyzed, charted and counted. It left few untouched queries. At the end of that study I announced with a certain pride my general plan of studying the Negro problem and published papers on the matter in the Annals of the American Academy in 1898.

With this program clearly in mind I came to Atlanta University. There was at the last moment a curious little hitch based on that old matter of extemporaneous public prayer. Dr. Bumstead and I compromised on the Episcopal prayer book and afterward I added certain prayers of my own. I am not sure that they reached heaven but they certainly reached my audience.

Without thought or consultation, I rather preemptorily changed the plans of the first two Atlanta Conferences. They had been conceived as conferences on city problems contrasting with the increasingly popular conferences on rural problems held at Tuskegee. But I was not thinking of mere conferences. I was thinking of a comprehensive plan for studying a human group and if I could have carried it out as completely as I conceived it, the American Negro would have contributed to the development of social science in this country an unforgettable body of work. Social scientists were at that time thinking in terms of theory and of vast and tenuous laws; while I had for study a concrete group of living beings set off by themselves and capable of almost laboratory experiment. I laid down a program of a hundred years, in which taking annually aspect after aspect of the group life of Negroes for a decade, we could repeat and broaden and concentrate our attention; sharpen our tools of investigation and improve our methods, so that we would accumulate an increasing living body of scientifically ascertained fact to make the so-called Negro problems, and through them the problem, of all social living clearer and surer and more definite.

Something of this was accomplished. For thirteen years we poured forth a series of studies limited, incomplete, only partially conclusive, and yet so much better done than any other attempt at such work anywhere else in the world that they gained attention in America, Europe, Asia and Africa. Nevertheless, at the very time when they were beginning to achieve widening success, there cut across this plan of science a red ray of emotion which could not be ignored.

I remember when it first, as it were, pulled me off my feet.

A poor Negro in central Georgia, Sam Hose, had killed his landlord in a wage dispute. He could not be found for days; then at last a new cry was raised that he had raped the landlord's wife. It was obviously and clearly a trumped-up charge to arouse the worst passions of the countryside and the mob roared. I wrote out a careful and reasoned statement concerning the evident facts and started down to *The Constitution,* carrying in my pocket a letter of introduction which I had to Joel Chandler Harris. I did not get there. On the way the news met me: Sam Hose had been lynched and they said that his knuckles were on exhibition at a grocery store on Mitchell Street. I turned back to the University. I suddenly saw that complete scientific detachment in the midst of such a South was impossible.

Nevertheless, I tried to keep my mounting indignation within bounds. I went on with my studies, but together with other black Georgians: W. J. White, John Hope, H. R. Butler and others, I sent out memorials and petitions and protests. One in 1899, which I wrote, said, "Race antagonism and hatred have gone too far in this State; let us stop here; let us insist that they go no further; let us countenance no measure or movement calculated to increase that deep and terrible sense of wrong under which so many today labor. May the Twentieth Century of the Prince of Peace dawn upon an era of generous sympathy and forbearance between these two great races in Georgia, and not upon a season of added injustice and antipathy." Another, a year or so later, said, " 'From each according to his ability—to each according to his needs' is the ideal of modern society, and in the light of this dictum, there is not a boy in Georgia today so poor or so black as not to deserve from the State free common school training." And a third which came out of a great Macon mass meeting: "Popular government in the United States is not a failure, but it is having in these days a severe and critical trial. Its success in the future depends upon the ability

of great classes of men to rise above prejudice and do strict justice to their fellowmen. And today strict justice in Georgia demands free common school training for every single child of the State."

With all this I stuck to my scientific work. I helped prepare in 1900 a sociological exposition of the American Negro for the Paris Exposition, which gained a grand prize for the exhibit and a gold medal for myself. I attended at that time a first Pan-African Conference in London with Bishop Walters, where I met the Colensos and Samuel Coleridge Taylor. I was elected a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1900 and made a fellow in 1904.

I not only published the conference reports yearly but wrote magazine articles in the *World's Work*, and in the *Atlantic Monthly*, where I was a fellow contributor with Woodrow Wilson on a symposium. I testified before Congressional Commissions in Washington and appeared on the lecture platform with Walter Page, afterwards war ambassador to England. I had wide correspondence with men of prominence in America and Europe: Lyman Abbott of the *Outlook;* E. D. Morel, the English expert on Africa; Max Weber of Heidelberg; Professor Wilcox of Cornell; Bliss Perry of the *Atlantic Monthly;* Horace Traubel, the great protagonist for Walt Whitman; Charles Eliot Norton and Talcott Williams. I began to be regarded by some as having definite information on the Negro to which they might listen with profit.

At the same time there was cause for increasing apprehension. First of all, and for me most astonishing, we could not get money for our work in the Atlanta Conferences and our studies of the Negro problem. My theory had been that just as soon as the world saw the value of our studies, the raising of funds would be the easiest thing in the world. I received for the whole thirteen years that I was then at Atlanta University an annual salary of only $1,200. The whole cost of the conference and studies never exceeded $5,000 a year and usually it was considerably less. The work was done at first in a spare bedroom of my apartment and finally in the attic of Stone Hall, where adequate but rather inaccessible rooms were provided. I had no skilled assistants and yet my dream was still splendid. If in a properly equipped institution I could have gathered four or five well-equipped young students, some tabulating machines and a small corps of travelling investigators, we could at a cost of $10,000 to $25,000 a year have absolutely reconstituted the basis of fact and argument concerning

the American Negro. But we could not get $5,000 even; and then to make the situation worse there came the controversy with Booker T. Washington, which turned from me and from Atlanta University the sympathy of many men who had money to give.

It was no controversy of my seeking; quite the contrary. I was in my imagination a scientist and neither a leader nor an agitator; I had nothing but the greatest admiration for Mr. Washington and Tuskegee and I had applied in 1894 at both Tuskegee and Hampton for work; if the telegram from Tuskegee had reached me before the Wilberforce bid, I should doubtless have gone there. Certainly I knew no less about mathematics than I did about Latin and Greek. But no sooner was my work at Atlanta University under way than pressure began to be placed upon me to leave there and go to Tuskegee. There again I was not adverse in principle to Tuskegee, except that I had started a job and wanted to continue it; surely if my work was worth support it was worth support at Atlanta University as much if not more than elsewhere. I remember that a letter came from Wallace Buttrick late in 1902 asking that I attend a private conference in New York with Felix Adler and William H. Baldwin, Jr., George Foster Peabody and Robert Ogden. The object of the conference was ostensibly the condition of the Negro in New York City. I went to the conference and I did not like it. Most of the more distinguished persons were not present. The conference itself amounted to little, but I was whisked over to William H. Baldwin's Long Island home and there what seemed to me to be the real object of my coming was disclosed. Mr. Baldwin was at that time a prime mover of the Tuskegee board of trustees, and slated to be president of the Pennsylvania Railway; he was the rising industrial leader of America. Both he and his wife insisted that my place was at Tuskegee; that Tuskegee needed the kind of development that I had been trained to give. I could not help being impressed and I promised to think the matter over. Later I had two personal interviews with Mr. Washington. He encouraged me to talk but he said very little himself. I could get no clear understanding of just what I was going to do at Tuskegee if I went. I was given to understand that the salary and accommodations would be satisfactory. Later in the year I went to Bar Harbor for a series of speeches in behalf of Atlanta University and while there met Jacob Schiff, the Schieffelins and Merriam of Webster's dictionary I had dinner with the Schieffelins and their mother, the daughter of John Jay; and again was urged to go to Tuskegee.

But by that time my mind was made up. I was growing increasingly uncomfortable under Mr. Washington's various statements of his program; his depreciation of the value of the vote; his evident dislike of Negro colleges and his general attitude which seemed to place the onus of blame for the race problems upon the Negro himself rather than upon the whites. I attended several conferences at Hampton and found myself consenting by silence to a systematic attack on Negro colleges. I determined on a decisive step. I had been asked sometime before by A. C. McClurg and Company of Chicago, if I did not have material for a book and I suggested a social study which should be perhaps a summing up of the work of the Atlanta Conferences or at any rate a broad scientific treatise which required some time. They asked, however, if I did not have some essays that they might put together and issue immediately and they instanced the articles in the *Atlantic Monthly* and other places. I demurred because essays usually fall so flat. Nevertheless, I got together a series of my fugitive pieces and added a frank evaluation of Booker T. Washington and sent them on. The "Souls of Black Folk" was published in 1903 and in 1938 it is still selling. This settled definitely any further question of my going to Tuskegee, but it also aroused apprehension. Various friends of the Negro desired to keep Negro thought from splitting into a pro-Washington and an anti-Washington camp. After all, Mr. Washington had accomplished much and a new basis of understanding on the Negro seemed to most white people in sight. Every effort must be made to preserve unity of effort. I was asked in 1903 to join Mr. Washington and his friends in a conference to be held in New York to talk of a common program. I assented and as I wrote to Kelly Miller: "I think this will be a chance for a heart-to-heart talk with Mr. Washington. I propose to stand on the following platform:

1. Full political rights on the same terms as other Americans.
2. Higher education of selected Negro youth.
3. Industrial education for the masses.
4. Common school training for every Negro child.
5. A stoppage to the campaign of self-depreciation.
6. A careful study of the real condition of the Negro.
7. A national Negro periodical.
8. A thorough and efficient federation of Negro societies and activities.
9. The raising of a defense fund.

10. A judicious fight in the courts for civil rights.

"Finally, the general watch word must be, not to put further dependence on the help of the whites but to organize for self-help, encouraging 'manliness without defiance, conciliation without servility.' "

The matter dragged on with some argument as to who should be invited. The general invitation to the conference went out in October, 1903, when Mr. Washington sent out the following circular letter: "You will perhaps recall that about the middle of last February I addressed you a letter concerning a private conference to be attended by about fifteen or eighteen of our most prominent men, representing various sections of the country and various race interests, for the purpose of considering quietly all the weighty matters that now confront us as a race. The meeting was not called at the time hoped for in my last correspondence for the reason that there was delay and some disappointment in providing funds for the expenses of the meeting. That feature has now been provided for in a way that will not make those who attend the conference feel obligated to any individual or organization and leave them free for open and frank discussion.

"I very much hope that you can now see your way clear to attend such a conference in New York City to be held, if possible, on the 6th, 7th, and 8th of January, 1904."

The conference took place in Carnegie Hall, New York. There was some plain speaking but it was overborne by almost fulsome praise of Mr. Washington from the lips of various invited guests like Andrew Carnegie and Lyman Abbott. It ended in the appointment of a committee of three, of which I was one, who were to select a sort of racial steering committee called the Committee of Twelve. Nothing really came of this. The two other members of the committee organized it in my absence, placed the full power in the hands of Mr. Washington who was to carry on the work with funds the source of which I did not know. I resigned forthwith and was pretty roundly condemned for my lack of "cooperation," but I was indignant at what seemed to me an effort to buy agreement and smother dissent under a dictatorship.

Things now began to move swiftly. In Boston a new colored weekly newspaper, the Boston *Guardian*, was organized by two young radicals: Monroe Trotter and George Forbes. They were bitter in their attacks upon

Mr. Washington and I got myself in hot water by publishing a statement in the *Guardian* concerning the venality of certain Negro papers whom I charged had sold out and were viciously attacking every Negro who did not agree with Mr. Washington. It was a charge which I could not support by concrete facts, but it was true in the sense that there had been organized at Tuskegee a literary bureau to emphasize Mr. Washington's ideas in the Negro press and to stop the widespread criticism against him. The methods used are common today: distribution of advertising; sending out of special correspondence and distributing other favors; but it seemed to me then that this kind of propaganda was monstrous and dishonest and I resented it. On the other hand, the public expression of this resentment caused many people to think that I was wild and unfair in my statements and beyond that, it undoubtedly made it increasingly difficult for Dr. Bumstead to raise funds for Atlanta University. In the fall of 1904 the printing of our conference report was postponed by the trustees until special funds could be secured. I did not at the time see the handwriting on the wall. I did not realize how strong the forces were back of Tuskegee and how they might interfere with my plan of scientific study of the Negro.

My first thought was in order to state our case and honest criticism we needed a journal. I had already helped an A. U. graduate to establish a printing press in Memphis. Out of this might arise a vehicle for both opinion and fact which would help me carry on my scientific work and at the same time be a forum of reform less radical than the *Guardian* and more rational than the rank and file of Negro papers then so largely arrayed with Tuskegee. I wrote to Jacob Schiff reminding him of having met him in Bar Harbor in 1903. "I want to lay before you a plan which I have and ask you if it is of sufficient interest to you for you to be willing to hear more of it and possibly to assist in its realization. The Negro race in America is today in a critical condition. Only united concerted effort will save us from being crushed. This union must come as a matter of education and long continued effort. To this end there is needed a high class journal to circulate among the intelligent Negroes, tell them of the deeds of themselves and their neighbors, interpret the news of the world to them and inspire them toward definite ideals. Now we have many small weekly papers and one or two monthlies and none of them fill the great need I have outlined. I want to establish therefore for the nine million American Negroes and eventually for the whole Negro world a monthly journal."

Mr. Schiff wrote back courteously, saying: "Your plans to establish a high class journal to circulate among the intelligent Negroes is in itself interesting and on its face has my sympathy. But before I could decide whether I can become of advantage in carrying your plans into effect, I would wish to advise with men whose opinion in such a matter I consider of much value."

Nothing came of this because, as I might have known, most of Mr. Schiff's friends were strong and sincere advocates of Tuskegee. Then came a new and surprising turn to the whole situation which in the end quite changed my life. In the early summer of 1905 Mr. Washington went to Boston and arranged to speak in a colored church to colored people, a thing which he did not often do in the North. Trotter and Forbes, editors of the *Guardian*, determined to heckle him and make him answer certain questions with regard to his attitude toward voting and education. William H. Lewis, a lawyer whom I had introduced to Mr. Washington, had charge of the meeting and the result was a disturbance magnified by the newspapers into a riot which resulted in the arrest of Mr. Trotter and eventually he served a term in jail. Later I explained to Mr. George Foster Peabody, in answer to a query, my own connection with and attitude toward this occurrence. "I did not arrive in Boston until after the Zion Church disturbance. Before seeing the account in the morning papers, I had no inkling or suspicion in any way of the matter. I did not know Mr. Washington was in Boston or intending to go there as I had just left him at Tuskegee. I had had no correspondence with Mr. Trotter for six months, save in regard to a boarding place. When I arrived in Boston and heard of the meeting, I told Mr. Trotter and Mr. Forbes in plain terms my decided disapproval of the unfortunate occurrence and my conviction that it would do harm."

When, however, Mr. Trotter was jailed my indignation overflowed. Trotter was headstrong but sincere. He must not be made a martyr. I sent out from Atlanta in June, 1905, "a call to a few selected persons 'for organized determination and aggressive action on the part of men who believe in Negro freedom and growth." I proposed a conference during that summer "to oppose firmly present methods of strangling honest criticism, to organize intelligent and honest Negroes, and to support organs of news and public opinion." Fifty-nine men from seventeen different states signed a Call for a meeting near Buffalo, New York, during the week of July 9, 1905. I went to Buffalo and hired a little hotel on the Canada side of the

river at Fort Erie and waited for the men to attend the meeting called for July 11, 12, 13 and 14. If sufficient men had not come to pay for the hotel, I should certainly have been in bankruptcy and perhaps in jail; but as a matter of fact, twenty-nine men, representing fourteen states, came. The Niagara Movement was organized January 31, 1906, and was incorporated in the District of Columbia with the following principles:

1. Freedom of speech and criticism.
2. Unfettered and unsubsidized press.
3. Manhood suffrage.
4. The abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and color.
5. The recognition of the principles of human brotherhood as a practical present creed.
6. The recognition of the highest and best human training as the monopoly of no class or race.
7. A belief in the dignity of labor.
8. United effort to realize these ideals under wise and courageous leadership.

The Niagara Movement created furor and the most disconcerting criticism. I was accused of acting from motives of envy of a great leader and of being ashamed of the fact that I was a member of the Negro race. The leading weekly of the land, the New York *Outlook*, pilloried me with scathing articles and the Negro weeklies, with few exceptions, went mad. But the movement went forward. The next year, 1906, instead of meeting in secret we met publicly at Harper's Ferry, the scene of John Brown's raid, and had, in significance if not numbers, one of the greatest meetings that American Negroes have ever held. We made pilgrimage at dawn barefooted to the scene of Brown's martyrdom and we talked some of the plainest English that had been given voice by Black men in America.

Now the fat was in the fire and my career as a scientist was beginning to be swallowed up in my role as propagandist. This was not at all to my liking. I was no natural leader of men. I could not slap people on the back and make friends of strangers. I could not easily break down an inherited reserve and a cold, biting, critical streak. Nevertheless, having put my hand to the ploy I could not turn back. The Niagara Movement met with less momentum in Boston in 1907 and in Oberlin in 1908 and then practically became merged into a new and enveloping movement which started

with a conference in 1909 and was incorporated as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1911.

While now I was being swept on in this current to a new and different mode of expression, I continued to cling to my scientific work. In 1906, I outlined that work to Andrew Carnegie hoping to interest him in the Atlanta Conferences and reminding him that I had been presented to him and Carl Schurz some years before. I said: "I enclose herewith a report on Negro Crime, which is the ninth annual report published by the Conference. The object of this Conference is the systematic and exhaustive study of the American Negro, in order that in the future philanthropists and others who seek to solve this serious set of problems may have before them a carefully gathered body of scientifically arranged facts to guide them.

"The studies mentioned above have been widely used; they are in all the large libraries of the world including the British Museum, the Library of Congress, Harvard University, etc. They have been commended by periodicals like the *Outlook*, The *Nation*, The London *Times*, the *Spectator*, and the Manchester *Guardian;* they have been favorably spoken of by men like G. Stanley Hall, Walter F. Willcox, Tallcot Williams, and most of the teachers of economics and sociology in American colleges." There was no response, but still I pushed on.

I approached the United States Commissioner of Labor in 1906 with a proposal for a study of Lowndes County, Alabama. I was going to take a single county of a former slave state with a large majority of Negroes and make a social and economic study from the earliest times where documents were available, down to the present, supplemented by studies of official records and a house to house individual canvas. I plied Commissioner Neill with plans and specifications until at last he authorized the study. Helped by Monroe Work now at Tuskegee Institute and R. R. Wright now a bishop of the A. M. E. Church and a dozen or more local employees I settled at the Calhoun School and began the study. It was carried on with all sorts of difficulties including the greeting of my agents with shot guns in certain parts of the county; but it was eventually finished. The difficult schedules were tabulated and I think myself that it was the most complete study of the sort that has ever been made. It included maps of the chronological division of the land; studies of the distribution of labor; investigations of the relation of landlord and tenant; a review of the political organization and of the family life and distribution of the population. I went to Washington and I

spent some weeks there revising and perfecting it. It was accepted by the government and $2,000 paid for it, most of which went back to Atlanta University in repayment of funds which it had kindly furnished me to carry on the work.

But the study was not published. I finally approached the bureau and tried to find out when it would be published and was told that the bureau had decided not to publish the manuscript since it "touched on political matters". I was astonished and disappointed but after a year I went back to them again and asked if they would allow me to have the manuscript published since they were not going to use it. They told me it had been destroyed.

And to complete this strange picture while I was down in Lowndes County finishing this study there came the news of the Atlanta riot. I took the next train for Atlanta and my family. On the way I wrote the "Litany of Atlanta".

Meantime I had started in Memphis with the help of two graduates of Atlanta University the little printing shop that I have mentioned and from this was published a weekly paper called The *Moon* beginning in 1906. The *Moon* was in some sort precursor of the *Crisis*. It was published for a year in Memphis and then the printing office given up and in 1907 in conjunction with two friends in Washington there was issued a miniature monthly called the *Horizon*. The *Horizon* was published from 1907 to 1910 and in the fall of 1910 the *Crisis* was born.

So my work in Atlanta and my dream of the settlement of the Negro problem by science faded. I began to be acutely conscious of the difficulty which my attitudes and beliefs were making for Atlanta University. For a while I thought of withdrawing in 1906 when I was offered the position of assistant superintendent of schools of Washington, D. C. But even there, fear of my "radicalism" took the matter up even to President Theodore Roosevelt and the offer while never withdrawn was not pressed. Finally, after the conference of 1909 in New York the new organization of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was formed and I was asked to come as Director of Publications and Research.

The Fifth Decade—Editor—1908-1918—40-50 *years.*—The span of my life from 1908 to 1918 is chiefly the story of *Crisis* magazine under my editorship but it had also an astonishing variety of subsidiary interests and activities.

Beginning a little before this period I continued my visits to Europe. I went in 1900 and again by the grace of an English friend in 1907; I took part in the great Races Congress in 1911 and went again in December, 1918, just after the Armistice. This close touch with Europe and European developments had much to do with my understanding of social problems and trends of the world. I followed the development of English imperialism and the forces in England, France, Italy and Germany which resulted in the Balkan War, the World War and eventually the Russian Revolution. In the United States I studied the political development from the free silver controversy led by Bryan, through the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and Taft and especially the Bull Moose campaign and the election of Wilson.

I kept on writing and publishing not with as much concentration of effort as I ought to have, but with some effectiveness. In 1907 appeared "The Negro in the South"—from lectures, two by myself and two by Mr. Washington. In 1909 I published "John Brown," one of the best written of my books, but one which aroused unfortunate jealousy. In 1915 I published my volume on "The Negro". To this must be added part of a bulletin in the twelfth census and several magazine articles; and, of course, eight years of the *Crisis*.

I was active in the organization of the new National Association for the Advancement of Colored People but carefully avoided the temptation of becoming its executive head. I still clung to my idea of investigation in lines which would temper and guide my exposition of a racial philosophy; and for that reason I determined from the beginning to make my work with the Association not that of executive secretary but editor of an official organ to be established. There was opposition to this from the first. First of all, organs of this sort were known to be usually costly and the organization had no money. Secondly, organs were of doubtful efficiency. My good friend, Albert E. Pillsbury, Attorney-General of Massachusetts, wrote and said feelingly: "If you have not decided upon a periodical, for heaven's sake don't. They are as numerous as flies"—and he meant to conclude about as useful. I came to New York to occupy a bare office; associated with a treasurer who said frankly, "I don't know who is going to pay your salary. I have no money;" and with a generally critical if not hostile public which expected the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to launch upon a bitter attack upon Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee.

My first job was to get the *Crisis* going; and arriving in August I finally got the first copy off the press in November, 1910. It came at the psychological moment and its success was phenomenal. From the one thousand which I ventured to publish first it went up a thousand a month until by 1918 (due, of course, to special circumstances) we published and sold over a hundred thousand copies.

With this organ of propaganda and defense we were able to organize one of the most effective assaults of liberalism upon reaction that the modern world has seen. We secured extraordinary helpers; great lawyers like Moorfield Storey and Louis Marshall; earnest liberals like Villard, Milholland, John Haynes Holmes, Mary Ovington, Jane Addams, the Spingarns, Charles Edward Russell and William English. We gained a series of court victories before the highest courts of the land which perhaps never have been equalled, beginning with the overthrow of the vicious Grandfather Clauses in 1915 and the breaking of the backbone of segregation in 1917. Above all we could, through the *Crisis* and our officers, our secretaries and friends, place consistently and continuously before the country a clear-cut statement of the legitimate aims of the American Negro and the facts concerning his condition. We organized his political power and made it felt and we started a campaign against lynching and mob law which was the most effective ever organized and at long last seemed to bring the end of the evil in sight.

With these efforts came other activities. I lectured widely in nearly every state in the Union. I furnished information to people everywhere on all sorts of subjects closely and remotely connected with race problems, and carried on from time to time studies and investigations. I was held more responsible for the success of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People than I cared to confess to myself; than most other people wanted to admit. I had to spread myself over a whole field of activities when I should have done great deal better work if I could have confined myself to writing and study.

The development of the *Crisis* where most of my writing was done was interesting and difficult. It was impaired first and last by lack of trained business management. For the most part I was my own business manager which meant the loss of much time in learning and details. Then there was the delicate matter of policy; of how far I should express my own ideas and reactions in the *Crisis* or the studied judgment of the organization. From first to last I thought strongly, and as I still think rightly, to make the opinion

expressed in the *Crisis* a personal opinion; because as I argued, no organization can express definite and clear-cut opinions; so far as this organization comes to conclusions it states them in its annual resolutions but the *Crisis* states openly the opinion of its editor so long as that opinion is in general agreement with that of the organization.

This of course was a dangerous and delicate matter bound eventually to break down in case there was any considerable divergence of opinion between the organization and editor. It was perhaps rather unusual that for two decades the two lines of thinking ran so largely together. If on the other hand the *Crisis* had not been in a sense a personal organ and the expression of myself, it could not possibly have attained its popularity and effectiveness. It would have been the dry kind of organ that so many societies support for purposes of reference and not for reading. It took, on the part of the organization, a great deal of patience and faith to allow me the latitude that they did for so many years; and on the other hand I was enabled to lay down for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a clear, strong and distinct body of doctrine that could not have been built up by majority vote. It was probably inevitable that in the end a distinct and clear-cut difference of opinion on majority policies should lead to the dissolution of this interesting partnership.

One of the first difficulties that the National Association met was the case of its attitude toward Mr. Washington. I carefully tried to avoid any exaggeration of differences of thought; but to discuss the Negro question in 1910 was to discuss Booker T. Washington and almost before we were conscious of the inevitable trends we were challenged from Europe. Mr. Washington was in Europe in 1910 and made some speeches in England in his usual conciliatory lines. John Milholland who had been so dominant in the organization of the National Association immediately wrote me and said that American Negroes must combat the idea that they were satisfied with conditions. I, therefore, wrote an appeal to England and Europe.

"If Mr. Booker T. Washington, or any other person, is giving the impression abroad that the Negro problem in America is in process of satisfactory solution, he is giving an impression which is not true. We say this without personal bitterness toward Mr. Washington. He is a distinguished American and has a perfect right to his opinions. But we are compelled to point out that Mr. Washington's large financial responsibilities have made him dependent on the rich charitable public and that, for this reason, he has

for years been compelled to tell, not the whole truth, but that part of it which certain powerful interests in America wish to appear as the whole truth. In flat contradiction, however, to the pleasant pictures thus pointed out, let us not forget that the concensus of opinion among eminent European scholars who know the race problem in America from De Tocqueville down to Von Halle, De Laveleys, Archer and Johnston, is that it forms the gravest of American problems. We Black men who live and suffer under present conditions, and who have no reason, and refuse to accept reasons, for silence, can substantiate this unanimous testimony."

In furtherance of this statement and in anticipation of the meeting of the Races Congress Mr. Milholland arranged that I should go early to the conference and make some addresses. The plan simmered down to a proposed address before the Lyceum Club, the leading woman's group of London, and there it ran against the opposition of an American woman who wrote: "I think there is serious objection to entertaining Dr. DuBois at the Lyceum." The result was a rather acrimonious controversy, in which I tried gently to withdraw but was unable to and finally led by Her Highness the Ranée of Sarawak and Dr. Etta Sayre a luncheon was held at the Lyceum Club with a bishop and two countesses and several knights and ladies and with Maurice Hewlett and Sir Harry Johnston.

The Races Congress would have marked an epoch in the racial history of the world if it had not been for the World War. As it was, it was a great and inspiring occasion bringing together representatives of numerous ethnic and cultural groups and bringing new and frank conceptions of scientific bases of racial and social relations of people. I had a chance twice to address the Congress and to write one of the two poems which greeted the assembly.

Returning to the United States I was plunged into the Bull Moose campaign. I thought I saw a splendid chance for a third party movement on a broad platform of votes for Negroes and industrial democracy. Sitting in the office of the *Crisis* I wrote out a proposed plank for the Progressives to adopt at their Chicago meeting: "The Progressive party recognizes that distinctions of race or class in political life have no place in a democracy. Especially does the party realize that a group of 10,000,000 people who have in a generation changed from a slave to a free labor system, re-established family life, accumulated $1,000,000,000 of real property, including 20,000,000 acres of land, and reduced their illiteracy from 80 to 30 per cent,

deserve and must have justice, opportunity and a voice in their own government. The party, therefore, demands for the American of Negro descent the repeal of unfair discriminatory laws and the right to vote on the same terms on which other citizens vote."

This was taken to Chicago by Joel E. Spingarn and advocated by two other directors of the Association, Dr. Henry Moskowitz and Jane Addams. They worked in vain for its adoption. Theodore Roosevelt would have none of it. He told Mr. Spingarn frankly that he should be "careful of that man DuBois" who was in Roosevelt's opinion a dangerous person. The Bull Moose convention not only refused to adopt a plank anything like this but refused to seat most of the colored delegates; elected a Southern "lily white" to run on the ticket with Mr. Roosevelt and finally succeeded in making Woodrow Wilson president of the United States.

Immediately Bishop Walters and myself conceived the idea that Mr. Wilson might be approachable. I proposed to throw the weight of the *Crisis* against Roosevelt and Taft and for Wilson, and Bishop Walters went to see him. He secured from Woodrow Wilson a categorical expression over his signature "of his earnest wish to see justice done the colored people in every matter; and not mere grudging justice, but justice executed with liberality and cordial good feeling. I want to assure them that should I become President of the United States they may count upon me for absolute fair dealing, for everything by which I could assist in advancing the interest of their race in the United States." In this effort to divide the Negro vote which was successful to an unusual degree, we were cruelly disappointed when the Democratic Congress met. There was the greatest flood of discriminatory bills both in Congress and among the states that has probably ever been introduced since the Civil War. Only united and determined effort defeated bills against intermarriage and for other discriminations in eight states, and while most of the proposed legislation in Congress was kept from the statute books, the administration carried out a segregation by color in the various departments which we had to fight for years and vestiges of which even remain today.

In other respects our lines were cast in difficult places. The Socialists began to consider the color question and to discriminate against the membership of colored people in the South, lest whites should not be attracted. Mr. Villard tried to get the President to appoint a National Race Commission to be privately financed to the extent of $50,000 but nothing could be

done; and suddenly war and revolution struck the world: the Chinese Revolution in 1912; the Balkan War in 1913 and finally in 1914 the World War. In that very year the National Council of Social Agencies met in Memphis without daring to discuss the color question but Spingarn and I went down and held open meetings advertising "for all who dared hear the truth." We had an interesting time. This success and the death of Booker T. Washington in 1915 led to the first Amenia conference and united the American Negro in one program of advance.

Finally the World War touched America; with it and in anticipation of it came a sudden increasing of lynching including the horrible burning at Dyersburg; there came renewed efforts at segregation; the refusal to let Negroes volunteer; the whole extraordinary difficulties of the draft and the question of Negro officers. The Association itself hesitated. It did not want openly to advocate segregation but Spingarn, chairman of the board, and of the *Crisis*, went ahead and the students of Howard and other schools backed our efforts. We finally succeeded in arranging for an officers camp at Des Moines where seven hundred officers were eventually given commissions. At the same time there was the increased migration of Negroes to the North, the riots at East St. Louis and the rebellion of Negro soldiers at Houston; the shelving of Colonel Young and the alleged German plots.

The Sixth Decade—Editor and Traveller—1918-1928—50-60 *years.* I review the sixth decade of my life with some misgivings and difficulties of judgment. It was in many respects a culmination and yet again it represented, as it seems to me now, a vast dissipation of energy which might to better purpose have been concentrated in fewer lines. I am not altogether sure of this. There were so many things to do; so many paths that presented themselves as duties which must be followed that I was perhaps more or less helpless in the grasp of forces mightier than my will. Because after all the decade following the War was a time of tremendous crises and changes and no single life could escape the paradox and confussion to which all life, and especially life in culture lands, was subjected.

My career had at this time a certain sense of drama. I had never before seen Theodore Roosevelt but in November, 1918, I presided at a meeting in Carnegie Hall where he made his last public speech, appearing together with Irwin Cobb and a representative of the French High Commission. I remember my introduction: "I have the honor to present Theodore Roosevelt." Then on my fiftieth birthday there was a public celebration and

many kindly messages. The *Crisis* had reached a monthly circulation of 68,000 and during the year I had a little dinner with Glendowen Evans, Margaret DeLand and William James. John Hope wrote: "How glad I am that your fiftieth birthday is going to be such a happy one because you can look back on so much good work done. But not the good work alone. What you may look back upon with greatest comfort is good intention."

And Albert Bushnell Hart wrote a word which one quotes with a certain diffidence: "Out of his fifty years of life I have followed a good thirty —and have counted him always among the ablest and keenest of our teacher-scholars, an American who viewed his country broadly."

Finally I prize most highly the tribute of President Bumstead: "First of all, let me express the keen satisfaction I take in having been the one chiefly responsible, perhaps, for bringing Doctor DuBois to Atlanta University. I cannot but smile when I think of the objections and misgivings of some of our trustees and other friends when he came. We wanted a professor of sociology with special reference to investigating conditions concerning the Negro; and I said that Doctor DuBois was the one man, white or black, far and away best fitted for the position. 'But how about his religion—he's studied in Germany—perhaps if you scratch him, you'll find an agnostic. Now it is true that Atlanta University has always had a pronounced religious, though undenominational, life . . . so I must needs have some assurance on this point.' But, as Doctor DuBois will remember, they were not very easy to get. He seemed to be one of those persons who, when asked about their religion, reply that they 'have none to speak of'. But though reluctant to speak of his religion or to say what he would do at Atlanta, I observed that at the time of my interview with him he was living with his newly wedded bride in the centre of the Negro slums in Philadelphia, doing the beneficent work to which Provost Harrison had called him, and I thought there were some indications of genuine religion in that fact.

"So, in spite of objections and misgivings, Doctor DuBois came to Atlanta University, and we held him there for thirteen years notwithstanding several offers to go elsewhere and get double the salary that we could afford to pay him. His work became a memorable part of the history of the Institution."

The most important work of the decade as I now look back upon it was my travel. Before 1918 I had made three trips to Europe; but now

between 1918 and 1928 I made four trips of extraordinary meaning: to France directly after the close of the War and during the Congress of Versailles; to England, Belgium, France and Geneva in the earliest days of the League of Nations; to Spain, Portugal and Africa in 1923 and 1924; and to Germany, Russia, and Constantinople in 1927. I could scarcely have encompassed a more vital part of the modern world picture than in those stirring journeys. They gave me a depth of knowledge and a breadth of view which was of incalculable value for realizing and judging modern conditions, and above all the problem of race in America.

But this was only part of my work: in the United States I was still fighting the battle of liberalism against race prejudice; trying to adjust war and post-war problems to the questions of racial justice; trying to show from the injustices of war time what the new vision must encompass; fighting mobs and lynchings; encouraging Negro migration; helping woman suffrage; encouraging the new rush of young Blacks to college; watching and explaining the political situation and travelling and lecturing thousands of miles and in hundreds of centers. In addition to this I was encouraging the writing of others and trying to help develop Negro art and literature. Besides editing the *Crisis* continuously, I published "Darkwater" in 1920; "The Gift of Black Folk" in 1924; the article on Georgia "In These United States" in 1924; and the concluding chapter in "The New Negro" in 1925, besides a number of magazine articles. Most of the young writers who began what was called the renaissance of Negro literature in the twenties began their first publication in the *Crisis* magazine.

Above all in these days I made two efforts toward which I look back with infinite satisfaction: the two-year attempt in the Brownie's book to furnish a little magazine for Negro children in which my efforts were ably seconded by Augustus Dill and Jessie Fauset; and most especially my single-handed production of the pageant "The Star of Ethiopia". The pageant was an attempt to put into dramatic form for the benefit of large masses of people, a history of the Negro race. It was first attempted in the New York celebration of Emancipation in 1913; it was repeated with magnificent and breath-taking success in Washington with 1200 participants; it was given again in Philadelphia in 1916; and in Los Angeles in 1924.

Finally in New York I attempted a little theatre movement which went far enough to secure for our little group second prize in an international competition. In 1918 I was asked rather suddenly by the N. A. A. C. P.

to go to Europe right after the Armistice, to investigate the treatment of Negro soldiers and keep the record straight; and then at the behest of a group of American Negroes I considered that the interests of Africa ought to be represented during the peace efforts following the War. With infinite difficulty and through the cooperation of Blaise Diagne, the French Deputy from Senegal, I succeed in gathering in February, 1919, at the Grand Hotel in Paris a Pan-African congress of fifty-seven delegates including sixteen American Negroes, twenty West Indians and twelve Africans. France, Belgium, and Portugal were represented by officials. This was to my mind but a beginning and in 1921 I returned and held a Second Pan-African Congress in London, Brussels and Paris from August 28 to September 6. There were 113 accredited delegates from twenty-six different groups including thirty-five from the United States, thirty-nine from Africa and the rest from the West Indies and Europe. Among the speakers were Sir Sidney now Lord Oliver, Florence Kelly, Bishop Hurst, Paul Otlet, often called the father of the League of Nations, Senator La Fontaine of Belgium, Dr. Vitellian, former physician of Menelik of Abyssinia, General Sorelas, Blaise Diagne, Norman Leys, and others. The attention which the congress evoked all over Europe was astonishing. It was discussed in the London *Times, Observer* and *Daily Graphic;* in the Paris *Petit Parisian, Matin* and *Temps;* in the Manchester *Guardian* and in practically all the daily papers of Belgium. It led to heated debate in Brussels touching the rights of these delegates to discuss the relation of colonies and it emphasized in the minds of all of us the consequent importance of such discussions.

Two of us visited the League of Nations and the International Labor Office with petitions and suggestions. In 1923 a third Pan-African Congress, less broadly representative than the second, but nevertheless of some importance was held in London, Paris and Lisbon; and thence I went to Africa and for the first time saw the homeland of the black race.

It was the time when the U. S. had disappointed Liberia by not granting her a promised loan and a gesture of good will was in order. At the suggestion of William H. Lewis I was therefore designated by cable as special minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to represent President Coolidge at the inauguration of President King. In the presence of the diplomatic and consular representatives of England, France, Germany, Spain, Belgium, Holland and Panama I had the honor to tell the President of Liberia: "Your Excellency: . . . I am sure that in this special mark of the

President's favor, he has had in mind the wishes and hopes of Negro Americans. He knows how proud they are of the hundred years of independence which you have maintained by force of arms and by brawn and brain upon the edge of this mighty continent; he knows that in the great battle against color caste in America; the ability of Negroes to rule in Africa has been and ever will be a great and encouraging reinforcement."

At the London meeting of the third Pan-African Congress, Harold Laski, H. G. Wells, and Sir Sidney Olivier spoke, and Ramsey McDonald promised to speak to us but was hindered by the sudden opening of the campaign which eventually made him prime minister of England. Among other efforts, at this time we held conferences with members of the Labor Party of England at which Mrs. Sidney Webb, Mr. Keynes and others were present. We emphasized the importance of labor solidarity between white and black labor in England, America and elsewhere. In Portugal our meeting was attended by cabinet ministers and deputies and though small was of great interest.

To return again to the fight in the United States, there arose early in this decade the case of Marcus Garvey. I heard of him first when I was in Jamaica in 1915 when he sent a letter "presenting his compliments" and giving me "a hearty welcome to Jamaica, on the part of the United Improvement and Conservation Association." Later he came to the United States. In his case, as in the case of others, I have repeatedly been accused of enmity and jealously, which have been so far from my thought that the accusations have been a rather bitter experience. In 1920 when his movement was beginning to grow in America I said in the *Crisis* that he was "an extraordinary leader of men" and declared that he had "with singular success capitalized and made vocal the great and long suffering grievances and spirit of protest among the West Indian peasantry." On the other hand, I noted his difficulties of temperament and training, inability to get on with his fellow workers, and denied categorically that I had ever interfered in any way with his work. Later when he began to collect money for his steamship I characterized him as a sincere and hard working idealist but called his methods bombastic, wasteful, illogical and almost illegal and begged his friends not to allow him foolishly to overwhelm with bankruptcy and disaster one of the most interesting spiritual movements of the modern world. But he went ahead, wasted his money, got in trouble with the authorities and was deported. As I said at the time: "When Garvey was sent

to Atlanta, no word or action of ours accomplished the result. His release and deportation was a matter of law which no deed or wish of ours influenced in the slightest degree. We have today, no enmity against Marcus Garvey. He has a great and worthy dream. We wish him well. He is free; he has a following; he still has a chance to carry on his work in his own home and among his own people and to accomplish some of his ideas. Let him do it. We will be the first to applaud any success that he may have."

I felt for a moment during the war that I could be without reservation a patriotic American. The government was making sincere efforts to meet our demands. It had commissioned over seven hundred Negro officers; I had had a personal interview with Newton Baker, Secretary of War, and he had made categorical promises; Wilson had spoken out against lynching; and I had myself been offered a captaincy in the Intelligence Service, afterwards to be sure rather incontinently withdrawn as the higher command realized just who I was. Nevertheless, I tried to stand by the country and wrote the widely discussed editorial "Close Ranks" in which I said to the Negroes: Forget your grievances for the moment and stand by your country.

I am not sure that I was right but certainly my intentions were. I did not believe in war, but I thought that in a fight with America against militarism and for democracy we would be fighting for the emancipation of the Negro race. With the Armistice came disillusion. I saw the mud and dirt of the trenches; I heard from the mouths of soldiers the kind of treatment that black men got in the American army; I was convinced and said that American white officers fought more valiantly against Negroes within our ranks than they did against the Germans. I still believe this was largely true. I collected some astonishing documents of systematic slander and attack upon Negroes and demands upon the French for insulting attitudes toward them, and when I published these documents in America the government started to interfere by refusing the *Crisis* mailing facilities; then realizing that this was an admission of guilt, they quickly withdrew their prohibition.

I was especially upset by the mobs and lynchings during this time: by that extraordinary upheaval wherein for several hours black men fighting against a mob practically held the city of Washington in their hands; then the riot and murder in Chicago. We fought back through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the columns of the *Crisis*, through lectures and articles with every force at hand. Mary Talbert started

the Anti-Lynching Crusaders and with her help and that of the secretary, James Weldon Johnson, we raised a defense fund of $70,000 and put the Dyer Lynch Bill through the House of Representatives and on to the floor of the Senate. It was not until years after that I knew what killed that anti-lynching bill. It was a bargain between the South and the West by which lynching was permitted on condition that the Japanese were excluded.

Court cases kept pressing upon us: there were the Elaine riots and the Arkansas cases; there was the Sweet case in Detroit; and equally significant to my mind but to few other Negroes the Sacco-Vanzetti case in Massachusetts. We continued winning court victories and yet somehow, despite them, we did not seem to be getting far. We added to the Grandfather Case of 1915 and the Segregation Case of 1917, the victories in the Arkansas cases, the white primary case and another segregation case in the high courts, in addition to the eventual freeing of Dr. Sweet and his family. Still injustice prevailed. In the case of the Mississippi flood the Red Cross allowed the Negroes to be treated as slaves and peons, and in Okolona the Episcopal church refused to prosecute a white murderer on its own school grounds. Above all there came disquieting situations among Negro students: a strike at Hampton, disturbed conditions at Wilberforce, turmoil at Howard, and an uprising at Fisk.

It was thus a decade of infinite effort and discouraging turmoil. I suppose it had to be. I suppose that with the best will, it would have been impossible for me to concentrate on a few great lines of creative effort. I had to be a part of the revolution through which the world was going and to feel in my own soul the scars of its battle. Two things made a sort of finale to the decade: the fourth Pan-African Congress held in New York in 1927 with Dantes Bellegarde, George Sylvain and other speakers; and news of the Congress of British West Africa which began its meetings in 1920 and forced the British government to the greatest step toward democratic method ever taken in black colonies. And finally, to my surprise and quite against my best judgment, there was given for me upon my return from Africa at the Cafe Savarin in New York, a dinner. Among the speakers were Heywood Broun, Walter Hampden and Mrs. Bethune, and tributes were sent by Witter Bynner, Zona Gale and Eugene O'Neil. It was a very beautiful and touching tribute.

Seventh Decade—The Teacher and Writer—1928-1938—60-70 *years.* Gradually in the last ten years of my life it has dawned upon me with

increasing clarity just what the essential change in the world has been since the era of war and depression and how the tactics of those who live for the widest development of men must change accordingly. It is not a matter of change in ideals but of decisive change in the methods by which ideals are to be approximated. As I now look back, I see in the crusade waged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from 1910 to 1930 one of the finest efforts of liberalism to achieve human emancipation; and much was accomplished. But the essential difficulty with liberalism of the twentieth century was not to realize the fundamental change brought about by the world-wide organization of work and trade and commerce. Karl Marx had emphasized in the nineteenth century the overwhelming influence of the economic activities of men upon their thought and actions; but it was not until the twentieth century that it became clearer and clearer to those who observed and thought, that modern business enterprise organized for private profit was throttling democratic government, choking art and literature and making work and industry a paradox by systematically increasing the number of unemployed and dislocating industry itself by periodic depressions.

During the decade, 1918-1928, the world tried to "recover" from the disaster of the World War. We strove to "restore prosperity," to "get back to normalcy" and to return to the same sort of world as the one that had just committed suicide. After ten years of confused effort, it became increasingly clear that the disaster was far greater and deeper than most men dreamed, and that not recovery but fundamental change in the very bases of government and civilization faced us. With the world-wide depression, even the dullest began to conceive the size of the disaster that had overwhelmed mankind.

Moreover the words of the prophets who for nearly a century had been warning mankind now began to sound clear: Freedom, that fine dream of the eighteenth century, had been during the nineteenth persistently interpreted as license for business enterprise, until it had not only reforged shackles for the human spirit, but actually re-established human slavery, first by transporting labor and then by making world-wide the domination of capital. Armed rivalry for monopolizing wealth and services had led to commercial imperialism, world war and universal poverty. We were now faced with enormously difficult task of reconstructing the economic foundations of civilization and building thereon a new heaven and a new earth for the free and creative spirit of man.

The first answer was the practically universal abandonment of democratic control in government and social development for oligarchy. This proved unexpectedly easy because already before the War democracy was so widely a form of words and pious belief and not a practical reality. We held to the forms of voting and popular election, but did not believe nor practice the substance. Throughout European culture, government had passed into the hands of industry, and industry was not controlled by democratic methods. When now the realities of the situation were posed to men, two radical solutions were suddenly resorted to: Russian communism and Fascism. They both did away with democracy, and substituted oligarchic control of government and industry of thought and action. Communism aimed at eventual democracy and even elimination of the state, but sought this by a dogmatic program, laid down ninety years ago by a great thinker, but largely invalidated by nearly a century of extraordinary social change. Fascism sought to take complete control of the state, ostensibly for the good of all the people, but practically for the good of the dominant classes. Both dictatorships were forced to consolidate their power by assassination and mass propaganda of every sort.

All this in the years since the War I had been observing in every part of the world, and I had been trying desperately and unremittingly, to spy out in the Universal Gloom a path for the American Negro. One thing I knew and knew well: we could not afford to sit and wait; we must actively and intelligently press forward toward goals consistent with the new ways of a world about to be born. The problem of a minority group in a world torn by old and new national and racial division was of enormous difficulty: it was idle for us simply to repeat the old slogans of democracy in an oligarchic world; no matter how strongly we, with all forward-looking thinkers, might envisage a birth of democracy, we knew or should know, that at present, our problem was economic rather than political reform; this economic reconstruction was now in progress—amid turmoil and contradiction, beclouded by a thousand irrelevances and bedeviled by every art of selfishness, but nevertheless clearly in progress. My problem was—How can American Negroes join this movement and intelligently reenforce it, for their own good and the good of all men.

In the organization whose leadership I then shared, I saw few allies impressed as I was to an ever increasing degree, as to the immediate necessity of a reorientation of objectives in order to make our original and

unshakable ideals realizable. It was a problem not of change of goal but of method. I looked about for allies and looked where man ever looks in such crisis—to Youth. I thought that just as a quarter century earlier, the N. A. A. C. P. was recruited from clear-eyed and courageous young folk, so today, a reorganization of our aims could be led by a similar group.

For this reason the Second Amenia Conference was called, seventeen years after the first. The first Amenia conference in 1916 met at a strategic time. It brought together on the beautiful farm of Joel Spingarn, where once John Burroughs had studied and dreamed, men and women representing all elements of leadership in the Negro race, together with white friends of prominence and influence. It was an unusually successful effort, and there on the old farm and around the dark still lake, while there was war in Europe and unrest in the United States, a hundred or more Negroes came together and a half dozen whites with messages from three presidents of the United States and other distinguished persons and we agreed upon a liberal program which included a plea for education, a warning against factionalism, a need for interracial understanding and a forward movement. Our essential agreement on a program of advance was gratifying and epoch-making. But as I now see, we did not then sufficiently appreciate the spade-work which had gone before and which for 10 years had been preparing the minds of Americans, black and white, for a new deal in race relations and renewed effort toward racial equality.

In 1933, the situation was different. We met at the beginning rather than at the end of a period of preparatory discussion. We were still mentally whirling in a sea of inconclusive world discussion. We could not really reach agreement as a group, because so many of us as individuals had not made up our minds on the essentials of coming social change. The attendance was sifted—perhaps too much so; outside of four of the Elder Statesmen, the median age age was thirty—persons just out of college, their life work begun but not settled. They were teachers, social workers, professional men and two artisans. The discussion was indeterminate and the resolutions contradictory; it was agreed that "The primary problem is economic" but the conclusion was that this problem could not be approached from the point of view of Race, but only from that of a united group of laborers cutting across racial lines. This was of course the intrusion of communistic dogma—ideally right, and practically unworkable. If the workers of the world would unite in unselfish cooperation to uplift the la-

boring mass, the millenium would be in sight. But we cannot expect of the age-long under-privileged worker, that which the educated and advanced have not envisaged; namely, the ignoring of race prejudice at just the era when it is being artificially stimulated by every human device.

Our program then must begin at home. Whatever just objection there be to racial efforts in a day when biologic races have been proved a myth, the reality of cultural groups like the American Negro, whether called "races" or what not, not only must be admitted but used as units of social uplift. I began then, despite the fact that the most courageous of the Negro youth seemed rushing down steep places into the sea of communistic dogma, without stopping to ask how far this dogma applied to our situation—I began advocating a program of economic organization within the Negro group, designed to prepare us for effective citizenship in the new industrial democracy which the world is slowly but surely approaching.

No sooner had I come to this conclusion than I knew that I was out of touch with my organization and that the question of leaving it was only a matter of time. This was no easy decision; to give up the *Crisis* was like giving up a child; to leave the National Association was leaving the friends of a quarter of a centuary. But on the other hand staying meant silence and a repudiation of what I was thinking and planning. My cutting away, therefore, from this work did not conform to any of the ordinary patterns. A good many of my friends and most onlookers are still puzzled. They tried to classify this break of ties as a question of dismissal, of quarrel, of incompatability of age and youth, or other classifications of the sort. It was none of these. I could have stayed with the National Association to the end of my working days or at least as long as it continued to exist. There was no greater friction within its organization than is inevitable to every human machine; but there was a clear difference of point of view. The Association in the matter of segregation emphasized a part of its program more than it emphasized before. We had recognized and used segregation in the matter of schools and colleges, in matter of religion, in the matter of the officers camp; but we had fought its further spread.

At this point I came advocating a new segregation in economic lines; in precisely the lines of business and industry whither the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was not prepared to go. It was not an absolute difference of principle, but it was a grave difference of further procedure, and therefore I gave up my connection with the Associa-

tion saying: "In thirty-five years of public service my contribution to the settlement of the Negro problem has been mainly candid criticism based on a careful effort to know the facts. I have not always been right, but I have been sincere, and I am unwilling at this late day to be limited in the expression of my honest opinions in the way in which the Board proposes. . . . I am, therefore, resigning from my position as Director of Publications and Research, Editor of the Crisis, member of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and member of the Spingarn Medal Committee,—this resignation to take effect immediately." The Association was good enough to express in return appreciation of the work I had done while associated with it.

In the meantime I had already been turning to work which was in a sense a renewal of my early work and research from 1908 to 1918. Already as early as 1909 I had planned an Encyclopaedia of the Negro, had secured on my board of advisers Flinders Petrie, Sir Harry Johnston, Giuseppe Sergi, Dr. J. Deniker, William James and Franz Boaz; and on my proposed board of editors I had practically all the leading Negroes of the United States who were inclined toward research, but my change to New York and the work of starting the *Crisis* and then the World War put this quite out of my mind. The project was reviewed by the Phelps Stokes Fund and today, backed by anthropologists all over the world, we are seeking a quarter of a million dollars to realize this dream.

On the other hand my interest in Reconstruction which had begun in 1910 was renewed. In that year I had read a paper on "Reconstruction and its Benefits" before the American Historical Association. At the suggestion of the president, Albert Bushnell Hart, and others like Dunning of Columbia this paper was published. Finally in 1932 I asked the Rosenwald Fund to give me funds by which I could finish it. They did and the book "Black Reconstruction in America" was published in 1935.

By that time I was teaching at Atlanta University. There again I was carrying out the thread of a long dream. As early as 1905 I had been one of a group interested in uniting the various colored colleges into one university. Later, in 1909, President Hope and I worked out an interchange of lectures. He wrote me February 16, 1910: "I hope and believe this is the beginning of new and larger things in an educational way among our Colored institutions"; and later, April 21, 1910, he added: "I feel a downright enthusiasm over the beginning that our two schools made this

year and hope that, now that we have made a start and have some slight idea of what can be accomplished, the two schools may next year do larger things."

John Hope and I had long been intimate and sympathetic friends and in the earlier part of this same year he had written me quite frankly a letter which I can now without betraying confidence quote:

"My impression is that *friendship*—not acquaintanceship or perfunctory intercourse but real friendship—is based not so much on agreement in opinion and policies and methods but upon downright confidence, upon simple faith, no matter what the view or appearances. You and I for nearly ten years have been friends. . . . You may remember that in the early and bitterly misunderstood efforts of the Niagara Movement, I was the only college president that ventured to attend the Harper's Ferry meeting to take part in its deliberations. You may remember, too, that while some may have answered the call to that seemingly radical meeting in New York last May, I was the only president, colored or white, of our colleges that took part in the deliberations of that meeting. I cite this to show that I have dared to live up to my views even when they threw me in the midst of the most radical. Furthermore, every man on our faculty does the same and will as long as I am head of the institution. . . . I write to ask you whether you have me in your heart—not on your calling list or your mailing list but in your heart—on your list of friends."

Before I had resigned from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Hope had offered me a position in Atlanta whenever I might wish to come, and, when the actual consolidation of these schools took place he repeated the offer. So that finally when the break came I returned to the renewed Atlanta University to carry out my independent lines of thought and express them in such writing and teaching as I might wish. In 1936, I seemed confirmed in the wisdom of my way by the panorama of the world which swept before me in London and Paris, Berlin and Vienna, Moscow and Mukden, Peiping and Shanghai, Kyoto and Tokyo, and heavenly Hawaii.

Finally I suppose upon a seventieth birthday one is presumed to have accumulated enough wisdom on the art of living to leave a wise word. There is not much that I feel moved to say; that little is this: I am especially glad of the divine gift of laughter; it has made the world human and loving,

despite all its pain and wrong. I am glad that the partial Puritanism of my upbringing has never made me afraid of life. I have lived completely, testing every normal appetite, feasting on sunset, sea and hill. I have seen the face of beauty from the Grand Canyon to Capri, from the Alps to Lake Baikal, from the African bush to the Venus of Milo. I am proud of a straightforward clearness of reason, in part a gift of the gods, but also to no little degree due to scientific training and inner discipline. By means of this I have met life face to face, I have loved a fight and above all I have done the work which I wanted to do and not merely that which men wished to pay me for. This is, I ween, the essential difference between Heaven and Hell.

Finally I have realized that the main fact of life is age and death. This makes it the more incomprehensible for me to see persons quite panic stricken at the approach of their thirtieth birthday and prepared for dissolution at forty. Few of my friends have celebrated their fiftieth birthdays, and near none their sixtieth. Of course one sees some reasons: the disappointment at meagre accomplishment which all to some extent must share; the haunting shadow of possible physical decline; the fear of death. I have been fortunate in having health and wise in keeping it. I have never shared what seems to me the essentially childish desire to live forever. Life has its pain and evil—its bitter disappointments; but in healthful length of days there is triumphal fulness of experience and infinite joy in seeing the most interesting of continued stories unfold. Not eternity but time is for the living:

"Mein Vermaechtniss, mein Vermaechtniss,
"Wie herrlich weit und breit!
"Die Zeit ist mein Vermaechtniss—
"Mein Acker ist die Zeit!"

THE REVELATION OF SAINT ORGNE THE DAMNED

Fisk University Commencement Address, June 8, 1938
Printed in 1939
Apmphlet

The Revelation of Saint Orgne the Damned

By

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

Commencement 1938

Fisk University

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(Signed)

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Fisk University

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The Revelation of Saint Orgne the Damned

Saint Orgne stood facing the morning and asked: What is this life I see? Is the dark damnation of color, real? or simply mine own imagining? Can it be true that souls wrapped in black velvet have a destiny different from those swathed in white satin or yellow silk, when all these covering are fruit of the same worm, and threaded by the same hands? Or must I, ignoring all seeming difference, rise to some upper realm where there is no color nor race, sex, wealth nor age, but all men stand equal in the Sun?

Thus Orgne questioned Life on his Commencement morning, in the full springtide of his day. And this is the Revelation and the answer that came to Saint Orgne the Damned as he came to be called, as he stood on his Mount of Transfiguration, looking full at life as it is and not as it might be or haply as he would have it.

"In very truth, thou art damned, and may not escape by vain imagining nor fruitless repining. When a man faces evil, he does not call it good, nor evade it; he meets it breastforward, with no whimper of regret nor fear of foe."

"Blessed is he that reads and they that hear the words of this prophecy for the time is at hand. Grace be unto you and peace, from him which was and which is and is to come and from the seven spirits which are before his throne."

I, who also am your brother and companion in tribulation and in the kingdom and the patience, was in the isle that is called America. I was in the spirit and heard behind me a great Voice saying, "I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last; and what thou seest write. I turned to the voice. I saw seven golden candlesticks with one in the midst of the candlesticks; and in his hands seven stars and out of his mouth went a sharp two edged sword. And when I saw him I fell at his feet as dead and he laid his right hand upon me saying unto me "Fear not. Write thou the things which thou has seen; the mystery of the seven stars and the seven golden candlesticks."

So Orgne turned and climbed the Seven Heights of Hell to view the Seven Stars of Heaven. The seven heights are Birth and Family; School and Learning; the University and Wisdom; the great snow-capped peak of Work; the naked crag of Right and Wrong; the rolling hills of the Freedom of Art and Beauty; and at last, the plateau that is the Democracy of Race; beyond this there are no vales of Gloom—for the star above is the sun itself and all shadows fall straight before it.

Orgne descended into the valleys of the Shadow, lit only by the waving light of single candles set in seven golden candlesticks, struggling through noisome refuse of body and mind. Long years he strove, uphill and down, around and through seven groups of seven years until in the end he came back to the beginning, world-weary, but staunch; and this is the revelation of his life and thought which I, his disciple, bring you from his own hands.

A golden candlestick stood beneath a silver star, atop a high mountain and in the cold gray dawn of a northern spring. There was the first hint of apple blossoms and faint melody in the air; within the melody was the whisper of a Voice, which sighed and said: "Why should we breed black folk in this world and to what end?

Wherefor should we found families and how? Is not the world for such as are born white and rich?"

Then Orgne, half grown, lying prone, reared himself suddenly to his feet and shivering looked upward to light. The sun rose slowly above the mountain and with its light spake. Hear ye the Wisdom of the families of black folk:

Gentlemen are bred and not born. They are trained in childhood and receive manners from those who surround them and not from their blood. Manners maketh Man, and are the essence of good breeding. They have to do with forms of salutation between civilized persons; with the care and cleanliness and grooming of the body. They avoid the stink of bodily excretions; they eat their food without offense to others; they know that dirt is matter misplaced and they seek to replace it. The elementary rules of health become to them second nature and their inbred courtesy one to another makes life liveable and gracious even among crowds.

Now this breeding and infinite detail of training is not learned in college and may not be taught in school. It is the duty and task of the family group and once the infinite value of that training is missed it can seldom be replaced through any later agency. It is in vain that the university seeks to cope with ill-bred youngsters, foulmouthed loafers and unwashed persons who have happened to pass the entrance examinations. Once in the earlier mission schools among American Negroes men tried to do this, knowing of the irreparable harm slavery had done the family group. They had some success right here in this institution; but the day when such effort is possible is gone. Unless a new type of Negro family takes the burden of this duty, we are destined to be, as we are too largely today, a bad-mannered, unclean crowd of ill-bred young men and women who are under the impression that they are educated.

For this task we have got to create a new family group; and a cultural group rather than a group merely biological. The biology and blood relationship of families is entirely subordinate and unimportant as compared with its cultural entity; with the presence of two persons who take upon themselves voluntarily the sacrificial priesthood of parents to children, limited in number and interval by intelligent and scientific birth-control, who can and will train in the elements of being civilized human beings: how to eat, how to sleep, how to wash, how to stand, how to walk, how to laugh, how to be reverent and how to obey.

It is not entirely our fault that we have missed, forgotten or are even entirely unaware of the cultural place of the family. In European and American civilization we have tried to carry out the most idiotic paradox that ever civilized folk attempted. We have tried to make babies both sins and angels. We have regarded sex as a disgrace and as eternal life. We talk in one breath of the Virgin Mary and of the Mother of God. And at the critical age of life for both men and women, we compel them to strain the last sinew of moral strength to repress a natural and beautiful appetite, or to smear it with deception and crime. We base female eligibility for marriage on exotic personal beauty and childlike innocence, and yet pretend to desire brains, common sense and strength of body. If an age thus immolates its ugly virgins, it will crucify its beautiful fools, with the result of making marriage a martyrdom that few enter with open eyes. The change from this has got to recognize the sin of virginity in a world that needs proper children; the right of the so-called unfathered child to be; the legal adoption into the cultural family of gifted and promising chil-

dren and the placing of black sheep, no matter who their parents are, under necessary restraint and correction. Amen.

The Voice ceased. As Orgne walked slowly down the mountain, he brooded long over the word he had heard, wondering vaguely how far the revelation was within or without his own soul; and then turning the message over in his mind, he thought of his own home, of the three small rooms, of the careful, busy mother and grandmother, of the dead father; and he mused: if one's start in life depends on breeding and not on color or unchangeable and unfathomable compulsions before births, surely I may live, even though I am black and poor.

There came a long space of Seven years. Orgne stood by the bank of the Golden River, with the second candlestick in his hand. He could not see the stars above, for it was nine o'clock of a sun-washed morning; but he knew they were there. He was celebrating all alone his entry into High School. None of his people save only his dead grandfather had ever gotten so far; but with the wave of disappointment which comes with all accomplishment, he muttered, "And why should they, why should I, dawdle here with elements of things and mere tools of Knowledge while both I and the world wait." The river flowed softly as he slept in the summer mildness. Daisies and buttercups waved above him. The grey fleecy clouds gathered and swiftly low thunder rolled; a bolt of heat lightning flashed across the sky. He slept on, yet heard the second star as it spoke:

Hear ye! This is the wisdom of the elementary school.

The difficulty and essential difficulty with Negro education lies in the elementary school; lies in the fact that the number of Negroes in the United States today who have learned thoroughly to read, write, and count is small; and that the proportion of those who cannot read, cannot express their thoughts and cannot understand the fundamentals of arithmetic, algebra and geometry is discouragingly large. The reason that we cannot do thorough college work and cannot keep high university standards is that the students in institutions like this are fundamentally weak in mastery of those essential tools to human learning. Not even the dumbest college professor can spoil the education of the man who as a child has learned to read, write, and cipher; so too Aristotle, Emmanuel Kant and Mark Hopkins together are powerless before the illiterate who cannot reason.

The trouble lies primarily, of course, in the elementary schools of the South; in schools with short terms; with teachers inadequate both as to numbers and training; with quarters ill-suited physically and morally to the work in hand; with colored principals chosen not for executive ability but for their agility in avoiding race problems; and with white superintendents who try to see how large a statistical showing can be made without expenditure of funds, thought nor effort.

This is the fault of a nation which does not thoroughly believe in the education of Negroes, and of the South which still to a large extent does not believe in any training for black folk which is not of direct commercial profit to those who dominate the state.

But the fault does not end there. The fault lies with the Negroes themselves for not realizing this major problem in their education and for not being willing and eager and untiring in their effort to establish the elementary school on a fundamental basis. Necessary as are laws against lynching and race segregation, we should put more money, effort, and breath

in perfecting the Negro elementary school than in anything else, and not pause nor think of pausing until every Negro child between five and fifteen is getting at least nine months' a year, five hours a day, five days in the week, in a modern school room, with the best trained teachers, under principals selected for training and executive ability, and serving with their teachers during efficiency and good behavior; and with the school under the control of those whose children are educated there.

Until this is done and so far as it is not done the bulk of university endowment is being wasted and high schools strive partially in vain. Amen.

Again flew seven years. Orgne was far from home and school and land. He was speaking an unknown tongue and looking upon the walls and towers, colors and sounds of another world. It was high noon and autumn. He sat in a lofty cathedral, glorious in the fretted stone lace-work of its proudly vaulted roof. Its flying buttresses looked down upon a grey and rippled lake; beyond lay fields of flowers, golden chrysanthemums and flaming dahlias and further the ancient university, where for a thousand years men had sought Truth. Around rose a symphony of sound, a miraculous blending of strings and brass, trumpet and drum which was the Seventh Symphony with its lovely interlacing of melody and soft solemn marches, breaking to little hymns and dances. He listened to its revelation gazing rapt at candlesticks and gilded star and whispered: "Why should I know and What, and what is the end of knowing? Is it not enough to feel? The angels in the choir sang No—Hear ye! For Wisdom is the principal thing.

There can be no iota of doubt that the chief trouble with the world and the overwhelming difficulty with American Negroes is widespread ignorance; the fact that we are not thoroughly acquainted with human history; of what men and peoples have thought and done in the seven thousand years of our cultural life. We are especially unacquainted with modern science; with the facts of matter and its constitution; with the meaning of time and space; with chemical reaction and electrical phenomena; with the history of the machine and the tool; with the unfolding of life in the vegetable and animal kingdoms; with the history of human labor; the development of our knowledge of the mind; the practical use of the languages of the world; and the methods of logical reasoning, beginning and ending with mathematics.

This great body of knowledge has been growing and developing for thousands of years, and yet today its mastery is in the hands of so few men, that a comparative small death roll would mean the end of human culture. Without this knowledge there can be no planning in economy; no substantial guidance in character building; no intelligent development of art. It is for acquaintanceship with this knowledge and the broadening of its field that the college and university exist. This is the reason and the only reason for its building among American Negroes and the work that it is accomplishing today is so infinitely less than that which with any real effort it might accomplish that one has a right to shudder at the misuse of the word university. Amen.

Orgne stood at twilight in the swamp. In seven more years, all the romance and glamour of Europe had sunk to the winter of America. It was twilight, and the swamp glowed with the mystery of sunset—long shafts of level burning light,—greens and yellows, purples and red; the whisper of leaves, the ghosts of dead and dying life. The sun died dismally,

and the clouds gathered and a drizzling rain began to fall with slow determination. Orgne shrank within himself. He saw the toil of labor and revolted. He felt the pinch of poverty and wept. "What is this stuff I hear," he cried: "how can we marry and support a family without money? How can we control our schools without economic resource? How can we turn our churches from centers of superstition into intelligent building of character; and beyond this how shall we have time for real knowledge; and freedom of art; and effort toward world-wide democracy, until we have the opportunity to work decently and the resources to spend, which shall enable us to be civilized human beings?

Suddenly across the swamp and across the world and up from the cotton fields of Georgia rolled a Negro folk song. Orgne saw in music Jehovah and his angels, the Wheel in a Wheel. He saw the Golden Candlestick and heard the revelation of the Star: Hear ye! This is the teaching of the World of Work.

The most distressing fact in the present world is poverty; not absolute poverty, because some folk are rich and many are well-to-do; not poverty as great as some lands and other historical ages have known; but poverty more poignant and discouraging because it comes after a dream of wealth; of riotous, wasteful and even vulgar accumulation of individual riches, which suddenly leaves the majority of mankind today without enough to eat; without proper shelter; without sufficient clothing.

Nowhere was the dream of wealth, for all who would work and save, more vivid than here in the United States. We Negroes sought to share that vision and heritage. Moreover, the poverty which the world now experiences, comes after a startling realization of our national endowment of rich natural resources and our power to produce. We have the material goods and forces at command, the machines and technique sufficient to feed, clothe the world, educate children and free the human soul for creative beauty and for the truth that will widen the bounds of all freedom.

That does not mean that we could have enough goods and services for present extravagance, display and waste; but if there were neither idle rich nor idle poor; if sharing of wealth were based not on owning but only on effort, and if all who are able did their share of the world's work or starved, and limited their consumption to reasonable wants, we could abolish poverty.

Why have we not done this? It is because of greed in the production and distribution of goods and human labor. We discovered widely in the 18th century and the 19th the use of capital and it was a great and beneficent discovery; it was the rule of sacrificing present wealth for greater wealth to come. But instead of distributing this increase of wealth primarily among those who make it we left most workers as poor as possible in order further to increase the wealth of a few. We produced more wealth than the wealthy could consume and yet used this increased wealth to monopolize materials and machines; to buy and sell labor in return for monopoly ownership in the products of labor and for further wealth.

We thus not only today produce primarily for the profit of owners and not for use of the mass of people, but we have grown to think that this is the only way in which we can produce. We organize industry for private wealth and not for public weal, and we argue often honestly and conscientiously, that no human planning can change the essentials of this process. Yet the process itself has failed so many times and so

abysmally, that we are bound to change or starve in the midst of plenty. We are encouraging war through fear of poverty that need not exist; we face the breakdown of production by persistent overproduction of the kinds of goods which we cannot afford to consume.

What can we do? There is only one thing for civilized human beings to do when facing such a problem, and that is to learn the facts, to reason out their connection and to plan the future; to know the truth; to arrange it logically and to contrive a better way. In some way, as all intelligent men acknowledge, we must in the end, produce for the satisfaction of human needs, and distribute in accordance with human want. To contend that this cannot be done is to face the Impossible Must. The blind cry of reaction on the one hand, which says that we cannot have a planned economy and, therefore, must not try; and the cry of blood which says that only by force can selfishness be curbed, are equally wrong. Is it not a question of deliberate guilt but of selfish stupidity. The economic world can only be reformed by Spartan restraint in the consumption of goods and the use of services; by the will to work not simply for individual profit but for group weal; not simply for one group but for all groups; and the freedom to dream and plan.

This reformation of the world is beginning with agony of soul and strain of muscle. It can and must go on, and we black folk of America are faced with the most difficult problem of realizing and knowing the part which we have got to play in this economic revolution for our own salvation and for the salvation of the world. This is not easy, for we are cut off from the main effort by the lesions of race; by the segregation of color; by the domination of caste. And yet nothing could be more fatal to our own ideals and the better ideals of the world than for us with unconscious ignorance or conscious perversity or momentary applause to join the forces of reaction; to talk as though the 20th century presented the same oversimplified path of economic progress which seemed the rule in the 19th: work, thrift and wealth by individual effort no matter what the social cost.

The economic illiteracy prevalent among American Negroes is discouraging. In a day when every thinker sees the disorganization of our economic life and the need of radical change, we find the teachers of economics in colored colleges, the Negro business men, Negro preachers and writers to a very large extent talking the language of the early 19th century; seeking to make themselves believe that work for any kind of wages, saving at any sacrifice and wealth on any terms not excluding cheating, murder, and theft, are ways of the world still open and beckoning to us. Selah!

Orgne listened and sat staring at the sodden cotton field beyond the somber swamp. Always the swinging thunder of song surged above—Jordan rolled; the rocks and the mountains fled away, the Way was crowded; and Moses went down, away down among the cabins in the cotton patch to the crazy church and hysterical crowd of penitents all praying madly to escape debt. Orgne talked to the planter and said "let my people go." and worked with the tenants seven long years.

Seven years he toiled and in the end had a little nest of land holders owning one large unmortgaged farm in twenty shares; working their crops and buying their provisions in common and dividing them with equal justice. Poor, Orgne came to them and poor he finally went away leaving them poor too but fed and sheltered. They called him Saint. He smiled and looked upward to the star; but the preacher looked down to the dirt and

mortgaged it behind the backs of the trusting flock and ran away with the money.

Saint Orgne cursed and cried how shall we plan a new earth without honest men and what is this thing we call a church. So, angry, disillusioned and weary he came to a land where it was always afternoon, and he laid him prone on the earth and slept.

Seven years he slept and in seven years came a thousand miles and more to Ohio, to teach in college. At high noon he stood before the chapel and heard the singing of a hymn in the haze of early spring time. Around him stretched the wide, undulating valleys of the Miami, the Ohio, and the realm of the Mississippi. He looked up and suddenly hated the walls that shut out the stars; he hated the maudlin words of the hymn quite as much as he loved the lilt of the voices that raised it. He loved the flowers—the violets and morning glory, the blossoming fruit that filled the yards about. Then came the earthquake; then the earth trembled and swayed; far off in San Francisco a city fell and around the nation quivered. In the midst of the rushing, swaying crowd, again Orgne, after seven years, awoke and found the Golden Candlestick in his hands, and heard the low clear revelation of the Star:

Saint Orgne the Damned, behold the Vision of the Seven Black Churches of America,—the Baptist, the four wings of Methodism, the Roman and Episcopal Catholics.

Their five millions of members in 40,000 groups, holding $200,000,000 in their hands, are the most strongly organized body among us; the first source of our group culture, the beginning of our education—what is this church doing today toward its primary task of teaching men right and wrong, and the duty of doing right?

The flat answer is nothing if not less than nothing. Like other churches and other religions of other peoples and ages, our church has veered off on every conceivable side path, which interferes with and nullifies its chief duty of character building.

It has built up a body of dogma and fairy tale, fantastic fables of sin and salvation, impossible creeds and impossible demands for ignorant unquestioning belief and obedience. Ask any thorough churchman today and he will tell you, not that the object of the church is to get men to do right and make the majority of mankind happy, but rather that the whole duty of man is to "believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and be saved;" or to believe "that God is God and Mohammed is his prophet;" or to believe in the "one Holy and Catholic church," infallible and omniscient; or to keep the tomb of one's grandfather intact and his ideas undisputed.

Considering how desperately, great and good men have inveighed against these continuing foibles of priesthood for many thousand years, and how little in essence has been accomplished, it may seem hopeless to return to the attack today, but that is precisely what this generation has to do. The function of the Negro church, instead of being that of building edifices, paying old debts, holding revivals and staging entertainments, has got to be brought back, or shall we say forward, to the simple duty of teaching ethics. For this purpose the Hebrew scriptures and the New Testament canon will not suffice. We must stop telling children that the lying and deceitful Jacob was better than the lazy Esau, or that the plan of salvation is anything but the picture of the indecent anger and revenge of a bully.

We can do this, not so much by the attacking of outworn superstition and conventional belief as by hearty research into real ethical questions. When is it right to lie? Do low wages mean stealing? Does the prosperity of a country depend upon the number

of its millionaires? Should the state kill a murderer? How much money should you give to the poor? Should there be any poor? And as long as there are, what is crime and who are the criminals?

So Saint Orgne preached the word of life from Jeremiah, Shakespeare and Jesus, Confucius, Buddha and John Brown; and organized a church with a cooperative store in the Sunday school room; with physician, dentist, nurse and lawyer to help, serve and defend the congregation; with library, nursery school, and a regular succession of paid and trained lecturers and discussion; they had radio and moving pictures and out beyond the city a farm with house and lake. They had a credit union, group insurance and building and loan association. The members paid for this not by contributions but by ten dollars a month each of reguiar dues and those who would join this church must do more than profess to love God.

Seven years he served and married a woman not for her hair and color but for her education, good manners, common sense and health. Together they made a home and begot two strong intelligent children. Looking one day into their eyes Orgne became suddenly frightened for their future. He prayed "Oh life let them be free!"

So soon, so soon, Orgne sighed, the world rolls around its sevens of years. It was midsummer and he was sailing upon the sea. He was bound for Africa on a mission of world brotherhood. Behind and waiting were wife and children, home and work. Ahead was the darker world of men yellow, brown, and black. Dinner was done and the deck empty save for himself; all were within the magnificent saloon massed with tall vases of roses and lilies, priceless with tapestry and gilding, listening to the great organ which the master played. The largo whispered, smiled and swelled upward to tears. Then the storm swept down. Then the ocean, lashed to fury by the wind, bellowed and burned; the vast ship tossed like a tortured soul, groaned and twisted in its agony. But Orgne smiled. He knew that behind the storm and above the cloud the evening stars were singing, and he listened to the rhythm of their words: Hear Ye! This is the Freedom of Art which is the Beauty of Life.

Life is more than meat, even though life without food dies. Living is not for earning, earning is for living. The man that spends his life earning a living, has never lived. The education that trains men simply for earning a living is not education.

What then is Life—What is it for—What is its great End? Manifestly in the light of all knowledge, and according to the testimony of all men who have lived, Life is the fullest, most complete enjoyment of the possibilities of human existence. It is the development and broadening of the feelings and emotions, through sound and color, line and form. It is technical mastery of the media that these paths and emotions need for expression of their full meaning. It is the free enjoyment of every normal appetite. It is giving rein to the creative impulse, in thought and imagination. Here roots the rise of the Joy of Living, of music, painting, drawing, sculpture and building; hence come literature with romance, poetry, and essay; hence rise Love, Friendship, emulation, and ambition, and the ever widening realms of thought, in increasing circles of apprehended and interpreted Truth.

It is the contradiction and paradox of this day that those who seek to choke and conventionalize art, restrict and censor thought and repress imagination are demanding for their shriveled selves, freedom in precisely those lines of human activity where control and regimentation are neces-

sary; and necessary because upon this foundation is to be built the widest conceivable freedom in a realm infinitely larger and more meaningful than the realm of economic production and distribution of wealth. The less freedom we leave for business exploitation the greater freedom we shall have for expression in art.

We have got to think of the time when poverty approaches abolition; when men no longer fear starvation and unemployment; when health is so guarded that we may normally expect to live our seventy years and more, without excess of pain and suffering. In such a world living begins; in such a world we will have freedom of thought and expression, and just as much freedom of action as maintenance of the necessary economic basis of life permits; that is, given three or six hours of work under rule and duress, we ought to be sure of at least eighteen hours of recreation, joy, and creation with a minimum of compulsion for anybody.

Freedom is the path of art, and living in the fuller and broader sense of the term is the expression of art. Yet those who speak of freedom talk usually as fools talk. So far as the laws of gravitation are concerned there can be no freedom; so far as the physical constitution of the universe is concerned, we must produce and consume goods in accordance with that which is inexorable, unmoved by sentiment or dream. But this realm of the physical need be only the smaller part of life and above it, is planning, emotion and dream; in the exercising of creative power; in building, painting and literature there is a chance for the free exercise of the human spirit, broad enough and lofty enough to satisfy every ambition of the free human soul. Limited though it be by birth and death, by time and space, by health and mysterious native gift, nevertheless its realm is so magnificent that those who fear that freedom may end with the abolition of poverty or that disease is needed to insure room on the earth or that war and murder are the only handmaids of courage are all talking utter nonsense.

The freedom to create within the limits of natural law; the freedom to love without limit; the freedom to dream of the utter marriage of beauty and art; all this men may have if they are sufficiently well-bred to make human contact bearable; if they have learned to read and write and reason; if they have character enough to distinguish between right and wrong and strength enough to do right; if they can earn a decent living and know the world in which they live.

The vastest and finest truth of all, is that while wealth diminishes by sharing and consuming and calls for control; Art, which is experience of life, increases and grows, the more widely it is shared. Here lie the rock foundations of Democracy. Selah.

So now again pass seven years. It is midnight of an autumn day; and Saint Orgne, risen beatified on the dark frustration of his soul, to the quiet peace of pain, stands in an old forest amid falling leaves, with the starry heavens above him. He knows where, months before, the heavy fragrance of purple wisteria had hallowed this air and dipped great festoons of blooms down into a scented world. But tonight these are gone. All is death. There is no sound; and yet somehow somewhere beneath lies some Tone too deep for sound—a silent chord of infinite harmony. Saint Orgne lifts his hands and waves back to the skies the seven golden candlesticks and the seven silver stars, and speaks, saying, "It is enough!" But the Voice replies:

"I see a new Heaven and a new Earth." "How can that be," wails Saint Orgne. "What is new about War and Murder? What is new in

deified and organized race hate? What is new in breadlines and starvation, crime and disease? Is not our dream of Democracy done?

The stars shine silently on, but in his own heart Saint Orgne's answer comes—Hear ye! This is the Truth of Democracy and Race.

The world compels us today as never before to examine and re-examine the problem of democracy. In theory we know it by heart: all men are equal and should have equal voice in their own government. This dictum has been vigorously attacked. All men are not equal. Ignorance cannot speak logically or clearly even when given voice. If sloth, dullness and mediocrity hold power, civilization is diluted and lowered, and government approaches anarchy. The mob cannot rule itself and will not choose the wise and able and give them the power to rule.

This attack began in 1787 during the French Revolution and it rose to crescendo sixty years later in 1867 when our fathers were enfranchised. The original dictum of human equality and the right of the governed to a voice in their government has never been universally accepted and only seldom has it been attempted. In the world today, universal suffrage is coerced by force as was true here in the South during reconstruction; or by intimidation as was true in the South after 1876; or by economic pressure, either through threat of poverty or bribery of increased income, as has been true in the United States for years. Today finally we have entered the period of propaganda, when people to be sure may vote but cannot think freely nor clearly because of falsehood forced on their eyes and ears; or equally by the deliberate suppression of the whole truth. It is thus that there has arisen in our day, on an astonishing scale, the fascism of despair; the acquiescence of great masses of men in irresponsible tyranny, not because they want it, but because they see no other escape from greater disaster.

Let us then examine anew the basic thesis of democracy. It does not really mean to say that all men are equal; but it does assert that every individual who is a part of the state must have his experience and his necessities regarded by that state if the state survive; that the best and only ultimate authority on an individual's hurt and desire is that individual himself no matter how inarticulate his inner soul may be; that life, as any man has lived it, is part of that great national reservoir of knowledge without use of which no government can do justice.

But this is not the main end of democracy. It is not only that the complaints of all should be heard, or the hurts of the humblest healed; it is for the vastly larger object of loosing the possibilities of mankind for the development of a higher and broader and more varied human culture. Democracy then forms not merely a reservoir of complaint but of ability, hidden otherwise in poverty and ignorance. It is the astonishing result of an age of enlightenment, when the ruling classes of the world are the children of peasants, slaves and gutter snipes, that the still dominant thought is that education and ability are not today matters of chance, but mainly of individual desert and effort. As a matter of fact the chances of real ability today getting opportunity for development are not one-tenth as great as the chance of their owners dying in child-birth, being stunted by poverty or ending in prison or on the gallows. Democracy means the opening of opportunity to the disinherited to contribute to civilization and the happiness of men.

Given a chance for the majority of mankind, to be educated, healthy and free to act, it may well turn out that human equality is not so wild a dream as many seem to hope.

The intelligent democratic control of a state by its citizens does not of itself and by any mechanical formula mean good government. It must be supplemented by the thrift and unselfishness of its citizens. The citizen of a democracy who thinks of democratic government chiefly as a means of his own advancement, meets and ought to meet disappointment. Only in so far as he conceives of democracy as the only way to advance the interests of the mass of people, even when those interests conflict with his, is he playing the heroic role of a patriot. And whenever he excludes from that mass the interests of the poor and the foolish; the Jew and Negro; the Asiatic and the South Sea Islander; he kills the effort at democracy.

Democracy does not and cannot mean freedom. On the contrary it means coercion. It means submission of the individual will to the general will and it is justified in this compulsion only if the will is general and not the will of special privilege.

Far from this broad conception of democracy, we have increasingly allowed the idea to be confined to the opportunity of electing certain persons to power without regard as to whether they can or will exercise power or for what. Even this choice of the voter, in current democracies, is confined mostly to comparatively minor matters of adminstration; but in the great realm of making a living, the fundamental interest of all; in the matter of determining what goods shall be produced, what services shall be rendered, and how goods and services shall be shared by all, there has been deep and bitter determination, that here democracy shall never enter; that here the Tyrant or the King by the grace of God shall always and forever rule.

It is widely in vain that the basic argument for democratic control has here been brought to bear; that these goods and services are the product of the labor of the mass of men and not solely of the rich and talented; and that therefore all men must have some decisive voice in the conduct of industry and the division of wealth. To be sure this calls for more intelligence, technical knowledge of intricate facts and forces, and greater will to work and sacrifice than most men today have; which is only saying that the mass of men must more and more largely acquire this knowledge, skill and character; and that meantime its wide absence, is no valid excuse for surrendering the control of industry to the anarchy of greed and the tyranny of chance.

This faces us directly with our problem in America. Our best brains are taught and want to be taught in large northern universities where dominant economic patterns and European culture, not only prevail, but prevail almost to the exclusion of anything else.

Naturally these men are t h e n grabbed up with rolling eyes and eager mien by the best Southern Negro schools. Now if these Negro universities have any real meaning it is that in them other points of view, should be evolved. They may or may not be radically different. They may bring something entirely new or be an adaptation of surrounding civilization; but certainly they should logically bring a newness of view and a re-examination of the old, of the European, and of the white, which would be stimulating and which would be real education.

But right here we have not simply little or no advance, but we have attitudes which make advance impossible. On the matter of race, for instance, we are ultra-modern. There are certainly no biological races in the sense of people with large groups of unvarying inherited gifts and instincts thus set apart by nature as eternally separate. We have seen the whole world reluctantly but surely approaching this truth. We have therefore hastened to conclude there is no sense in studying racial subjects or inculcat-

ing racial ideals or writing racial textbooks or projecting vocational guidance from the point of view of race. And yet standing in stark contradiction of all this are the surrounding facts of race: the Jim Crow seats on the street cars every day, the Jim Crow coaches on the railroads, the separate sections of the city where the races dwell; the discrimination in occupations and opportunities and in law; and beyond that the widespread division of the world by custom into white, yellow and black, ruler and eternally ruled.

We American Negroes form and long will form a perfectly definite group, not entirely segregated and isolated from our surroundings, but differentiated to such a degree that we have very largely a life and thought of our own. And it is this fact that we as scientists, and teachers and persons engaged in living, earning a living, have got to take into account and make our major problem. In the face of that, we have these young intellectual exquisites who smile if they do not laugh outright at our writhings. Their practical program is so far as our race or group is concerned: Do nothing, think nothing, become absorbed in the nation.

To which the flat answer is: this is impossible. We have got to do something about race. We have got to think and think clearly about our present situation. Absorption into the nation, save as a long, slow intellectual process, is unthinkable and while it may eventually come, its trend and result depends very largely upon what kind of a group is being absorbed; whether such racial integration has to do with poverty-stricken and half starved criminals; or whether with intelligent self-guided, independently acting men, who know what they want and propose at any civilized cost to get it. No, separated and isolated as we are so largely, we form in America an integral group, call it by any name you will, and this fact in itself has its meaning, its worth and its values.

In no line is this clearer than in the democratization of industry. We are still a poor people, a mass of laborers, with few rich folk and little exploitation of labor. We can be among the first to help restore the idea of high culture and limited income and dispel the fable that riotous wealth alone is civilization. Acting together, voluntarily or by outer compulsion, we can be the units through which universal democracy may be accomplished.

We black folk have striven to be Americans. And like all other Americans, we have longed to become rich Americans. Wealth comes easiest today through the exploitation of labor by paying low wages; and if we have not widely exploited our own and other labor the praise belongs not to us, but to those whites whose monopoly of wealth and ruthless methods have out-run our tardy and feeble efforts. This is the place to pause and look about, as well, backward as forward. The leaders of the labor movement in America as in Europe, deceived us just as they deceived themselves. They left us out. They paid no attention to us, whether we were drudging in colonies or slaving in cotton fields or pleading in vain at the door of union labor factories. The object of white labor was not the uplift of all labor; it was to join capital in sharing the loot from exploited colored labor. So we too, only half emancipated, hurled ourselves forward, too willing if it had but been possible, to climb up to a bourgeois heaven on the prone bodies of our fellows. But white folk occupied and crowded these stairs. And white labor loved the white exploiter of black folk far more than it loved its fellow black proletarian.

Such is the plight of democracy today. Where in this picture does the American Negro come? With few exceptions, we are all today "white folks' niggers." No, do not wince. I

mean nothing insulting or derogatory, but this is a concrete designation which indicates that very very many colored folk: Japanese, Chinese, Indians, Negroes; and, of course, the vast majority of white folk; have been so enthused, oppressed, and suppressed by current white civilization that they think and judge everything by its terms. They have no norms that are not set in the 19th and 20th centuries. They can conceive of no future world which is not dominated by present white nations and thoroughly shot through with their ideals, their method of government, their economic organization, their literature and their art; or in other words their throttling of democracy, their exploitation of labor, their industrial imperialism and their color hate. To broach before such persons any suggestion of radical change; any idea of intrusion, physical or spiritual, on the part of alien races is to bring down upon one's devoted head the most tremendous astonishment and contempt.

What to do? We went to school. But our industrial schools taught no industrial history, no labor movement, no social reform,—only technique just when the technique of skilled trades was changing to mass industry. Our colleges taught the reactionary economics of Northern Schools. We landed in bitter and justifiable complaint and sought a way out by complaining. Our mistake lay not in the injustice of our cause, but in our naive assumption that a system of industrial monopoly that was making money out of our exploitation, was going voluntarily to help us escape it talons.

On the other hand when we turn to join the forces of progress and reform we find again no easy or obvious path. As the disinherited both of labor and capital; as those discriminated against by employer and employee, we are forced to a most careful and thorough-going program of minority planning. We may call this self-segregation if we will but the compulsion is from without and inevitable. We may call it racial chauvinism but we may make it the path to democracy through group culture. This path includes sympathy and cooperation with the labor movement; with the efforts of those who produce wealth, to assert their right to control it. It has been no easy path. What with organized, intelligent and powerful opposition and ignorant and venal and dogmatic leadership, the white labor movement has staggered drunkenly for two hundred years or more and yet it has given the world a vision of real democracy, of universal education and of a living wage. It is the most promising movement of modern days and we who are primarily laborers must eventually join it.

In addition to this, no matter how great our political disfranchisement and social exclusion, we have in our hands a voting power which is enormous, and that is the control we can exercise over the production and distribution of goods through our expenditure as consumers. The might and efficiency of this method of economic reform is continually mimimized by the obvious fact that it does not involve radical change and that without other and more thorough-g o i n g changes it can bring no immediate millenium. But notwithstanding for a minority group it is the most powerful weapon at hand and to refuse to use an instrument of power because it is not all powerful is silly.

A people who buy each year at least a half billion dollars worth of goods and services are not helpless. If they starve it is their own fault. If they do not achieve a respected place in the surrounding industrial organization, it is because they are stupid.

Here then is the plight and the steps toward remedy. Yet we are not awake. We have let obvious opportunities slip by during these awful days of depression when we have

lost much of the land we used to own; when our savings have been dissipated; when our business enterprises have failed and when if not a majority a strikingly large minority of us are existing on public charity. We have not asked for the advantage of public housing as we should. We have not taken advantage of the possibilities of the TVA. We have not pushed energetically into plans of resettlement and the establishment of model villages. We have almost refused the subsistence homestead. We have not begun to think of socialized medicine and consumers cooperation. We have no comprehensive plans concerning our unemployment, our economic dependence, the profit economy and the changing technique of industry. The day of our reckoning is at hand. Awake, Awake, put on thy strength Oh Zion.

The martyrdom of man may be increased and prolonged through primitive, biological racial propaganda, but on the other hand through cooperation, education and understanding the cultural race unit may be the pipe line through which human civilization may extend to wider and wider areas to the fertilization of mankind.

It is to this use of our racial unity and loyalty that the United States impels us. We cannot escape it. Only through racial effort today can we achieve economic stability, cultural growth and human understanding. The way to democracy lies through race loyalty if only that is its real and consciously comprehended end. Selah and Amen.

This then is the revelation of Saint Orgne the Damned, as given me by his hand; and the philosophy of life out of which he strove to climb, despite the curse, to broader and more abundant life. Bearing this revelation, Men and Women of the Class of 1938, there return to you today, three pilgrims, and the ghosts of three others, whose memories await us. Fifty years ago we stood where you stand and received the Light of the Seven Stars. We return, not all-wise, but wise; for we have seen ten presidents rule in America and five kings reign in England; we have seen the fall of three great empires; a whole world at war to commit 26 million murders; the rise of dark Japan and fall of darker Ethiopia. We have seen our own race in America nearly double in number from less than seven to more than twelve million souls.

We return home today worn and travel stained, yet with the Light which Alma Mater laid upon our hands; it does not burn so high nor flash so fiercely—yet it has lighted thousands of other candles, and it is still aflame. We hand it on to you, that fifty years hence you give it again to others—and so on forever.

To the

CLASS OF 1888

MARIA ANNA BENSON

LEONORA ADDIE BOWERS

WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS

RANSOM CROWDER EDMONDSON

LEWIS HUNTER TINDALL

MAME STEWART

THE FUTURE OF WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY

Commencement Address, June 13, 1940
Reprinted from the Journal of Negro Education

THE FUTURE OF WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY

40/50/24

W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS

Reprinted from the *Journal of Negro Education,* October, 1940

The Future of Wilberforce University*

W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS

I Go to Wilberforce

I first saw Wilberforce University in September, 1894. Only two months previously I had returned from the University of Berlin and had finished here and there a continuous education which lasted from my sixth to my twenty-sixth birthday. I was at the time full of ideals, quick and arrogant in judgment, with many personal idiosyncrasies. I walked on to this campus, carrying my gloves in one hand and my cane in the other, according to the best fashion of the German student of that day. Yet I was not altogether impossible; I was comparatively indifferent, for instance, to the matter of money. This was the first salaried job that I had ever held and yet I refused an offer of $1,050 at another institution for the $800 offered here, because Wilberforce meant something to my imagination. I had heard its name since I was a child. On May 24, 1856, one of the midnight endorsers who made the purchase of Wilberforce possible, was John Du Bois a member of a family from which I descend.

I taught at Wilberforce two years: Greek, Latin, German, and English and begged in vain to add Sociology to the load; I married a Wilberforce girl; I made here life-long friends like Paul Laurence Dunbar and Charles Young; and for the forty-six years since my first coming, I have known every president of Wilberforce University and visited the campus at least once during their administrations and in some cases many times. At one of the sessions of the older Board of Trustees I was elected an honorary alumnus.

Notwithstanding all this, I was from the moment I stepped on this campus until today, an outspoken critic of Wilberforce. This was true not because I disbelieved in Wilberforce or underrated its work, but for exactly the opposite reason. From the first, I had for Wilberforce the very highest ideals: I wanted for it nothing cheap, second hand, or inferior; I pictured growing up here a great university, not simply Negro, not simply American, but a university in the full sense of those famous institutions of learning with which I had been connected for six years in the United States and in Europe. With all the impetuosity of youth, I had not the slightest doubt of the possibility of building up such an institution. I can imagine the astonishment with which persons heard my first lecture here. It was a sort of inaugural address after the German fashion, attending my advent as professor, in which I outlined with perfect confidence the plan of an institution, unlimited in breadth and efficiency.

My dreams were not wholly built on air. I took into account the extraordinary geographical situation of Wilberforce: practically in the longitudinal center of the Negro population of the United States, and yet in latitude North of Mason and Dixon's line. I was thrilled by the natural beauty of this place and uplifted by the romantic

* Commencement Address, delivered June 13, 1940.

history of its founding. Because of this very dream and high ideal, I was from the first bitter and uncompromising at every act which did not agree with, and every plan that did not lead toward, the sort of institution I had in mind.

I Leave Wilberforce

The result was that after only two years' experiment I left Wilberforce. I was not kicked out, but that was only because I moved before the inevitable swing of the boot. Eventual dismissal was certain and I had sense enough to see it. But notwithstanding that, my interest in this school instead of waning, if anything, increased; my criticism of its shortcomings has never ceased and equally I have never lost my belief in its possibilities.

I come, therefore, again, in my rôle of open and frank critic of Wilberforce University and in an attempt to guide its possible future. I would have you believe that there lurks in what I am going to say, nothing of personal pique or disappointment. There is nothing that I desire of Wilberforce University. I have no scores to settle. For the most part those with whom I was intimately associated while here are long since dead. Some few of the teachers I do know but for the most part I have not seen or heard from them for near a decade. In a sense then I come both as an old friend and yet to most of you as a stranger; but to all as one who knows the history of Wilberforce University, who has followed this history with intense and vivid interest and who speaks with only one idea in mind: that, rising out of the muddle and dispute, failure and promise of the present situation, there should eventually arise a Wilberforce which would be recognized by any standard as one of the great institutions of learning in the United States.

The Present Plight

As you know quite as well as I, this is not the case today. I am deeply disappointed that it is not. Even as I left here as a teacher in the summer of 1896, I firmly believed that a half century would see the institution established in accord with some of the ideals that I had and had expressed. This has not happened. I come back forty-six years after to find the institution still desperately lacking in most things that a great university demands.

The scientific output of this institution in books and articles, in literature and art, in technical efficiency and economic organization falls so far below the standard of great schools that one searches almost in vain for tangible evidence of scientific work done by Wilberforce professors and graduates. There are some to be sure but they stand out in the midst of a great desert. You have not produced great scholars or scientists, great technicians nor great thinkers, and yet there is no earthly reason why you should not have done this. Let me illustrate by the case of one of the smaller colored colleges. In two decades of work between 1919 and 1939 the teachers and graduates of West Virginia State College published thirty-three books and monographs, one hundred fifty-five articles and prepared thirty-one unpublished manuscripts, a total of two hundred nineteen pieces of scientific work which is, if I mistake not, at least ten times the

output of Wilberforce. One encouraging effort in recent days, the *Wilberforce University Quarterly*, I hailed with new hope, but I fear now this will be a casualty of the late war. The quality of educational work done here for more than half a century has never until recently received recognition as being in accord with the standards of the nation. You have not so established yourself in this country as to make it unnecessary for a first-class student to apologize for attending Wilberforce University rather than Ohio State or the University of Chicago. You have been content for a half century to do second-grade work and to make voluminous and frequent excuses therefore.

In addition to this, and perhaps in a sense even more significant, is the situation of this surrounding community. Forty years ago, Xenia was an important manufacturing and commercial center. Wilberforce was a prosperous farming district. One had a right to believe in 1895 that the middle of the twentieth century would see here in Southern Ohio, a thriving economic center with prosperous manufactures and commercial enterprises and with a large and growing colored community here of home owners, farmers, merchants, scientists, and technicians; not only comfortable and self-supporting but a respected and integral part of the economic and social organization of the Middle West. I know the blighting effect of war and depression and the difficulties of economic maladjustment and race prejudice; and yet it seems to me that it apparently has not occurred to this community that any development of the sort was possible under Wilberforce leadership. In appearance and character, in occupation and ambition, the Wilberforce community looks like a center of stagnation, lack of ambition, and, in a certain chilling sense, lack of hope. The surrounding country and Xenia have deteriorated; and when a few weeks ago I wanted to get a through-train from Chicago to Xenia the nearest I could get was Dayton. That would have been a joke in 1900. On the other hand, the physical expansion of Wilberforce as a school has been great in the amount of land controlled, in the number of buildings, in the size of its student body. Buildings like this hall, like the library, and like several of the dormitories are striking evidence of growth; and yet even here you who have seen the marvelous physical expansion that has taken place in other Negro institutions throughout this country know that Wilberforce is behind. In the growth of its faculty, in the caliber of its teaching and facilities for teaching Wilberforce has also grown but here it has lagged far behind similar institutions.

The Ravine

There is one other thing that may seem to you unimportant and aside but it looms to vast size in my thought; and that is, the way in which you have conceived and the way in which you have treated, the natural beauty of your surroundings. Here is a lovely undulating land with beautiful trees, grass and wild flowers, with roads winding naturally between the hills and with little brooks and rivers murmuring day and night through broad meadows. As it seems to me you have looked upon this beauty as a thing to

be leveled, flattened, and scarred. That your ideal would be something slick and square, with brooks hushed, rivers put underground and hills pressed down into the earth. Consider, for instance, the ravine, one of the loveliest natural possibilites of Greene County. It begins with the old main road of Wilberforce and stretches down, widening and deepening to the green meadows and river below. It is a God-created center of natural beauty and development, a potential amphitheatre, a focus around which a university could be ranged, set in the very midst of this community. It was this murmuring vale of healing waters that back in the early nineteenth century attracted people of leisure to Tawawa Springs to drink in its crystal clarity and loll in leisure under the great branches of its oaks and elms. Since then this community has done everything that it could to shame and obliterate the ravine. In my day already they were using it as a refuse dump. Later they made it the center of a sewage disposal area; but recently they have piled mud in its center to make an extra road. I can remember how once as young teachers protesting against the beginning of profanation of this marvelous beauty spot, we planned to give Shakespeare's "Midsummer's Night Dream" in the ravine, ranging the auditors upon its sloping sides and playing in its flower-covered depths. We wanted to raise money for a library. The library in 1896 occupied a room half the size of this rostrum. It was kept locked. I chased Professor Scott over this campus for a week to get the key. We determined to transfer the library to the little-used double parlors and to raise funds for this by this pageant in the ravine. The way our plan was stopped was prophetic: a powerful bishop in 1896 had decided to appoint his good-for-nothing son as a professor in this school. We stopped our midsummer night's dream to stage a strike and protest. In the end we won temporarily; the eventual loss of our jobs became merely a matter of time.

Reasons for Failure

Why now has Wilberforce failed as an institution of learning to reach the heights toward which it must eventually climb if it survives, and why as a community has it failed to become neat, prosperous, beautiful, and self-supporting? You know the answer which the average white citizen of Ohio gives to this question: he simply says "Negroes!" That would not disturb me so much in itself, were it not for the fact that the average colored citizen of the nation is coming to say the same thing. Literally dozens among the best Negroes of Ohio with whom in recent years I have talked concerning Wilberforce have all come to the fatalistic conclusion that you cannot expect an ideal development in education or community life here simply because colored people are in control. If I believed that I would not be here. But I do not believe it. And I do not believe it, because I have had opportunity in the last quarter century to see at first hand the kind of development which is taking place in Negro institutions of learning where the same problems that you face here are being attacked and solved.

I have already told you that when I was offered work at Wilberforce University, a position at what was then

Lincoln Institute in Jefferson City, Missouri, was open for me. I refused the larger salary offered there because Lincoln Institute at the time was the well-known plaything of graft and petty politics. The president of the Institute could only hold his job by handing over to members of the Trustee Board a part of the money which the Institute was overcharged by the merchants who sold it supplies. Appointments to positions in the Institute were matters of petty political deals, personal likes and dislikes, and pool-room politics. There were no standards of instruction or educational accomplishment, and there were cheap buildings with a small enrollment of students who came because they could go nowhere else. Today Lincoln University of Missouri is not yet re-born but its birth pains are distinctly audible. It has driven partisan politics out of the institution. It has killed several presidents in the process but the deed is about done. It has secured a steadily increasing income, more adequately paid professors, new buildings, and better prepared students.

I saw last year the Florida A. and M. College at Tallahassee after an interval of twenty-five years. I was astonished. From a ramshackle agglomeration of few buildings, few teachers, and indifferent students it has today magnificent buildings and a thousand college students; and while its salaries are still too low and its standards of scholarship not as high as they must be, it is a growing and developing college. The same can be said of Virginia State College at Petersburg; the thoughtful planning of that campus, the disappearance of the eye-sore which was long its main building, and the number of well-trained men who have regularly and consistently been appointed to the faculty and given security of tenure and encouragement for graduate study and scientific work, is one of the finest pieces of academic accomplishment in the South.

The possible relation of a college to its community is illustrated at Prairie View, Texas. So astonishing has been this development that when recently a white president of a great Northwestern state wanted to know how his institution could best get into helpful touch with its community, the trustees of the General Education Board referred him to the Texas Colored State College at Prairie View. The president of that college is in close connection with every secondary school in the state; he has records of every Negro student about to be graduated from every high school in Texas; he is continuously studying the economic condition of colored folk in every part of the state; he is bringing them regularly to Prairie View for conference and discussion at the rate of over ten thousand actual visitors a year. Adjoining the campus is today being developed a settlement of a score of one hundred forty-acre farms, financed by the Federal Government, and for that settlement, industry and occupations outside of farming and teaching are already being carefully planned and carried out.

Or suppose we turn to some of the older institutions: Fisk, Howard, and Atlanta University. A record of the books and articles published by professors and graduates of these institutions in the last year form a contribution to American literature recognized

over the whole country. These books are reviewed in the leading periodicals of the nation; the research of their laboratories is recognized even in Europe; the standards of scholarly accomplishment are being set just as high as those in white institutions. In other words, what can be done at Wilberforce is already being done by colored folk in all parts of the nation and in no case have these people had the natural and geographical advantages, the social freedom, and the political power that you have here.

The History of Wilberforce

Not in race nor character, not in ability nor power do the failures of Wilberforce find root. What are then the main reasons of the difficulties which have beset your path? We ourselves in moments of depression are prone to blame our blood for every failure and misfortune, but to know the truth we must address ourselves first to the historical rise of this institution and see what obstacles it has encountered and how it has tried to surmount them and what the results of these efforts in our day have been.

Looking into the historical threads that were woven into the web of this institution I can descry three sets of human beings whose efforts have made Wilberforce and who have been responsible in large part for its successes and its failures. First came three extraordinary figures: Daniel Payne, John Mitchell, and Benjamin Lee. If ever three saints strove without thought of self and with utter devotion to the highest ideals which they could conceive to build here a worthy monument for your worship, these were the men. Two of them I knew personally and one died but the year before I came to Wilberforce, leaving a memory singularly vivid and green. It is not often that it is given any group of human beings to command the services of three such men. Daniel Payne, the little bishop, short, slight, shrivelled, was a man of plodding learning, of austere personal morality, of unflinching firmness and indefatigable energy; no thought of himself or of his own interest ever stood for a moment between him and what he thought best for Wilberforce University, for the African Methodist Church, and for the Negro race. John G. Mitchell, large, calm and placid, starved for thirty-seven years to make a real theological seminary here, living always serenely above the clouds, with a firm and unshakeable belief in a higher world and in its intimate causal relations with this earth. Benjamin Lee came later. He was a more practical man who knew evil, looked it squarely in the face, and fought it doggedly; he was intensely earnest; solemn in soul and action, impatient of dishonesty, greed and sensuality, and always striving desperately to do and make others do what seemed to him exactly the right thing. With these three men, this college started on a high and ideal plane with little money but with great and unselfish hopes.

There came afterward, connected in various ways with this institution and with the church, three hammers: powerful, ambitious but ruthless men who represented force and driving power unhampered by ideals; who had no inhibitions of learning or social standards but drove a way through all sorts of obstacles; and under their

leadership both the church and the school lurched now forward and now back. Contemporaneous with these and later were three politicians, who represented compromise and adjustment. They were victims rather than leaders; they were the buffers between Ideals and Power, Good and Evil, Theory and Practice. They handled the Church and the State, the public and the school, the teachers and the students. Some were gifted men who had to do unpleasant things and devise devious paths in a crooked world. One man, who belonged to this class of leaders was president of this school when I came, Samuel T. Mitchell.

Samuel Mitchell

Samuel Mitchell faced a most difficult problem. Another sort of man, a man like Payne, John Mitchell, or Lee, would have handled his problem differently. But Samuel Mitchell was more subtle and faced a more complex modern world. He was a small, handsome man with captivating manners. He influenced men; he was extraordinarily successful in conference and personal meeting; he stooped to conquer. He came to the presidency of Wilberforce in 1884 and remained until the last year of the nineteenth century. I once blamed Samuel Mitchell severely for his course of action. But time and experience have explained much if not all. He faced the same problem that you face: how can the church of a poor working people support an increasingly costly system of education? Mitchell worked hard to increase income, and in his administration it rose fifty per cent higher than ever before. But at that it was miserably inadequate. He must get more, but how?

During his day the problem of the church and education was apparently settled but in fact was beginning momentous change. It went without saying, before 1900, that churches should promote education, establish colleges, and conduct universities. The union of church and education seemed in that day logical and almost inevitable. Already, however, the burden of supporting education with limited church funds and expanding church programs was beginning to be felt and the alternative had long seemed to be the accumulation of endowments. Thus most of our greater universities like Harvard, Yale, and Princeton starting as denominational schools gradually accumulated endowment funds sufficient to make them independent of the churches and the connection was gradually severed.

Wilberforce had long kept before her this ideal of endowments but there was no precedent then of rich white folk amply endowing a colored institution and there were no rich Negroes. But poor Negroes tried to relieve this situation by heroic efforts to increase its gifts to education. With the appointment of a secretary of education in 1884, the A. M. E. Church responded so that in 1900 it was raising $20,000 a year. This was a notable effort. If all the money raised for education in the Church could have been concentered upon Wilberforce, which was Payne's original idea, the situation would have been well in hand. But in 1904, the church educational fund was being distributed among twenty-five institutions, including ten colleges which averaged less than $3,000 a

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school. Particularism was too strong: every bishop, each district, each state wanted and in a sense needed its school. The cost of raising funds for Wilberforce both in actual money and effort became prohibitive.

Moreover, at this time throughout the nation the state was coming in and beginning to support higher education. This support was not altogether effective because it involved a great deal of petty politics and selfish bargaining and consequently low standards in teaching appointments and in scholarship. No one then could have foreseen that in the course of less than a half century, higher education would be very largely in the hands of the state with the prospect that before long the privately endowed or church supported institution will have largely disappeared.

The Bargain of 1889

Samuel T. Mitchell finding increasing difficulty in raising funds and yet the educational demand expanding, conceived the shrewd bargain of 1889. With his inimitable charm and ability to fascinate and convince, he succeeded in the face of the prohibitions of the state constitution and in spite of the just fears of church leaders, in bringing about a certain sort of union between the State of Ohio and the African Methodist Episcopal Church for the support of Wilberforce. As we can now see, it was a dangerous compromise and the time may come when we will look back upon this as the cause of the eventual collapse of this institution. But that will only be if in the face of the continued friction and upheavals that have followed the bargain, we throw up our hands, refuse to look facts in the face, and fail to grasp the plow that is before us and the real furrow that can yet be run.

What have been the results of this consolidation of the A. M. E. school, Wilberforce University, and the State of Ohio as owner of the combined normal and industrial department at Wilberforce? First of all there has been a serious combination of the church and politics. From 1856 to 1889, Wilberforce had become the political capital of the A. M. E. Church and its nation-wide membership. Here the little Bishop, Daniel Payne, as senior prelate of the church ruled. Power became concentrated in his hands, through his extraordinary moral purity, his unselfish ideals, and his indomitable energy. All of the rulers of the Church came to Wilberforce to consult him; bishops' councils were held here; general officers and general policies were decided upon. The senior bishop knew the characters of everybody in the church: when this man aspired to the bishopric—No, said the little bishop, he is not an honest man! No, he is not a moral man! No, he is lazy and selfish and will not work!

When Bishop Payne died, it meant that what had been an ecclesiastical dictatorship in strong, honest, and unwavering hands became a matter of wide intrigue, manipulation, and political arrangement. The well-being and interests of Wilberforce became inextricably intermingled with the interests, and often the selfish personal interests, of the church leaders. The so-called Board of Trustees of Wilberforce University was a body of hundreds of men distributed all over the United States, only a minority of

whom ever came to any meeting and came then, most of them, because of church politics and not because of their interest in Wilberforce.

I remember vividly the first meeting of the Trustees while I was here. As they began to swarm in I took my cane and gloves and went to the woods for a long walk.

"Where have you been?" asked my colleagues.

"To the woods," I answered, innocently.

They threw up their hands. "That's not the thing to do when trustees come to Wilberforce," they said. And they were right.

When now President Mitchell in his effort to raise funds projected this politically-minded Wilberforce into state politics and thus more than doubled the available income of the school, it was natural for ministers, bishops, and presidents of Wilberforce to dabble further in partisan politics until they have helped emphasize that very interference of politics with education which it has been the desperate effort of state universities all over America for fifty years to avoid.

This situation did not however develop immediately in the case of Wilberforce. As Mitchell conceived the consolidation there was to be one head of the combined institutions; the state institution was to be in fact a department of Wilberforce University, although the legal phrase had it "*at* Wilberforce University."

Politics and Wilberforce

The policy which has developed concerning the relation of the State Department and the University is interesting to review: first came the logical action, back to which the state and the University must revert if this institution is to grow and develop properly; that is, the president of the university was also superintendent of the combined normal and industrial department. This is the only way in which one institution with a single policy can be built up. President Mitchell was at the head of both departments from the beginning of state aid until 1896—seven years.

Such a combination, however, presupposes that the interests of the state as well as the university not only be combined but carefully looked after by the single head, so that neither party to the combination would feel under-rated or cheated. The feeling arose under President Mitchell that the State was being used simply for its money and as an unimportant adjunct to the University.

The next step of the State was characteristic but not radical. It appointed a separate head for the State Department, but chose for the position a man long connected with Wilberforce University, the son of one of its founders and absolutely loyal to its ideals, J. P. Shorter. Shorter was a strict administrator and careful business man, and he supplemented President Mitchell's ability to handle persons and compose differences by his own accuracy and executive methods. This went on for fourteen years, and the two parts of the institution worked in considerable, if not perfect, harmony. The main difficulty which now began to show itself and later was emphasized was that the combined normal and industrial department had more money than the University, and yet was the subordinate partner.

Then, soon after the advent of President Scarborough, there came a momentous change: the State appointed as superintendent a young man well-trained as an educator and also experienced as executive and business man. President Scarborough, on the other hand, was a scholar and a theorist in no way designed for the details of administration and with little liking for it. The inevitable happened; the real presidency of Wilberforce was gradually transferred to the State side. The normal department went forward by leaps and bounds. It bought lands and built buildings; it arranged teachers' homes; it introduced electricity; it organized its curriculum; it paid its teachers good salaries; it developed other far-sighted plans; while the University hung on as a sort of poor relative of the dominant owner and was really largely supported by state charity. When the administrations changed in 1920, and Gregg came as president, while Joyner retired, there came a third policy, irregularly and less clearly developed: the head of the normal department became more and more a mere fiscal officer and neither a trained educator nor a conspicuous executive. This tended to separate the two institutions and friction arose and multiplied. Almost, it can be said, two separate and rival institutions appeared here—one with power and no money, the other with money and no clear policy.

It was almost inevitable during the years from 1900 to 1940 that into this situation petty state politics should begin to intrude, and this was in no small part the fault of the A. M. E. Church and of Wilberforce University itself. From the time that Samuel T. Mitchell found that political manipulation could bring funds to Wilberforce, from that time on the temptation on the part of the Church to work this source was difficult to withstand. Bishops, presiding elders, ministers, and presidents of the institution became politicians and worked for what they thought was either their own advantage or the advantage of Wilberforce. Other colored people in the State not connected with the A. M. E. Church saw no reason why they should not share the spoils. The caliber of the persons appointed to the board by the State gradually decreased. In earlier years, some of the best known people of the State, white and black, served upon the board of the normal and industrial department. They were replaced as time went on by persons who, whatever their other qualifications were, had often never attended college, knew little about college problems, and certainly had not been trained or experienced in the technical work of administering an institution of education.

Throughout the United States it has been found that in state universities, this tendency has had to be met and fought and stopped. In the University of Wisconsin the University of Michigan, the University of Illinois, Indiana University, in all the Negro land-grant colleges, and in other institutions, it has taken the voters a quarter of a century to learn that appointments in an institution of learning cannot be used to reward political support or to give jobs to friends or as matters of personal sympathy.

Educational Ideals

Education is a great and serious end.

It has to do primarily not with soils and crops, not with stone and iron, but with the souls of your own children and thus with the future of the Negro race in America. It is becoming one of the greatest functions of government. If it is seduced and cheapened and ruined by putting in charge of it people, who, however worthy they may be personally, are ignorant of the difficult technque of carrying on the training of youth, the whole program is ruined. This is the sort of thing that has happened and is happening to Wilberforce University. Perverted standards have come in. In the eyes of many quite honest people it seems to be natural that the teaching jobs at Wilberforce should be handed around to people whom they like and taken away from people they don't like. The question as to what sort of man one is: whether truthful or a liar; dignified or a clown; an earnest worker or a lazy wastrel does not concern them. They do not inquire whether the candidate knows his subject and knows how to teach it. They assume without reflection that there should be appointed to the faculty and upon the trustee board anybody who is a friend to the governor; that if there is a person at Wilberforce or elsewhere who has been unfortunate, who has suffered, who has not received the consideration that he ought to, that a perfectly legitimate way to settle this difficulty is to appoint him professor or dean even though everybody knows he cannot perform his duties because of congenital unfitness or crass ignorance.

Nor do these perverted standards stop here. Indeed they did not begin here. In the case of the Church and the University, it has become a sort of unwritten law that the bishop of this district should be a sort of super-president; that he should rule the University and at the same time dictate to the board of trustees and also enter into political understanding with the State. I remember vividly when Bishop Arnett laid down law and gospel for President Mitchell. This puts the president in an impossible position: he must placate the bishop of Wilberfore; he must be on good terms with bishops of other districts, who are furnishing funds for Wilberforce; he must keep in touch with the officials of the State; he must try to bring into line the man whom the State for any reason, political or personal, appoints at the head of the normal and industrial department; and then incidentally he must keep a faculty and a body of students at their proper tasks. No human being can successfully occupy such a place.

The Path of Progress

Here then is the situation that confronts us. What is to be done about it? When some years ago a talented professor of history in Howard University, Charles Wesley, was considering accepting the presidency of Wilberforce University, I wrote him hurriedly and said: Under no circumstances accept the presidency of Wilberforce unless at the same time you are made head of the combined normal and industrial department.

The path of progress before Wilberforce is clear and inevitable: first there must be one head to this institution. Anything else spells friction, lost effort, and eventual disaster. It will be difficult to bring this about. There will have to be a rearrangement of trustee

boards and a new understanding with State officials. This can only be done by a determined effort on the part of the colored people of Ohio, the A. M. E. Church, and Wilberforce University to convince the world that what they want here is not jobs for their friends or religious bigotry or the settlement of personal grudges, but a great institution of learning primarily for the Negro race and eventually for the nation; that to this end they propose to subordinate every selfish interest; that they plan to work in accordance with the best advice of the most influential people of Ohio, white and black; that they will consider no political bargain on the part of either Church or State, but with high and unselfish ends unite to rebuild Wilberforce.

There must be, I repeat, as the beginning of reorganization one head to this combined institution, appointed after thorough consultation and understanding between State and Church and the best educational advice of Ohio. That man must undertake this work as a life-time job and not as a mere stepping-stone on his way to the bishopric. As the best guarantee for this, he would best not be a clergyman at all. But minister or layman, he must hold the scales of perfect justice between the Church on the one hand and the State on the other, handling all funds in method and intent with absolute and unswerving honesty. His controlling board of trustees should be nominated by the Church and appointed by the governor and should represent fairly the interests of the colored people of Ohio and the interests of education in the whole state. In accordance with the best and only rule of administration, this board should confine itself to settling general policy and should leave the appointment and dismissal of teachers to the president and then hold him alone responsible for the good conduct and efficiency of this University.

This calls for a union of high effort. Can you make it? You, the school, the community, the State?

Christianity and Wilberforce

I have noted in your president's report the insistence that Wilberforce University is a Christian institution. This is an old note. It has been sounded again and again with all kinds of variations for nearly a hundred years. It was a matter of emphasis when I was here near a half century ago and it did not impress me. It did not impress me because it was all too evident that what most people at Wilberforce called Christianity was a childish belief in Biblical fairy tales, a word-of-mouth adherence to dogma, and a certain sectarian exclusiveness. It often seemed to me when I lived here a miserable misapprehension of the teaching of Christ. I do not attempt in the slightest way to interfere with anyone's sincere and deep-seated belief. If a man believes that faith in Jonah and the whale is necessary to his soul's salvation, I shall not gainsay him. But I do believe that the generation of young folk before me and the world-at-large have some clear and definite ideas of what real religion calls for and I believe that the citizens of Ohio want tangible proof of certain matters before they will continue to support Wilberforce.

Today, in plain English, if Christianity means anything, it means

honesty, unselfishness, and hard work. It means honesty in the handling of funds whether they are the pennies of black washerwomen or the thousands of the State appropriation. It means the absolute wiping out of petty graft, of waste and of stupid carelessness. In addition to this, Christianity means sympathy; the realization of what it costs a human being to live and support a family in decency; the realization that a man cannot do scientific research and scholarly work on a $1,000 a year; the realization that teachers and students are human beings who suffer and strive and fail. Above all, Christianity means unselfishness; the willingness to forego in part one's personal advantage and give up some personal desires for the sake of a larger end which will be for the advantage of a greater number of people. And finally, Love is God and Work is His Prophet.

Frankly, I have never found at Wilberforce University any outstanding evidence of this kind of Christianity. Once upon a time it was here, and that is why I recall the rôle of the Three Saints who put their lives into this institution. It has since then, time and time again, been openly, crassly, and impudently contradicted by dishonesty, cruelty, and utter selfishness.

May I illustrate: when I was asked to come to Wilberforce in 1894, it was to teach Latin and Greek. I did not know much about them, but I knew that Scarborough was head of the department and I was glad and willing to work under his tutelage. Imagine my astonishment, when I arrived at Wilberforce, to find that I was head of the department; that one of your periodical quarrels had taken place, and the president had transferred Scarborough to the Theological Department to teach nobody for nothing; while I, a student of sociology, was the whole department of Latin and Greek in the University! This illustrates better than anything I can say the utter stupidity of such action. Scarborough may have been a difficult man to get along with. I do not know. But he knew Latin and Greek better than most American teachers. Laying aside all personal likes and dislikes he should have been kept at that job. And the opposite is also true: if he had known no Greek and been a poor teacher and an unworthy man, he certainly did not belong in a theological seminary. To appoint a man to position because of sympathy is just as wrong as to dismiss him from the work he is best fitted to do.

Unless, therefore, the Christianity which you vaunt here is going to be the sort I have described you will have endless difficulty in extricating Wilberforce from its plight. On the other hand, if this institution handles its funds honestly, is sympathetic and decent in the treatment of its teachers and unselfish in the establishment of high aims, and if it can do real scientific work in education; then with one head to the combined institution you have begun reconstruction. But here you cannot sit still. Eventually this preliminary treaty of peace between State and Church must go forward toward a complete and definitive consolidation.

Two Paths to the Future

The first possible path is that the Church gradually withdraw from its present dependence upon the State

and establish an independent, self-controlled, and self-supported institution. This appeals to many of you. It is in many respects a great and fine ideal. The difficulty with this program —and the inevitable difficulty—is its cost and the preliminary change in machinery which it involves. Such an institution must become first independent not of but in the Church. The local bishop must loose his stranglehold upon the president. The General Conference and board of bishops must likewise stand aside content with general oversight and refraining from continual interference. The school must cease to be a mere stepping-stone to the bishopric. It must exist for itself. Its own board of trustees must be in supreme control and they must in accordance with universal practice in modern education put the actual executive responsibility upon the president. At the same time that the Church thus withdraws from intermeddling with the institution and that the trustees put on its executive officer responsibility and the power at the same time the Church must furnish vastly increased funds; and here is the rub. Can the Church do it and will it?

There was once a legend that Mark Hopkins, a log and a boy could constitute a college. That legend is no longer valid. The boy needs today a library and a large and costly library with a competent and well-trained staff—not three over-worked slaves. Without it, he cannot get a modern education. The boy needs laboratories carefully planned, systematically conducted, with materials and tools; and laboratories cost a lot of money. The boy must have not one but a dozen instructors; they must be not merely good men who can read and write, but good men with long, thorough training in the accumulating and widening knowledge of their fields of instruction. For these and a dozen other different reasons the cost of conducting a first class college today as compared with fifty years ago has risen enormously. Ignoring for the moment the millions of dollars a year that are spent at Harvard and Columbia, let us turn our attention to colored colleges remembering that the A. M. E. Church has never been able to raise for education as much as $50,000 in a single year and usually it has raised much less.

As compared with that let us remember that it costs $275,000 a year to run Fisk University; over $300,000 a year to run the Atlanta University system; $365,000 a year to run Virginia State College, while Prairie View College costs $420,000; Southern University of Louisiana cost $650,000 last year; and Howard University costs $1,000,000 a year. It costs huge sums of money to conduct universities today and there is no reason to believe that the cost is going to be less in the future; rather if anything, more.

With the demands upon them today nearly all churches are giving up their attempts to run colleges and universities. The great reunited Methodist Church is practically giving notice to all its institutions that they must prepare to stand alone. The Baptists are following. The Presbyterian Church has taken the same path. An institution like Wilberforce could hardly get from the A. M. E. Church adequate funds, even if the church gave up the other smaller institutions and concentrated upon Wilberforce. Today even

that looks impossible. Loyalties have been built around Morris Brown College and Edward Waters College and in most of twenty-five institutions, which makes their closing unthinkable.

Wilberforce will start too late to get much from the distribution of funds now going on under the great foundations, and in addition to that the whole attempt to support higher education even by endowment is made today exceedingly uncertain by the industrial changes brought about partly by world war and partly by far-reaching economic revolution. Millions of dollars of former endowment funds are today worthless from these causes and the future of the endowed college, as I have said before, looks very uncertain.

Wilberforce as a State School

The second possibility is one from which Wilberforce and its constituency has always recoiled but I think you will have to look it straight in the face and that is for Wilberforce University to become a full-fledged state school. There is an example before you of a state colored college to which I beg your careful attention. In 1832, Richard Humphries, a white Quaker, who was once a West Indian slave-owner was living in Philadelphia. On his death he left $10,000 to found an institution for Negroes. Negroes were at that time excluded from the public schools and colleges of that State. His money went to found the Institute for Colored Youth and from that time until after the Civil War, that Institute was one of the best colored high schools of the United States and trained some of our most distinguished leaders The wife of a bishop of this church was long its honored principal.

After the Civil War, however, Negroes were gradually admitted to all the schools and colleges of Pennsylvania. The endowment of the Colored Institute was too small to support it and the attendance not large. The trustees finally moved the school out into the country to Cheyney and established it on an excellent site. Then came the question of support. The new principal, Leslie P. Hill, struggled for years, passing the hat to colored people and white in order to support this school which was now a teacher-training school. He could not get enough money. But the number of his students, attracted by good teaching and pleasant surroundings and repelled from other schools by social ostracism, increased. At last it was clear that either the school must close or the state must support it. Hill, therefore, asked that Cheyney become a recognized state teacher-training school and college.

The colored people of Pennsylvania literally raised hell. They accused Hill of deliberate encouragement of segregation and of an attempt to lower the standard of Negro education. I once went down to Philadelphia to argue in support of Hill's proposition. I shall not soon forget the bitterness with which I was assailed. Nevertheless, Cheyney today is a state college adequately supported from public taxes and perhaps the most beautifully housed of any of our schools with an excellent group of well-paid teachers. Colored students still attend the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Pittsburgh, and the other

state normal schools; but in addition to that they attend Cheyney; and the net result of making Cheyney a state school is to my mind thoroughly vindicated.

If Wilberforce should become a state university, it need not and indeed according to the letter of its charter it cannot ever become an exclusively colored school. The charter of Wilberforce University said from the beginning in 1863 "There shall never be any distinction among the trustees, faculty, or students on account of race or color." Added to this comes the constitution of the State of Ohio which prohibits the establishment of a purely racial school.

But there is no reason why an institution of higher learning like Wilberforce University should not be established here depending entirely upon State and Federal appropriations and student fees; that these appropriations instead of being as they are today too small for the establishment of a first-class educational institution become larger and larger, as there is developed here the will and ability to use them in the right way.

There is no reason why a predominantly colored faculty and colored student body should not constitute Wilberforce University and yet gradually raise itself to be the equal in every respect of any institution in this State or in the United States; thus proving to a skeptical generation that color is not connected with ability or honesty. When the time comes in the future, as it may well come, that white persons would be appointed now and then to the teaching force here and white students appear in the student body, it might also happen that colored men would be appointed to the faculty of Ohio State University and colored students continue to be received there, but not as mere outsiders, not as pariahs, but as integral and welcome members of the institution.

I believe that this is the logical and right way to settle the difficulties and recurring upheavals at Wilberforce University. And I believe this because recently in spite of all the difficulties which have faced the university administration it has received from an independent and not over-friendly authority gratifying testimony as to what can be done at this institution, if the institution is organized and can function as a university should.

Educational Recognition

I do not think that the A. M. E. Church and the Wilberforce constituency realize what it has meant that for eighty-four years Wilberforce University has had no recognized standing in the United States as an educational institution. It has had sympathy; it has been commended for hard effort but its standing has not been officially recognized. The bachelor's degree of Wilberforce University has never been sufficient to admit its possessor to recognized standing in a single institution of the world. Now this is serious. How serious it is can only be known by those acquainted with the present standards and methods of education. In Europe such an institution would not be allowed to confer degrees at all and in the United States until 1939 the Wilberforce degree was nationally discounted. Today for the first time in its history Wilberforce has received recognition, conditional to be sure, but official recognition that its degrees

are reaching the national standard. Educationally this is the greatest accomplishment in the history of Wilberforce University.

In 1935, the officials of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools made a careful investigation; they noted particularly this difficulty which I have stressed of two institutions with double control; with clashes of personalities, political interference and lack of funds. Four years later they came back. They generously recorded the fact that great improvement had been made; that through the efforts of the president who had made vital changes in the faculty, the clash of personalities had been abated; the teaching force had been strengthened; the library had been strikingly improved; and the general business administration was better. They said that while this pronounced progress had been accomplished that they could not at present recommend the admission of Wilberforce to the North Central Association.

Despite this, however, the Board of Review of the Commission on Higher Education, while recognizing that Wilberforce was still confronted with the same difficult problems, decided nevertheless to accredit the institution subject to the supervision of a committee which was to make annual reports in 1940, 1941 and 1942.

The University, therefore, for the first time in its history has received conditional recognition as a standard institution.*

Following this, a special committee report for the first of the trial years, 1940, records still continued improvement and "tangible evidence of an increased unity of purpose within the institution." It believes that Wilberforce is making reasonable progress in general and looks forward to the permanent accrediting of the institution after 1942; but the committee is still apprehensive because of threatened political interference. The interference has taken place. Through new legislation, a new state board comes into control. The balance of power swings toward the State, while the Presidency is still in the hands of the Church. The new board, over the president's recommendations, appoints and dismisses teachers. This throws the institution back again to the fundamental problem of putting a permanent end to this double control and of ceasing to make Wilberforce the football of partisan politics, whether this situation arises from dabbling in politics by Wilberforce officials or from outside politicians muscling in.

In either and both cases, an aroused public opinion, with stern rebuke of this cheapening and frustration of the great objects of an old and respected institution can set the present muddle

* The committee of examiners of March, 1939, "despite the pronounced development which has taken place at Wilberforce University during the three years of President Walker's administration," nevertheless "find themselves constrained regretfully to recommend to the Board of Review that Wilberforce University be not at present included in the membership list of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools."

However the Board of Review of the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education decided to "accredit the institution subject to the guidance of a committee which will make an annual report in 1940, and in 1941, and a final report in 1942." Unless conditions improved, the Board of Review will then "find it necessary to give further consideration to the retention of Wilberforce University on the list of accredited institutions."

straight and start the program which I have indicated.

The Wilberforce Community

But Wilberforce is more than a school and its problems transcend the Church. It is not simply a community; it is not simply the educational capital of three-quarters of a million people united in a great and powerful organization; it is, or ought to be, one of the main centers out of which trained and scientific guidance for twelve million people could come. Now the chief present problem of these twelve millions today is the matter of employment at a wage which will allow them to live like civilized human beings. In the present increasing turmoil of the world, there must eventually come, on the part of leading nations, a wide and fundamental readjustment of economic organization and industrial life and work and wage. Some of you assume that when this reorganization comes you are going automatically to inherit what belongs to you; but this will not happen unless you plan for yourselves in accordance with the best thought and training of the day.

That means that around Wilberforce as a community there should begin to grow a thriving self-supporting body of citizens, well-trained in science and art, abreast with the world in thought, raising their own food, building their own homes and beginning to manufacture the clothes and other articles that they use; and that this independent economy, separate from the school and yet nourishing it, racial and yet broadly interracial, should spread out through Greene County and Ohio and the Nation.

There should begin here that necessary and fateful organization of consumer power which once rescued Denmark and Sweden and is the only way out for the economic independence and physical survival of the Negro.

This program which you should organize and plan today was begun for you more than a century ago when the colored people of Cincinnati rose up against their impossible surroundings called the first national convention of the Negroes in 1831 and began that mass migration to Canada which was the greatest movement among Negroes before the Civil War. Wilberforce University arose on the echo of the Cincinnati effort and if it ever finally succeeds, it will be because building upon that past it goes forward into an economic future starting here and developing into a community life high in thought, scientific in planning, and unselfish in deed.

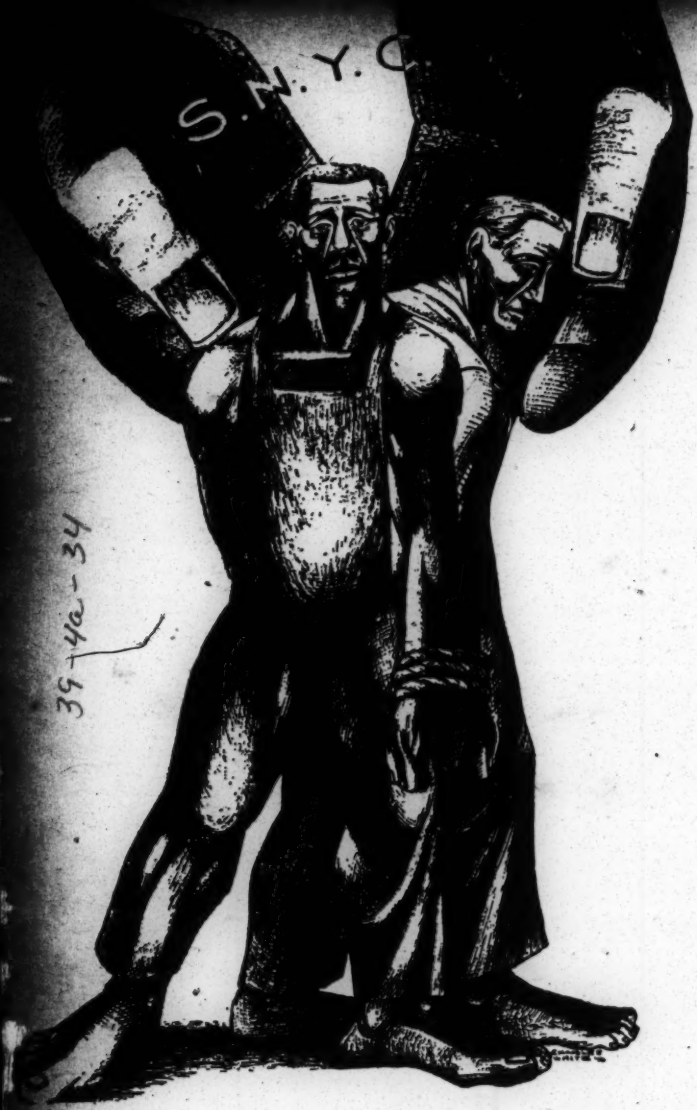
Envoi

Gentlemen and ladies of the graduating classes: I have said little today directly to you, whose day of celebration this is. I have talked to your elders and to those set in authority over you. But every word I have uttered is indirectly for you. For yours is the kingdom and the power and the glory, forever. Your fathers will tell you that what I advise and plan is impossible. They are right. It is impossible. But The Impossible is just what you have got to do to save Wilberforce; and believe me when I say, out of the depth of years and the lore of centuries: This is a world where many times, the Impossible has been triumphantly achieved.

"Awake, awake, put on thy strength; O, Zion, put on thy beautiful robes."

BEHOLD THE LAND

Address of October 20, 1946 at Southern Negro Youth Congress, Columbia, South Carolina
Published by Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Alabama, 1946
Pamphlet



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BEHOLD THE LAND

By Dr. W. E. B. Du BOIS

NOTE

The text of this pamphlet was delivered in Columbia, S. C. October 20, 1946, as the principal address at the closing session of the Southern Youth Legislature, sponsored by the Southern Negro Youth Congress. This publication is part of the official proceedings of that meeting, the seventh south-wide conference of the S.N.Y.C.

Published by

SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS

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Birmingham 3, Alabama

PREFACE

The text which follows, for all its brevity, or possibly because of it, bears all the marks of a classic statement of one of America's most persistent problems. In slightly more than two thousand words, the author, with the incomparably brilliant insight which characterizes all his works, illuminates the basic nature of the social, political and economic life of the South.

As notable as his analysis of socio-economic forces in the South, is Dr. DuBois' hardly-equalled appeal and challenge to the South's youth, white and black. With the full force of his great intellectual and combative powers, the renowned scholar, teacher, and people's leader sounds the democratic tocsin for the emerging generation.

And these two salient features of the work—the analysis of the South's condition and the exhortation to its youth—are couched in language whose grandeur and simplicity explain why Dr. DuBois is regarded as one of the great literary stylists of our times.

The reader will be interested in the circumstances under which the address was delivered. At the closing public session of the Southern Youth Legislature, 861 young delegates Negro and white, crowded into Antisdel Chapel of Benedict College in Columbia, South Carolina. They were joined by a large and sympathetic public who stood in the isles, jammed the doors and listened through loudspeakers outside the auditorium.

A hush fell over the audience as youth prepared to express "the great obligation of reverence and respect which (they) cherish for . . . the senior statesman of the American

Negro's liberation struggle . . . the noble and peerless patriarch of our steady climb out of slavery's darkness into the light of full freedom."

Softly, the Organ swelled with the tones of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." And throughout the spellbound room a Voice was heard to say:

White Men said that Black Men could never be their equals because they were the Sons of the condemned Ham; and many Black Men believed them.

But in frosty New England a Hamite was born who did not believe the White Men. His mother named him William Edward Burghardt and his family's name was DuBois. William at an early age decided to prove the White Men LIARS *by attaining a wisdom and a culture equal to that of the most learned among them.*

Thus armed, he said to the White Men, "Am I not the equal of your finest?" But the White Men scoffingly replied: "You are a phenomenon, a miracle, an accident. Can you not see that your fellows are still 'hewers of wood and drawers of water?' Cannot you see that you are alone?"

And William was sorely hurt and disappointed. However, other Hamites had been inspired by his aim and determination. These he called around him and bound them together as the Talented Tenth and gave them a mission to create a Movement with the force of Niagara to fight for the recognition of the equality of Black Men.

William was no longer alone; but his group was alone. And the White Men when asked for equality for Black Men still pointed to the countless Black Men who could not solve the mysteries of the symbols which made sound and those which determined measures.

William was challenged.

And down from the Ivory Towers of the Talented Tenth came swiftly the sensitive, suffering, crusading William; down from the Ivory Towers to the Good Earth. Here he mingled with the laborers of the fields, of the mines, of the factories; laborers who stank with sweat made sweet by honest toil. He touched them tenderly, passionately, brotherly.

He asked them to let him join them in the struggle for their daily bread and a fuller life; and to join with him in the great struggle for Equality.

They smiled him a warm welcome.

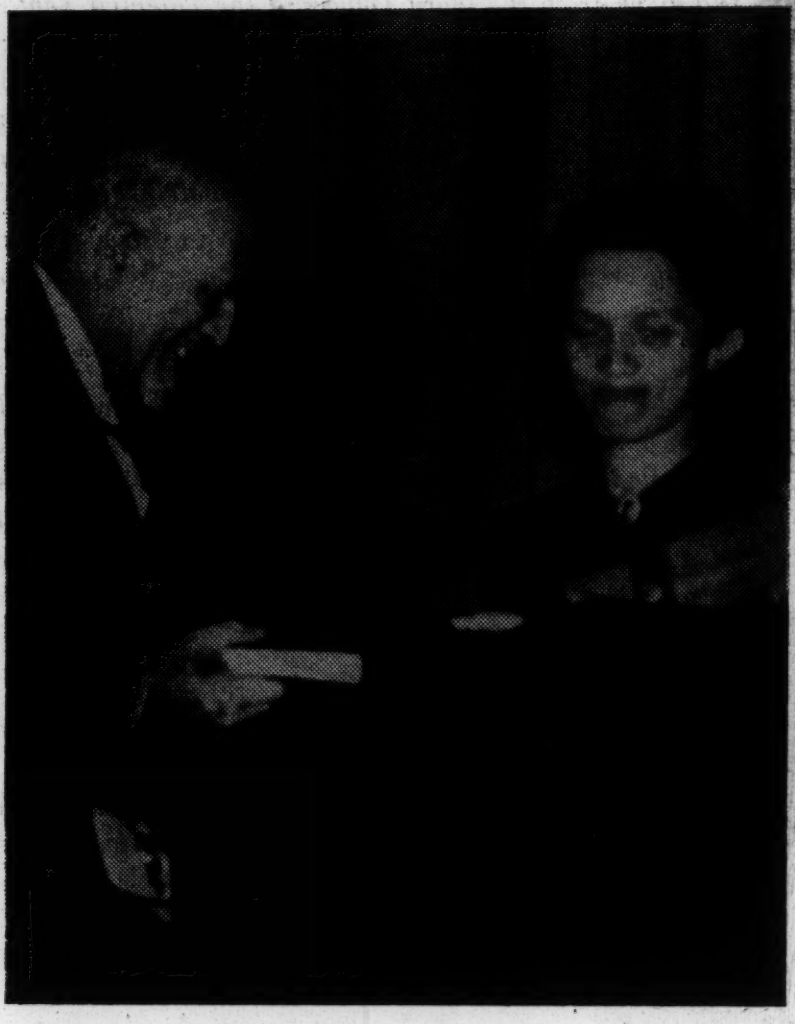
Then he turned to the Talented Tenth who had watched him with misgiving and cried: "I am now without *the Veil! The Talented Tenth Alone will never prove the White Men* liars. *But with* all *of us working together the truth will establish itself. Together we can challenge destiny and move the Earth; separately each of us shall perish!"*

A voice in the multitude cried, "Close Ranks!"

And God smiled.

As the Voice and the Organ returned the chapel to a tense silence, Dr. DuBois rose to the accompaniment of enthusiastic applause and received from the hands of Miss Esther Cooper, retiring executive secretary of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, youth's award for his "unparalleled achievements . . . monumental labors . . . and principled struggle . . . on behalf of the Negro people of the United States and the unfree peoples of all the world . . ."

Setting aside a book of reverence signed by all the delegates of the Southern Youth Legislature, Dr. DuBois then delivered the address which follows.



Dr. W. E. B. DuBois is shown receiving a *Book of Reverence* from Esther V. Cooper at the closing session of the Southern Youth Legislature.

BEHOLD THE LAND

BY

Dr. W. E. B. Du BOIS

The future of American Negroes is in the South. Here three hundred and twenty-seven years ago, they began to enter what is now the United States of America; here they have made their greatest contribution to American culture; and here they have suffered the damnation of slavery, the frustration of reconstruction and the lynching of emancipation. I trust then that an organization like yours is going to regard the South as the battle-ground of a great crusade. Here is the magnificent climate; here is the fruitful earth under the beauty of the Southern sun; and here if anywhere on earth, is the need of the thinker, the worker and the dreamer. This is the firing line not simply for the emancipation of the American Negro but for the emancipation of the African Negro and the Negroes of the West Indies; for the emancipation of the colored races; and for the emancipation of the white slaves of modern capitalistic monopoly.

ALLIES IN THE WHITE SOUTH

Remember here, too, that you do not stand alone. It may seem like a failing fight when the newspapers ignore you; when every effort is made by white people in the South to count you out of citizenship and to act as though you did not exist as human beings while all the time they are profiting by your labor; gleaning wealth from your sacrifices and trying to build a nation and a civilization upon your degra-

dation. You must remember that despite all this, you have allies and allies even in the white South. First and greatest of these possible allies are the white working classes about you. The poor whites whom you have been taught to despise and who in turn have learned to fear and hate you. This must not deter you from efforts to make them understand, because in the past in their ignorance and suffering they have been led foolishly to look upon you as the cause of most of their distress. You must remember that this attitude is hereditary from slavery and that it has been deliberately cultivated ever since emancipation.

Slowly but surely the working people of the South, white and black, must come to remember that their emancipation depends upon their mutual cooperation; upon their acquaintanceship with each other; upon their friendship; upon their social intermingling. Unless this happens each is going to be made the football to break the heads and hearts of the other.

WHITE YOUTH IS FRUSTRATED

White youth in the South is peculiarly frustrated. There is not a single great ideal which they can express or aspire to, that does not bring them into flat contradiction with the Negro problem. The more they try to escape it, the more they land into hypocrisy, lying and double-dealing; the more they become, what they least wish to become, the oppressors and despisers of human beings. Some of them, in larger and larger numbers, are bound to turn toward the truth and to

recognize you as brothers and sisters, as fellow travellers toward the dawn.

"JAMES BYRNES, THE FAVORITE SON OF THIS COMMONWEALTH"

There has always been in the South that intellectual elite who saw the Negro problem clearly. They have always lacked and some still lack the courage to stand up for what they know is right. Nevertheless they can be depended on in the long run to follow their own clear thinking and their own decent choice. Finally even the politicians must eventually recognize the trend in the world, in this country, and in the South. James Byrnes, that favorite son of this commonwealth, and Secretary of State of the United States, is today occupying an indefensible and impossible position; and if he survives in the memory of men, he must begin to help establish in his own South Carolina something of that democracy which he has been recently so loudly preaching to Russia. He is the end of a long series of men whose eternal damnation is the fact that they looked *truth* in the face and did not see it; John C. Calhoun, Wade Hampton, Ben Tillman are men whose names must ever be besmirched by the fact that they fought against freedom and democracy in a land which was founded upon Democracy and Freedom.

Eventually this class of men must yield to the writing in the stars. That great hypocrite, Jan Smuts, who today is talking of humanity and standing beside Byrnes for a United Nations, is at the same time, oppressing the black people of Africa to an extent which makes their two countries, South Africa and the Southern South, the most reactionary peoples on earth. Peoples whose exploitation of the poor and helpless reaches the last degree of shame. They must in the long run yield to the forward march of civilization or die.

WHAT DOES THE FIGHT MEAN

If now you young people instead of running away from the battle here in Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi, instead of seeking freedom and opportunity in Chicago and New York—which do spell opportunity—nevertheless grit your teeth and make up your minds to fight it our right here if it takes every day of your lives and the lives of your children's children; if you do this, you must in meetings like this ask yourselves what does the fight mean? How can it be carried on? What are the best tools, arms, and methods? And where does it lead?

I should be the last to insist that the uplift of mankind never calls for force and death. There are times, as both you and I know, when

> "Tho' love repine and reason chafe,
> There came a voice without reply,
> 'Tis man's perdition to be safe
> When for the truth he ought to die."

At the same time and even more clearly in a day like this, after the millions of mass murders that have been done in the world since 1914, we ought to be the last to believe that force is ever the final word. We cannot escape the clear fact that what is going to win in this world is reason if this ever becomes a reasonable world. The careful reasoning of the human mind backed by the facts of science is the one salvation of man. The world, if it resumes its march toward

civilization, cannot ignore reason. This has been the tragedy of the South in the past; it is still its awful and unforgivable sin that it has set its face against reason and against the fact. It tried to build slavery upon freedom; it tried to build tyranny upon democracy; it tried to build mob violence on law and law on lynching and in all that despicable endeavor, the state of South Carolina has led the South for a century. It began not the Civil War—not the War between the States—but the War to Preserve Slavery; it began mob violence and lynching and today it stands in the front rank of those defying the Supreme Court on disfranchisement.

Nevertheless reason can and will prevail; but of course it can only prevail with publicity—pitiless, blatant publicity. You have got to make the people of the United States and of the world know what is going on in the South. You have got to use every field of publicity to force the truth into their ears, and before their eyes. You have got to make it impossible for any human being to live in the South and not realize the barbarities that prevail here. You may be condemned for flamboyant methods; for calling a congress like this; for waving your grievances under the noses and in the faces of men. That makes no difference; it is your duty to do it. It is your duty to do more of this sort of thing than you have done in the past. As a result of this you are going to be called upon for sacrifice. It is no easy thing for a young black man or a young black woman to live in the South today and to plan to continue to live here; to marry and raise children; to establish a home. They are in the midst of legal caste and customary insults; they are in continuous danger of mob violence; they are mistreated by the officers of the law and they have no hearing before the

courts and the churches and public opinion commensurate with the attention which they ought to receive. But that sacrifice is only the Beginning of Battle, you must re-build this South.

There are enormous opportunities here for a new nation, a new Economy, a new culture in a South really new and not a mere renewal of an old South of slavery, monopoly and race hate. There is a chance for a new cooperative agriculture on renewed land owned by the State with capital furnished by the State, mechanized and coordinated with city life. There is chance for strong, virile Trade Unions without race discrimination, with high wage, closed shop and decent conditions of work, to beat back and hold in check the swarm of landlords, monopolists and profiteers who are today sucking the blood out of this land. There is chance for cooperative industry, built on the cheap power of T.V.A. and its future extensions. There is opportunity to organize and mechanize domestic service with decent hours, and high wage and dignified training.

"BEHOLD THE LAND"

There is a vast field for consumers cooperation, building business on public service and not on private profit as the main-spring of industry. There is chance for a broad, sunny, healthy home life, shorn of the fear of mobs and liquor, and rescued from lying, stealing politicians, who build their deviltry on race prejudice.

Here in this South is the gateway to the colored millions of the West Indies, Central and South America. Here is the straight path to Africa, the Indies, China and the South Seas. Here is the Path to the Greater, Freer truer World. It would be shame and cowardice to surrender this glorious land and its opportunities for civilization and humanity to the thugs and lynchers, the mobs and profiteers, the monopolists and gamblers who today choke its soul and steal its resources. The oil and sulphur; the coal and iron; the cotton and corn; the lumber and cattle belong to you the workers, black and white, and not to the thieves who hold them and use them to enslave you. They can be rescued and restored to the people if you have the guts to strive for the real right to vote, the right to real education, the right to happiness and health and the total abolition of the father of these scourges of mankind, *poverty.*

THE GREAT SACRIFICE

"Behold the beautiful land which the Lord thy God hath given thee." Behold the land, the rich and resourceful land, from which for a hundred years its best elements have been running away, its youth and hope, black and white, scurrying North because they are afraid of each other, and dare not face a future of equal, independent, upstanding human beings, in a real and not a sham democracy.

To rescue this land, in this way, calls for the *Great Sacrifice;* This is the thing that you are called upon to do because it is the right thing to do. Because you are embarked upon a great and holy crusade, the emancipation of mankind black and white; the upbuilding of democracy; the breaking down, particularly here in the South, of forces of evil represented by race prejudice in South Carolina; by Lynching in Georgia;

by disfranchisement in Mississippi; by ignorance in Louisiana and by all these and monopoly of wealth in the whole South.

There could be no more splendid vocation beckoning to the youth of the twentieth century, after the flat failures of white civilization, after the flamboyant establishment of an industrial system which creates poverty and the children of poverty which are ignorance and disease and crime; after the crazy boasting of a white culture that finally ended in wars which ruined civilization in the whole world; in the midst of allied peoples who have yelled about democracy and never practised it either in the British Empire or in the American Commonwealth or in South Carolina.

Here is the chance for young women and young men of devotion to lift again the banner of humanity and to walk toward a civilization which will be free and intelligent; which will be healthy and unafraid; and build in the world a culture led by black folk and joined by peoples of all colors and all races—without poverty, ignorance and disease!

Once a great German poet cried: "Selig der den Er in Sieges Glanze findet."

"Happy man whom Death shall find in Victory's splendor."

But I know a happier one: he who fights in despair and in defeat still fights. Singing with Arna Bontemps the quiet, determined philosophy of undefeatable men:

"I thought I saw an angel flying low,

I thought I saw the flicker of a wing
Above the mulberry trees; but not again,
Bethesda sleeps. This ancient pool that healed
A Host of bearded Jews does not awake.
This pool that once the angels troubled does not move.
No angel stirs it now, no Saviour comes
With healing in His hands to raise the sick
and bid the lame man leap upon the ground.

The golden days are gone. Why do we wait
So long upon the marble steps, blood
Falling from our open wounds? and why
Do our black faces search the empty sky?
Is there something we have forgotten? Some precious thing
We have lost, wandering in strange lands?

There was a day, I remember now,
I beat my breast and cried, "Wash me God,"
Wash me with a wave of wind upon
The barley; O quiet one, draw near, draw near!
Walk upon the hills with lovely feet
And in the waterfall stand and speak!

W. E. B. Du Bois

BOOKS BY DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

1. Suppression of the African Slave Trade, 1896
2. The Philadelphia Negro, 1899
3. The Souls of Black Folk, 1903
4. John Brown, 1909
5. Quest of the Silver Fleece, 1911
6. The Negro, 1915
7. Darkwater, 1920
8. The Gift of Black Folk, 1924
9. Dark Princess, 1927
10. Black Reconstruction, 1935
11. Black Folk: Then and Now, 1939
12. Dusk of Dawn, 1940
13. Color and Colonies, 1945

JOIN TODAY — GIVE TODAY

What the future holds for Negro youth of the South—and, in large measure, for American democracy and world peace—depends on *you.* For almost ten years now (since February, 1937), young Southerners have been making a signal contribution to the growth of democracy through the South's foremost progressive youth organizations:

THE SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS

You cannot afford to sit this one out.

In urban centers, rural areas and on college campuses, the crusade proceeds in the fields of citizenship education, veterans' welfare, cultural expression, vocational training and interracial unity. The aims of the SNYC are the simple aims of the vast majority of American citizens. By filling in the blank below and sending your membership and contribution you can help achieve our democratic heritage of

EDUCATION JOBS FRANCHISE PEACE

Southern Negro Youth Congress
526 Masonic Temple Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

.....1947

☐ Please find enclosed my fee ($1.00) for membership for one year.

☐ Please find enclosed my contribution of $.....

☐ I also pledge $.....(monthly, quarterly).

.....

Name

.....

Street and No. City Zone State

THE BLACK UNITED STATES: A STUDY OF THE DESCENDANTS OF AFRICANS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Draft manuscripts and fragments
1950

THE BLACK UNITED STATES

A STORY OF THE DESCENDANTS OF AFRICANS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

35-4-172

1. The Negro Group

There were in the United States of America in 1940, 12,865,518 native born citizens, something less than a tenth of the nation, who form largely a segregated caste, with restricted legal rights, and many illegal disabilities. The growth of the populat on in the nation has been steady. When the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, declared "all men equal" there were a half million black slaves in the future United States or nearly a fifth of the total population. At the beginning of the 19th century there were one million Negroes who increased to three and one-half million by 1850; in 1900 there were 8,8 00,000 and today about 15,000,000. This group is mostly descendants of the Africans brought to America during the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and reduced to slave labor. It has no complete biological unity, bur varies in color from white to black, and comprised a great variety of physical characteristics, since many are the offspring of white European-Americans as well a s Africans and American Indians. There are a large number of white Americans who also descend from Negroes but who a re not counted in the colored group nor subjected to caste restrictions because the preponderance of white blood conceals their descent.

The so-called American Negro group, therefore, while it is in no sense absolutely set off physically from its fellow Americans has nevertheless a strong, hereditary cultural unity, born of slavery, of common suffering, pro-longed proscription and curtailment of political and civil rights; and especially because of economic and social disabilities. Largely from this fact, have arisen their cultural gifts to America--their rhythm, music and

folk-song; their religious faith and customs; their contribution to American art and literature; their defense of their country in every war, on land, sea and in the air; and especially the hard, continuous toil upon which the prosperity and wealth of this continent has largely been built.

NOTE Some parts of this pamphlet have appe red before in the "Appeal to the World" edited by the author and presented to the United Nations by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1947.

2. Slavery

Slavery in America is a strange and contradictory story. It cannot be regarded as mainly either a theoretical problem of morals or a scientific problem of race. From either of these points of view, the rise of slavery in America is simply inexplicable. Looking at the facts frankly, slavery evidently was a matter of economics, a question of income and labor, rather than a problem of right and wrong, or of the physical differences in men. Once slavery began to be the source of vast income for men and nations, there followed frantic search for moral and racial justifications. Such excuses were found and men did not inquire too carefully into either their logic or truth.

35-4-173.

The twenty Negroes brought to Virginia in 1619, were not the first who had landed on this continent. For a century small numbers of Negroes had been arriving as servants, as laborers, as free adventurers. The Southwestern part of the present United States was first traversed by four explorers of whom one was an African Negro. Negroes accompanied early explorers like D'Ayllon and Menendez in the southeastern United States. But just as the earlier black visitors to the West Indies were servants and adventurers and then later began to appear as laborers on the sugar plantations, so in Virginia, these imported black laborers in 1619 and after, came to be wanted for the raising of tobacco which was the money crop.

In the minds of the early planters, there was no distinction as to labor whether it was white or black; in law there was at first no discrimination.

But as imported white labor became scarcer and more protected by law, it became less profitable than Negro labor which flooded the markets because of European slave traders, internal strife in Africa; and because in America the Negroes were increasingly stripped of legal defense. For these reasons America became a land of black slavery, and there arose first, the fabulously rich sugar empire; then the cotton kingdom, and finally colonial imperialism.

3. Revolt and Escape

Then came the inevitable fight between free labor and democracy on the one hand, and slave labor with its huge profits on the other. Black slaves were the spear-head of this fight. They were the first in America to stage the "sit-down" strike, to slow up and sabotage the work of the plantation. They revolted time after time. In addition to serious and widely publicized revolts in 1739, 1800, and 1822 and 1831, there were according to Aptheker, at least 250 revolts and conspiracies in the history of American Negro slavery. The enacted laws against slave revolt are unanswerable testimony as to what these revolts meant all over America.

35-4174

The slaves themselves especially imperiled the whole slave system by escape from slavery. It was the fugitive slave more then the slave revolt, which finally threatened investment and income; and the organisation for helping fugitive slaves through Free Northern Negroes and their white friends, in the guise of an underground movement, was of tremendous influence.

Finally it was the Negro soldier as a co-fighter with the white for independence from the British economic empire which began emancipation. The English bid for his help and the colonials, against their first impulse, had to bid in return and virtually to promise the Negro soldier freedom after the Revolutionary War. It was for the protection of American Negro sailors as well as white that the War of 1812 was precipitated and, after independence from England was accomplished, freedom for the black laboring class, and enfranchisement for whites and blacks was in sight.

In the meantime, however, white labor had continued to regard the United States as a place of refuge; as a place for free land; for continuous

employment and high wage; for freedom of thought and faith. It was here, however, that employers intervened; not because of any moral obliquity but because the Industrial Revolution, based upon the crops raised by slave labor in the Caribbean and in the Southern United States, was made possible by world trade and a new and astonishing technique; and finally was made triumphant by a vast transportation of slave labor through the British slave-trade in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

35-4-175

4. Civil War

This new mass of slaves became competitors of white labor and drove white labor for refuge into the arms of employers, whose interest were founded on slave labor. The doctrine of race inferiority was used to convince white labor that they had the right to be free and to vote, while the Negroes must be slaves or depress the wage of whites; western free soil became additional lure and compensation, if it could be restricted to free labor.

On the other hand, the fight of the slave-holders against democracy increased with the spread of the wealth and power of the Cotton Kingdom. Through political power based on slaves they became the dominant political force in the United States; they were successful in expanding into Mexico and tried to penetrate the Caribbean. Finally they demandedfor slavery a part of the free soil of the West, and because of this last excessive, and in fact impossible effort, a Civil War to preserve and extend slavery ensued.

This fight for slave labor was echoed in the law. The free Negro was systematically discouraged, disfranchised and reduced to serfdom. He became by law the easy victim of the kidnapper and liable to treatment as a fugitive slave. The Church, influenced by wealth and respectability, was predominately on the side of the slave owner and effort was made to make the degradation of the Negro, as a race, final by Supreme Court decision.

But from the beginning, the outcome of the Civil War was inevitable and this not mainly on account of the predominant wealth and power of the North;

it was because of the clear fact that the Southern slave economy was built on black labor. If at any time the slaves or any large part of them was as workers to cease to support the South; and if even more decisively, as fighters they joined the North, there was no way in the world for the South to win. Just as soon than as slaves became spies for the invading Northern armies; laborers for their camps and fortifications, and finally produced 200,000 trained and efficient soldiers with arms in their hands, and with the possibility of a million more, the fate of the slave South was sealed.

35-4-176

5. Reconstruction

Victory however brought dilemma; if victory meant full economic freedom for labor in the South, white and black; if it meant land and education, and eventually votes, then the slave empire was doomed, and the profits of Northern industry built on the Southern slave foundation would also be seriously curtailed. Northern industry had a stake in the Cotton Kingdom and in the cheap slave labor that supported it. It had expanded for war industries during the fighting, encouraged by government subsidyy and eventually protected by a huge tariff rampart. When war profits declined there was still prospect of tremendous post war profits on cotton and other products of Southern agriculture. Therefore, what the North wanted was not freedom and higher wage for black labor, but its controly under such forms of law as would keep it cheap; and also stop its open competition with Northern labor. The moral protest of abolitionists must be appeased but profitable industry was determined to control wages and governm nt.

The result was an attempt at Reconstruction in which black labor established schools; tried to divide up the land and put a new social legislation in force. On the other hand, the power of Southern land-owners soon joined with Northern industry to disfranchise the Negro , to keep from access to free land or to capital, and to build up the present caste system for blacks founded on color discri ination, peonage, intimidation and mob-violence.

6. Caste

It is this fact that underlies many of the contradictions in the social and political development of the United States since the Civil War. Despite our resources and our miraculous technique; despite comparatively high wage paid many of our workers and their consequent high standard of living, we are nevertheless ruled by wealth, monopoly and big business organizations to an astounding degree. Our railway transportation is built upon monumental economic injustice both to passengers, shippers and to different sections of the land. The monopoly of land and natural resources throughout the United States both in cities, and in farming districts is a disgraceful aftermath to the vast land heritage with which this nation started.

35-4-177

The United States has always professed to be a Democracy. She has never wholly attained her ideal, but slowly she has approached, it. The privilege of voting has in time been widened by abolishing limitations of birth, religion and lack of property. After the Civil War, which abolished slavery, the nation in gratitude to the black soldiers and laborers who helped win that war, sought to admit to the suffrage all persons without distinction of "race, color or previous condition of servitude." They were warned by the great leaders of abolition, like Sumner, Stevens and Douglass, that this could only be effective, if the Freedmen were given schools, land and some minimum of capital. A Freedmen's Bureau to furnish these prerequisites to effective citizenship was planned and put into partial operation. But Congress and the nation, weary of the costs of war and eager to get back to profitable industry, refused the necessary funds. The effort died, but in order to restore friendly civil government in the South the enfranchised Freedman, seventy-five per cent illiterate, without land or tools, was thrown into competitive industry with a ballot in his hands. By herculean effort, helped by philanthropy and his own hard work, the Negro built a school system, bought land and cooperated in starting a new economic order not simply for himself but for the whole South.

In a generation he had reduced his illiteracy by half and had become a wage-earning laborer and share-cropper. He developed a number of able educated and resourceful leaders. He still was handicapped by poverty, disease and crime, but nevertheless the rise of the American Negro from slavery in 1860 to freedom in 1880, has few parallels in modern history.

However, opposition to any democracy which included the Negro race on any terms was so strong in the former slave-holding South, and found so much sympathy in large parts of the rest of the nation, that despite notable improvement in the condition of the Negro by every standard of social measurement, the effort to deprive Negroes of the right to vote succeeded. At first he was driven from the polls in the South by mobs and violence; and then he was openly cheated; finally by a "Gentlemen's agreement" with the North, the Negro was disfranchised in the South by a series of l ws, methods of administration, court decisions and general public policy, so that today half of the Negro population of the nation is deprived of the right to vote by open and declared policy.

35-4178

In 1876, the democratic process of government was crippled throughout the whole nation. This came about not simply through the disfranchisement of Negroes but through the fact that the political power of the disfranchised Negroes and of a large number of equally disfranchised whites was preserved as the basis of political power, but the wielding of that power was left in the hands and under the control of the successors to the planter dynasty in the South.

Most persons seem to regard this as simply unfortunate for Negroes, as depriving a modern working class of the minimum rights for self-protection and opportunity for progress. This is true as has been shown in poor educational opportunities, discrimination in work, health protection and in the courts. But the situation is far more serious than this: the disfranchisement of the American Negro makes the functioning of all democracy in the nation

difficult; and as democracy fails to funtion in the leading democracy in the world, it fails in the world.

The representation of the people in the Congress of the United States is based on population; members of the House of Representatives are elected by groups of approximately 275,000 to 300,000 persons living in 435 Congressional Districts. Naturally difficulties ofdivision within state boundaries, unequal growth of population, migration from year to year, and slow adjustment to these and other changes, makes equal population of these districts only approximate; but unless by and large, and in the long run, essential equality is maintained, the whole basis of democratic representation is marred and as in the celebrated "rotten borough" cases in England in the nineteenth century, representation must be eventually equalized or democracy relapses into oligarchy or even fascism.

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This is exactly what threatens the United States today because of the unjust disfranchisement of the Negro and the use of his numerical presence to increase the political power of his enemies and of the enemies of democracy. The nation does not have the courage or power to eliminate from citizenship all persons of Negro descent and thus try to restore slavery. It therefore makes its democracy unworkable by paradox and contradiction.

7. The American Negro

The world will not forget that the population of this group makes it in size one of the considerable nations of the world. We number as many as the inhabitants of the Argentine or Czechoslovakia, or the whole of Scandinavia including Sweden, Norway and Denmark. We are very nearly the size of Egypt, Rumania and Yugoslavia. We are larger than Canada, Saudi Arabia, Ethiopia, Hungary or the Netherlands. We have twice as many persons as Australia or Switzerland, and more than the whole Union of South Africa. We have more people than Portugal or Peru; twice as many as Greece and nearly as many as Turkey. We have more people by far than Belgium and half as many as Korea

or Spain. In sheer numbers than we are agroup which has a right to be heard.

The history of the American Negro since 1900 has been the story of a segregated labor group living under caste conditions and seeking full citizenship by its own efforts and the help of white friends. After disfranchisement and caste laws became crystalised about 1885, the Negro put his faith in mass education, in public and mission schools, under the leadership of a dozen colleges supported by the Negroes themselves and Northern white philanthropy. The white South feared this growth of Negro higher education and supported Booker T. Washington and his plan for developing a trained Negro working class. This program however tended to accept disfranchisement and caste without resistence and beginning in 1905, the Niagara movement of young educated radical Negroes opposed it and developed it into the National Asspociation for the Advancement of Colored People, formed in 1910 of Negroes and whites. This organization has dominated the struggle of American Negroes from 1910 until today. Meantime the mass of Negroes sought emancipation in migration from South to North and even to Africa; in seeking admittance to Trade Unions which was a slow process, not yet fully attained; by inner group organization in Churches and fraternities and economic & comsumers movements. They began at Atlanta University scientific study of their condition. Their efforts were opposed by violence and lynching, repressive legislation and scientific race theories of inferiority.

A great change came with the First World War, in which Negro Soldiers had to be accepted as soldiers and officers after bitter agitation. After the war came sharp reaction with mounting riots and mob violence and attempts to strengthen caste. In one "Red Summer" of 1919, there were 25 race riots including one in the capital, Washingt n and a bloody clash in Chicago. The Ku Klux Klan was widely revived. The Negroes fought back with their increased political power in the North, their newspapers and magazines, led by the

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CRISIS. They gained in wider empoloyment, entrance into many trade unions and increased public opinion against lynching.

Two international movements appeared, the West Indian Garvey organization with its "back to Africa" emphasis; and the Pan-African Congress to unite the efforts of Negroes the world over for emancipation, erasure of the color line and end of colonialism.

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The depression beginning in 1929, struck the American Negro hard; from 25% to 5% in various centers were unemployed. But the universal suffering tended to soften race differences under the New Deal and emphasize economic and class differences rather than matters of skin color and physique. The bars against Negroes in trade unions began further to disappear and the right of the Negro to vote gained further recognition in the South. The Negro vote also began to divide between the parties. The laws of caste were attacked repeatedly in the courts and notable victories were gained.

8. Present Conditions

It is astonishing how the African has integrated himself into American culture; this is shown in speech, religious observance, folk-lore, music and dancing. Any fair review of American literature should not omit such Negro writers as Phyllis Wheatley, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, George W. Williams, James Weldon Johnson, Charles W. Chestnutt, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, Shirley Graham and Frank Yerby. American artists include Bannister, Tanner, and Prophet. American scientists include Banneker, Just, Turner and Hinton; American education is indebted to Booker T. Washington and John Hope. As musicians and singers are J. Rosamond Johnson, Burleigh, Will Marion Cook, Still, Dett and Handy; Hayes, Robeson and Anderson; on the state were Bert Williams, Gilpin and Richard Harrison; among inventors were Matseliger, Woods, and McCoy. The music of Negroes from the religious folk-song to jazz is world known.

Most slaves were employed as farmers and servants, with a few as artisans. In 1900 53% were in agriculture and 25% servants and laborers and only 5% artisans which show how caste was keeping the freedman out of industry. In 1940, among the men 40% were in Agriculture, 29% in industry, 21% laborers and 5% in business and professions. Among the women, 60% were servants, 17% in industry and 16% in agriculture. Since then the flight of Negroes from farms to cities and from domestic service to industry has continued at increased tempo.

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In 1900, a Negro boy baby at birth had a life expectation of thirty-two years; in 1947, this had increased to fifty-seven years. In 1870, nine-tenths of the Negroes were illiterate. The census of 1940 reported the illiterates at 10 per cent, probably an inaccurate figure due to our methods of collecting statistics of reading and writing. Today certainly the Negro illiterates are below 20 per cent. In 1910, there were in school 1,644,000, or 45 per cent, of all Negroes 5 to 20 years of age; in 1940, 64 per cent of such Negro children were in school, or 4,188,000. In 1900, Charles Dudley Warner, speaking for American intellectuals, said that Negroes could not assimilate and use college training. In 1910 not more than 5,000 Negroes were in college. In 1948, more then 88,000 Negroes were enrolled in college.

In 1918, 324 Negroes received the Bachelor's degree; in 1948 some 5,635 received this degree. There are today more than 1,500 Negro students enrolled in Northern colleges and universities, while from these institutions 279 have received the doctorate in philosophy. In the first edition of "Who's Who in America" there was not, so far as I can ascertain, the name of a single American of Negro descent. The fiftieth edition, in 1948, contains the names of 91 Negroes; and in "American Men of Science," 77 Negroes are listed. There are today on the faculties of the leading universities of the North, 70 Negroes instructors, ranging from a full professor at the University of Chicago to associate professors and instructors in other institutions.

The group has long been internally divided by dilemma as to whether its striving upward, should be aimed at strengthening its inner cultural and group bonds, both for intrinsic progress and for offensive power against caste; or whether it should seek escape whereever and however possible into the surrounding American culture. Decision in this matter has been largely determined by outer compulsion rather than inner plan; for prolonged policies of segregation and discrimination have involuntarily welded the mass almost into a nation within a nation with its own schools, churches, hospitals, newspapers and many business enterprise.

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The result has been to make American Negroes to wide extent provincial, introvert, self-conscious and narrowly race-loyal; but it has also inspired them to frantic and often successful effort to achieve, to deserve, to show the world their capacity to share modern civilization. As a result there is almost no area of American civilization in which the Negro has not made creditable showing in the face of all his handicaps.

If, however, the effect of the color caste system on the North American Negro has been both good and bad, its effect on white America has been disastrous. It has repeatedly led the greatest modern attempt at democratic government to deny its political ideals, to falsify its philanthropic assertions and to make its religion to a great extent hypocritical. A Nation which boldly declared "That all men are created equal" proceededto build its economy on chattel slavery; masters who declared race-mixture impossible , sold their own children into slavery and left a mulatto progeny which neither law nor science can today disentangle; churches which excused slavery as calling the heathen to God, refused to recognize the freedom of converts or admit them to equal communion.

Sectional strife over the profits of slave labor and conscientious revolt against making human beings real estate led to bloody civil war, and to a partial emancipation of slaves which nevertheless even to this day is not

complete. Poverty, ignorance, disease and crime have been forced on these unfortunate victims of greed to an extent far beyond any social necessity; and a great nation, which today ought to be in the forefront of the march toward peace and democracy, finds itself continuously making common cause with race-hate, prejudice exploitation and oppression of the common man. Its high and noble words are turned against it, because they are contradicted in every syllable by the treatment of the American Negro for three hundred and thirty years.

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We see that the American Negro is fighting a slow, determined battle and is not going to give up. There is no indication that he will sink into lethargic acceptance of present conditions as inevitable or present progress as satisfactory. He proposes to reach complete equality as an American citizen And by equality he means abolition of separate schools, the disappearance of "Jim-crow" trave; no segregation in public accommodations; the right to vote, the right to think and the right to speak, the right to work and to live in a decent home, and the right to marry any person who wishes to marry him. The Negro does not expect to reach these goals in a minute or in ten years. He is long-suffering and patient. But whether it takes thirty years or a thousand, equality is his goal and he will never stop until he reaches it. Continuous hammering upon the gates of opportunity in the United States has had effect, and because of this, and with the help of his white fellow-citizens, the American Negro has emerged from slavery and attained emancipation from chattel slavery, considerable economic independence, social security and advance in culture.

Foreigners who wish to understand the United States and give intelligent aid and sympathy to efforts to forward human civilisation, must remember certain facts: first the United States is not a white, Anglo-Saxon, British nation. More than a tenth of its population is of African descent and

African culture patterns have helped make America; there are other colored peoples represented: American Indians, Asiatics and mixed central American and West Indian peoples. Among the whites are millions of Irish, Scandinavian, German, Italian and Slav descent. No sentimental appeal to ties with British culture in the United States can today have the same appeal as in the 18th century. The nation is international and inter-racial to a large degree and this aspect of its culture increases as the colored and pan-European elements develop in influence. We must then be regarded as representative of the whole world rather than as part of the British Empire. In this broader aspect of American culture lies the ultimate hope of world peace and understanding.

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THE BLACK UNITED STATES

A STORY OF THE DESCENDANTS OF AFRICANS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

1. The Negro Group

There were in the United States of America in 1940, 12,865,518 native born citizens, something less than a tenth of the nation, who form largely a segregated caste, with restricted legal rights, and many illegal disabilities. This group ~~in 1950, numbers about 15,000,000. They are~~ is mostly descendants of the Africans brought to America during the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and reduced to slave labor. ~~This group~~ It has no complete biological unity, but varies in color from white to black, and comprises a great variety of physical characteristics, since many are the offspring of white European-Americans as well as of Africans and American Indians. There are a large number of white Americans who also descend from Negroes but who are not counted in the colored group nor subjected to caste restrictions because the preponderance of white blood conceals their descent.

The so-called American Negro group, therefore, while it is in no sense absolutely set off physically from its fellow Americans has nevertheless a strong, hereditary cultural unity, born of slavery, of common suffering, prolonged proscription and curtailment of political and civil rights; and especially because of economic and social disabilities. Largely from this fact, have arisen their cultural gifts to America-their rhythm, music and folk-song; their religious faith and customs; their contribution to American art and literature; their defense of their country in every war, on land, sea and in the air; and especially the hard, continuous toil upon which the prosperity and wealth of this continent has largely been built.

* parts of this pamphlet has appeared before in the "Appeal to the World" edited by the auth and presented to the United Nations by the National Association for the Advancement of Color People in 1947.

The growth of ~~the Negro~~ this population in the nation has been steady, ~~despite its poverty, sick~~ ~~ness and legal restrictions.~~ At the beginning of the I9th century there were one million, which increased to three and one-half million by 1850; in I900 there were 8,800,000 and today about I5,000,000. ~~Before the Civil War, nine tenths of the Negroes were in the Southern slave states; today in I940, there were 7I% there and in I950, probably 65 to 70%~~

When the Declaration of Independence declared "all men equal" July 4, 1776
There were a half million black slaves in the United States or nearly a fifth of the Colonial population

2. Slavery

Slavery in America is a strange and contradictory story. It cannot be regarded as mainly either a theoretical problem of morals or a scientific problem of race. From either of these points of view, the rise of slavery in America is simply inexplicable. Looking at the facts frankly, slavery evidently was a matter of economics, a question of income and labor, rather than a problem of right and wrong, or of the physical differences in men. Once slavery began to be the source of vast income for men and nations, there followed frantic search for moral and racial justifications. Such excuses were found and men did not inquire too carefully into either their logic or truth.

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The twenty Negroes brought to Virginia in 1619, were not the first who had landed on this continent. For a century small numbers of Negroes had been arriving as servants, as laborers, as free adventurers. The southwestern part of the present United States was first traversed by four explorers of whom one was an African Negro. Negroes accompanied early explorers like D'Ayllon and Menendez in the southeastern United States. But just as the earlier black visitors to the West Indies were servants and adventurers and then later began to appear as laborers on the sugar plantations, so in Virginia, these imported black laborers in 1619 and after, came to be wanted for the raising of tobacco which was the money crop.

In the minds of the early planters, there was no distinction as to labor whether it was white or black; in law there was at first no discrimination. But as imported white labor became scarcer and more protected by law, it became less profitable than Negro labor which flooded the markets because of

European slave traders, internal strife in Africa; and because in America the Negroes were increasingly stripped of legal defense. For these reasons America became a land of black slavery, and there arose first, the fabulously rich sugar empire; then the cotton kingdom, and finally colonial imperialism.

3. Revolt and Escape

Then came the inevitable fight between free labor and democracy on the one hand, and slave labor with its huge profits on the other. Black slaves were the spear-head of this fight. They were the first in America to stage the "sit-down" strike, to slow up and sabotage the work of the plantation . They revolted time after time and no matter what recorded history may say, the enacted laws against slave revolt are unanswerable testimony as to what these revolts meant all over America.

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The slaves themselves especially imperiled the whole slave system by escape from slavery. It was the fugitive slave more than the slave revolt, which finally threatened investment and income; and the organization for helping fugitive slaves through Free Northern Negroes and their white friends, in the guise of an underground movement, was of tremendous influence.

Finally it was the Negro soldier as a co-fighter with the whites for independence from the British economic empire which began emancipation. The British bid for his help and the colonials against their first impulse had to bid in return and virtually to promise the Negro soldier freedom after the Revolutionary War. It was for the protection of American Negro sailors as well as white that the War of 1812 was precipitated and, after independence from England was accomplished, freedom for the black laboring class, and enfranchisement for whites and blacks was in sight.

In the meantime, however, white labor had continued to regard the United States as a place of refuge; as a place for free land; for continuous employment and high wage; for freedom of thought and faith. It was here,

however, that employers intervened; not because of any moral obliquity but because the Industrial Revolution, based upon the crops raised by slave labor in the Caribbean and in the Southern United States, was made possible by world trade and a new and astonishing technique; and finally was made triumphant by a vast transportation of slave labor through the British slave-trade in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

4. Civil War

This new mass of slaves became competitors of white labor and drove white labor for refuge into the arms of employers, whose interests were founded on slave labor. The doctrine of race inferiority was used to convince white labor that they had the right to be free and to vote, while the Negroes must be slaves or depress the wage of whites; western free soil became additional lure and compensation, if it could be restricted to free labor.

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On the other hand, the fight of the slave-holders against democracy increased with the spread of the wealth and power of the Cotton Kingdom. Through political power based on slaves they became the dominant political force in the United States; they were successful in expanding into Mexico and tried to penetrate the Caribbean. Finally they demanded for slavery a part of the free soil of the West, and because of this last excessive, and in fact impossible effort, a Civil War to preserve and extend slavery ensued.

This fight for slave labor was echoed in the law. The free Negro was systematically discouraged, disfranchised and reduced to serfdom. He became by law the easy victim of the kidnapper and liable to treatment as a fugitive slave. The Church, influenced by wealth and respectability, was predominately on the side of the slave owner and effort was made to make the degradation of the Negro, as a race, final by Supreme Court decision.

But from the beginning, the outcome of the Civil War was inevitable and this not mainly on account of the predominant wealth and power of the North; it was because of the clear fact that the Southern slave economy was buuilt

on black labor. If at any time the slaves or any large part of them, was workers ceased to support the South; and if even more decisively, as fighters they joined the North, there was no way in the world for the South to win. Just as soon then as slaves became spies for the invading Northern armies; laborers for their camps and fortifications, and finally produced 200,000 trained and efficient soldiers with arms in their hands, and with the possibility of a million more, the fate of the slave South was sealed.

5. Reconstruction

Victory however brought dilemma; if victory meant full economic freedom for labor in the South, white and black; if it meant land and education, and eventually votes, then the slave empire was doomed, and the profits of Northern industry built on the Southern slave foundation would also be seriously curtailed. Northern industry had a stake in the Cotton Kingdom and in the cheap slave labor that supported it. It had expanded for war industries during the fighting, encouraged by government subsidy and eventually protected bya huge tariff rampart. When war profits declined there was still prospect of tremendous post war profits on cotton and other products of Southern agriculture. Therefore, what the North wanted was not freedom and higher wage for black labor, but its control under such forms of law as would keep it cheap; and also stop its open competition with Northern labor. The moral protest of abolitionists must be appeased but profitable industry was determined to control wages and government.

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The result was an attempt at Reconstruction in which black labor established schools; tried to divide up the land and put a new social legislation in force. On the other hand, the power of Southern land-owners soon joined with Northern industry to disfranchise the Negrop keep him from access to free land or to capital, and to build up the present caste system for blacks founded on color discrimination, peonage, intimidation and mob-violence.

6. Caste

It is this fact that underlies many of the contradictions in the social and political development of the United States since the Civil War. Despite our resources and our miraculous technique; despite comparatively high wage paid many of our workers and their consequent high standard of living, we are nevertheless ruled by wealth, monopoly and big business organization to an astounding degree. Our railway transportation is built upon monumental economic injustice both to passengers, shippers and to different sections of the land. The monopoly of land and natural resources throughout the United States both in cities, and in farming districts is a disgraceful aftermath to the vast land heritage with which this nation started.

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~~Let us examine these facts more carefully.~~ The United States has always professed to be a Democracy. She has never wholly attained her ideal, but slowly she has approached it. The privilege of voting has in time been widened by abolishing limitations of birth, religion and lack of property. After the Civil War, which abolished slavery, the nation in gratitude to the black soldiers and laborers who helped win that war, sought to admit to the suffrage all persons without distinction of "race, color or previous condition of servitude." They were warned by the great leaders of abolition, like Sumner, Stevens and Douglass, that this could only be effective, if the Freedmen were given schools, land and some minimum of capital. A Freedmen's Bureau to furnish these prerequisites to effective citizenship was planned and put into partial operation. But Congress and the nation, weary of the costs of war and eager to get back to profitable industry, refused the necessary funds. The effort died, but in order to restore friendly civil government in the South the enfranchised Freedman, seventy-five per cent illiterate, without land or tools, was thrown into competitive industry with a ballot in his hands. By

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herculean effort, helped by philanthropy and his own hard work, the Negro built a school system, bought land and cooperated in starting a new economic order [illegible] South. In a generation he had reduced his illiteracy by half and had become a wage-earning laborer and share-cropper. He still was handicapped by poverty, disease and crime, but nevertheless the rise of the American Negro from slavery in 1860 to freedom in 1880, has few parallels in modern history.

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However, opposition to any democracy which included the Negro race on any terms was so strong in the former slave-holding South, and found so much sympathy in large parts of the rest of the nation, that despite notable improvement in the condition of the Negro by every standard of social measurement, the effort to deprive Negroes of the right to vote succeeded. At first he was driven from the polls in the South by mobs and violence; and then he was openly cheated; finally by a "Gentlemen's agreement" with the North, the Negro was disfranchised in the South by a series of laws, methods of administration, court decisions and general public policy, so that today ~~three-fourths~~ half of the Negro population ~~of Negro population~~ of the nation is deprived of the right to vote by open and declared policy.

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Most persons seem to regard this as simply unfortunate for Negroes, as depriving a modern working class of the minimum rights for self-protection and opportunity for progress. This is true as has been shown in poor educational opportunities, discrimination in work, health protection and in the courts. But the situation is far more serious than this: the disfranchisement of the American Negro makes the functioning of all democracy in the nation

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The result has been to make American Negroes to wide extent provincial, introverted, self-conscious and narrowly race-loyal; but it has also inspired them to frantic and often successful effort to achieve, to deserve, to show the world their capacity to share modern civilization. As a result there is almost no area of American civilization in which the Negro has not made creditable showing in the face of all his handicaps.

If, however, the effect of the color caste system on the North American Negro has been both good and bad, its effect on white America has been disastrous. It has repeatedly led the greatest modern attempt at democratic government to

deny its political ideals, to falsify its philanthropic assertions and to make its religion to a great extent hypocritical. A nation which boldly declard "That all men a re created equal", proceededto build its economy on chattel slavery; masters who declared race-mixture impossible, sold their own children into slavery and left a mulatto progeny which neither law nor science can today disentangle; churches which excused slavery a s calling the heathen to God, refused to recognize the freedom of converts or admit them to equal communion.

Sectional strife over the profits of slave labor and conscientious revolt against making human beings real estate led to bloody civil war, and to a partial emancipation of slaves which nevertheless even to this day is not complete. Poverty, ignorance, disease and crime have been forced on these unfortunate victims of greed to an extent far beyond any social necessity; and a great nation, which today ought to be in the forefront of the march toward peace and democracy, finds itself continuously making common cause with race-hate, prejudiced exploitation and oppression of the common man. Its high and noble words are turned against it, because they are contradicted in every syllable by the treatment of the American Negro for three hundred and ~~twenty-eight~~ thirty years.

35-4-12

America

We ~~begin to~~ see that the Negro is fighting a slow, determined battle and is not going to give up. There is no indication that he will sink into lethargic acceptance of present conditions as inevitable, or present progress a s satisfactory. He proposes to reach complete equality as an American citizen. And by equality he means abolition of separate schools, the disappearance of "Jim-crow" travel; no segregation in public accommodations; the right to vote, the right to think and the right to speak, the right to work and to live in a decent home, and the right to marry any person who wishes to marry him. The Negro does not expect to reach these goals in a minute or in ten years. He

13 #5

is long-suffering and patient. But whether it takes thirty years or a thousand, equality is his goal and he will never stop until he reaches it. ~~It must be admitted that~~ continuous hammering upon the gates of opportunity in the United States has had effect, and ~~that~~ because of this, and with the help of his white fellow-citizens, the American Negro has emerged from slavery and attained emancipation from chattel slavery, considerable economic independence, social security and advance in culture.

35-4-13

Foreigners who wish to understand the United States and give intelligent aid and sympathy to ~~its better~~ efforts to forward human civilization, must remember certain facts: first the United States is not a white, Anglo-Saxon, British nation. More than a tenth of its population is of African descent and African culture patterns have helped make America; there are other Colored peoples represented: American Indians, Asiatics and mixed central American and West Indian peoples. Among the whites are millions of Irish, Scandinavian, German, Italian and Slav descent. No sentimental appeal to ties ~~to~~ with British culture in the United States can today have the same appeal as in the 18th century. The nation is international and inter-racial to a large degree and this aspect of its culture increases as the colored and pan-European elements ~~increase~~ seem to be in influence. We must then be regarded as representative of the whole world rather than a part of the British Empire. In this broader aspect of American culture lies the ultimate hope of world peace and understanding.

THE BLACK UNITED STATES

...CRY OF THE DESCENDANTS OF AFRICANS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

1. The Negro Group

There were in the United States of America in 1940, 12,865,518 native born citizens, something less than a tenth of the nation, who form largely a segregated caste, with restricted legal rights, and many illegal disabilities. The growth of the populat on in the nation has been steady. When the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, declared "all men equal" there were a half million black slaves in the future United States or nearly a fifth of the total population. At the beginning of the 19th century there were one million Negroes who increased to three and one-half million by 1850; in 1900 there were 8,8[illegible]00,000 and today about 15,000,000. This group is mostly descendants of the Africans brought to America during the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and reduced to slave labor. It has no complete biological unity, bur varies in color from white to black, and comprised a great variety of physical characteristics, since many are the offspring of white European-Americans as well a s Africans and American Indians. There are a large number of white Americans who also descend from Negroes but who a re not counted in the colored group nor subjected to caste restrictions because the preponderance of white blood conceals their descent.

35-4-14

The so-called American Negro group, therefore, while it is in no sense absolutely set off physically from its fellow Americans has nevertheless a strong, hereditary cultural unity, born of slavery, of common suffering, pro-longed proscription and curtailment of political and civil rights; and especially because of economic and social disabilities. Largely from this fact, have arisen their cultural gifts to America--their rhythm, music and

folk-song; their religious faith and customs; their contribution to American art and literature; their defense of their country in every war, on land, sea and in the air; and especially the hard, continuous toil upon which the prosperity and wealth of this continent has largely been built.

NOTE Some parts of this pamphlet have appeared before in the "Appeal to the World" edited by the author and presented to the United Nations by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1947.

2. Slavery

Slavery in America is a strange and contradictory story. It cannot be regarded as mainly either a theoretical problem of morals or a scientific problem of race. From either of these points of view, the rise of slavery in America is simply inexplicable. Looking at the facts frankly, slavery evidently was a matter of economics, a question of income and labor, rather than a problem of right and wrong, or of the physical differences in men. Once slavery began to be the source of vast income for men and nations, there followed frantic search for moral and racial justifications. Such excuses were found and men did not inquire too carefully into either their logic or truth.

35-4-15

The twenty Negroes brought to Virginia in 1619, were not the first who had landed on this continent. For a century small numbers of Negroes had been arriving as servants, as laborers, as free adventurers. The Southwestern part of the present United States was first traversed by four explorers of whom one was an African Negro. Negroes accompanied early explorers like D'Ayllon and Menendez in the southeastern United States. But just as the earlier black visitors to the West Indies were servants and adventurers and then later began to appear as laborers on the sugar plantations, so in Virginia, these imported black laborers in 1619 and after, came to be wanted for the raising of tobacco which was the money crop.

In the minds of the early planters, there was no distinction as to labor whether it was white or black; in law there was at first no discrimination.

But as imported white labor became scarcer and more protected by law, it became less profitable than Negro labor which flooded the markets because of European slave traders, internal strife in Africa; and because in America the Negroes were increasingly stripped of legal defense. For these reasons America became a land of black slavery, and there arose first, the fabulously rich sugar empire; then the cotton kingdom, and finally colonial imperialism.

B. Revolt and Escape

Then came the inevitable fight between free labor and democracy on the one hand, and slave labor with its huge profits on the other. Black slaves were the spear-head of this fight. They were the first in America to stage the "sit-down" strike, to slow up and sabotage the work of the plantation. They revolted time after time. In addition to serious and widely publicised revolts in 1739, 1800, and 1822 and 1831, there were according to Aptheker, at least 250 revolts and conspiracies in the history of American Negro slavery. The enacted laws against slave revolt are unanswerable testimony as to what these revolts meant all over America.

35-4-16

The slaves themselves especially imperiled the whole slave system by escape from slavery. It was the fugitive slave more then the slave revolt, which finally threatened investment and income; and the organisation for helping fugitive slaves through Free Northern Negroes and their white friends, in the guise of an underground movement, was of tremendous influence.

Finally it was the Negro soldier as a co-fighter with the white for independence from the British economic empire which began emancipation. The English bid for his help and the colonials, against their first impulse, had to bid in return and virtually to promise the Negro soldier freedom after the Revolutionary War. It was for the protection of American Negro sailors as well as white that the War of 1812 was precipitated and, after independence from England was accomplished, freedom for the black laboring class, and enfranchisement for whites and blacks was in sight.

In the meantime, however, white labor had continued to regard the United States as a place of refuge, as a place for free land for continuous

employment and high wage; for freedom of thought and faith. It was here, however, that employers intervened; not because of any moral obliquity but because the Industrial Revolution, based upon the crops raised by slave labor in the Caribbean and in the Southern United States, was made possible by world trade and a new and astonishing technique; and finally was made triumphant by a vast transportation of slave labor through the British slave-trade in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

4. Civil War

85-4-17

This new mass of slaves became competitors of white labor and drove white labor for refuge into the arms of employers, whose interest were founded on slave labor. The doctrine of race inferiority was used to convince white labor that they had the right to be free and to vote, while the Negroes must be slaves or depress the wage of whites; western free soil became additional lure and compensation, if it could be restricted to free labor.

On the other hand, the fight of the slave-holders against democracy increased with the spread of the wealth and power of the Cotton Kingdom. Through political power based on slaves they became the dominant political force in the United States; they were successful in expanding into Mexico and tried to penetrate the Caribbean. Finally they demandedfor slavery a part of the free soil of the West, and because of this last excessive, and in fact impossible effort, a Civil War to preserve and extend slavery ensued.

This fight for slave labor was echoed in the law. The free Negro was systematically discouraged, disfranchised and reduced to serfdom. He became by law the easy victim of the kidnapper and liable to treatment as a fugitive slave. The Church, influenced by wealth and respectability, was predominately on the side of the slave owner and effort was made to make the degradation of the Negro, as a race, final by Supreme Court decision.

But from the beginning, the outcome of the Civil War was inevitable and this not mainly on account of the predominant wealth and power of the North;

it was because of the clear fact that the Southern slave economy was built on black labor. If at any time the slaves or any large part of them was as workers to cease to support the South; and if even more decisively, as fighters they joined the North, there was no way in the world for the South to win. Just as soon than as slaves became spies for the invading Northern armies; laborers for their camps and fortifications, and finally produced 200,000 trained and efficient soldiers with arms in their hands, and with the possibility of a million more, the fate of the slave South was sealed.

35-4-18

5. Reconstruction

Victory however brought dilemma; if victory meant full economic freedom for labor in the South, white and black; if it meant land and education, and eventually votes, then the slave empire was doomed, and the profits of Northern industry built on the Southern slave foundation would also be seriously curtailed. Northern industry had a stake in the Cotton Kingdom and in the cheap slave labor that supported it. It had expanded for war industries during the fighting, encouraged by government subsidy, and eventually protected by a huge tariff rampart. When war profits declined there was still prospect of tremendous post war profits on cotton and other products of Southern agriculture. Therefore, what the North wanted was not freedom and higher wage for black labor, but its control under such forms of law as would keep it cheap; and also stop its open competition with Northern labor. The moral protest of abolitionists must be appeased but profitable industry was determined to control wages and government.

The result was an attempt at Reconstruction in which black labor established schools; tried to divide up the land and put a new social legislation in force. On the other hand, the power of Southern land-owners soon joined with Northern industry to disfranchise the Negro, to keep from access to free land or to capital, and to build up the present caste system for blacks founded on color discrimination, peonage, intimidation and mob-violence.

6. Caste

It is this fact that underlies many of the contradictions in the social and political development of the United States since the Civil War. Despite our resources and our miraculous technique; despite comparatively high wage paid many of our workers and their consequent high standard of living, we are nevertheless ruled by wealth, monopoly and big business organizations to an astounding degree. Our railway transportation is built upon monumental economic injustice both to passengers, shippers and to different sections of the land. The monopoly of land and natural resources throughout the United States both in cities, and in farming districts is a disgraceful aftermath to the vast land heritage with which this nation started.

35-4-19

The United States has always professed to be a Democracy. She has never wholly attained her ideal, but slowly she has approached it. The privilege of voting has in time been widened by abolishing limitations of birth, religion and lack of property. After the Civil War, which abolished slavery, the nation in gratitude to the black soldiers and laborers who helped win that war, sought to admit to the suffrage all persons without distinction of "race, color or previous condition of servitude." They were warned by the great leaders of abolition, like Sumner, Stevens and Douglass, that this could only be effective, if the Freedmen were given schools, land and some minimum of capital. A Freedmen's Bureau to furnish these prerequisites to effective citizenship was planned and put into partial operation. But Congress and the nation, weary of the costs of war and eager to get back to profitable industry, refused the necessary funds. The effort died, but in order to restore friendly civil government in the South the enfranchised Freedman, seventy-five per cent illiterate, without land or tools, was thrown into competitive industry with a ballot in his hands. By herculean effort, helped by philanthropy and his own hard work, the Negro built a school system, bought land and cooperated in starting a new economic order not simply for himself but for the whole South.

In a generation he had reduced his illiteracy by half and had become a wage-earning laborer and share-cropper. He developed a number of able educated and resourceful leaders. He still was handicapped by poverty, disease and crime, but nevertheless the rise of the American Negro from slavery in 1860 to freedom in 1880, has few parallels in modern history.

However, opposition to any democracy which included the Negro race on any terms was so strong in the former slave-holding South, and found so much sympathy in large parts of the rest of the nation, that despite notable improvement in the condition of the Negro by every standard of social measurement, the effort to deprive Negroes of the right to vote succeeded. At first he was driven from the polls in the South by mobs and violence; and then he was openly cheated; finally by a "Gentlemen's agreement" with the North, the Negro was disfranchised in the South by a series of laws, methods of administration, court decisions and general public policy, so that today half of the Negro population of the nation is deprived of the right to vote by open and declared policy.

35-4-20

In 1876, the democratic process of government was crippled throughout the whole nation. This came about not simply through the disfranchisement of Negroes but through the fact that the political power of the disfranchised Negroes and of a large number of equally disfranchised whites was preserved as the basis of political power, but the wielding of that power was left in the hands and under the control of the successors to the planter dynasty in the South.

Most persons seem to regard this as simply unfortunate for Negroes, as depriving a modern working class of the minimum rights for self-protection and opportunity for progress. This is true as has been shown in poor educational opportunities, discrimination in work, health protection and in the courts. But the situation is far more serious than this: the disfranchisement of the American Negro makes the functioning of all democracy in the nation

difficult; and as democracy fails to funtion in the leading democracy in the world, it fails in the world.

The representation of the people in the Congress of the United States is based on population; members of the House of Representatives are elected by groups of approximately 275,000 to 300,000 persons living in 435 Congressional Districts. Naturally difficulties ofdivision within state boundaries, unequal growth of population, migration from year to year, and slow adjustment to these and other changes, makes equal population of these districts only approximate; but unless by and large, and in the long run, essential equality is maintained, the whole basis of democratic representation is marred and as in the celebrated "rotten borough" cases in England in the nineteenth century, representation must be eventually equalized or democracy relapses into oligarchy or even fascism.

35-4-21

This is exactly what threatens the United States today because of the unjust disfranchisement of the Negro and the use of his numerical presence to increase the political power of his enemies and of the enemies of democracy. The nation does not have the courage or power to eliminate from citizenship all persons of Negro descent and thus try to restore slavery. It therefore makes its democracy unworkable by paradox and contradiction.

7. The American Negro

The world will not forget that the population of this group makes it in size one of the considerable nations of the world. We number as manyas the inhabitants of the Argentine or Czechoslovakia, or the whole of Scandinavia including Sweden, Norway and Denmark. We are very nearly the size of Egypt, Rumania and Yugoslavia. We are larger than Canada, Saudi Arabia, Ethiopia, Hungary or the Netherlands. We have twice as many persons as Australia or Switzerland, and more than the whole Union of South Africa. We have more people than Portugal or Peru; twice as many as Greece and nearly as many as Turkey. We have more people by far than Belgium and half as many as Korea

or Spain. In sheer numbers than we are agroup which has a right to be heard.

The history of the American Negro since 1900 has been the story of a segregated labor group living under caste conditions and seeking full citizenship by its own efforts and the help of white friends. After disfranchisement and caste laws became crystalised about 1885, the Negro put his faith in mass education, in public and mission schools, under the leadership of a dozen colleges supported by the Negroes themselves and Northern white philanthropy. The white South feared this growth of Negro higher education and supported Booker T. Washington and his plan for developing a trained Negro working class. This program however tended to accept disfranchisement and caste without resistence and beginning in 1905, the Niagara movement of young educated radical Negroes opposed it and developed it into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, formed in 1910 of Negroes and whites. This organisation has dominated the struggle of American Negroes from 1910 until today. Meantime the mass of Negroes sought emancipation in migration from South to North and even to Africa; in seeking admittance to Trade Unions which was a slow process, not yet fully attained; by inner group organization in Churches and fraternities and economic & comsumers movements. They began at Atlanta University scientific study of their condition. Their efforts were opposed by violence and lynching, repressive legislation and scientific race theories of inferiority.

35-4-22

A great change came with the First World War, in which Negro Soldiers had to be accepted as soldiers and officers after bitter agitation. After the war came sharp reaction with mounting riots and mob violence and attempts to strengthen caste. In one "Red Summer" of 1919, there were 25 race riots including one in the capital, Washington and a bloody clash in Chicago. The Ku Klux Klan was widely revived. The Negroes fought back with their increased political power in the North, their newspapers and magazines, led by the

CRISIS. They gained in wider empoloyment, entrance into many trade unions and increased public opinion against lynching.

Two international movements appeared, the West Indian Garvey organisation with its "back to Africa" emphasis; and the Pan-African Congress to unite the efforts of Negroes the world over for emancipation, erasure of the color line and end of colonialism.

The depression beginning in 1929, struck the American Negro hard; from 25% to 5% in various centers were unemployed. But the universal suffering tended to soften race differences under the New Deal and emphasise economic and class differences rather than matters of skin color and physique. The bars against Negroes in trade unions began further to disappear and the right of the Negro to vote gained further recognition in the South. The Negro vote also began to divide between the parties. The laws of caste were attacked repeatedly in the courts and notable victories were gained.

35-4-23

8. Present Conditions

It is astonishing how the African has integrated himself into American culture; this is shown in speech, religious observance, folk-lore, music and dancing. Any fair review of American literature should not omit such Negro writers as Phyllis Wheatley, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, George W. Williams, James Weldon Johnson, Charles W. Chestnutt, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, Shirley Graham and Frank Yerby. American artists include Bannister, Tanner, and Prophet. American scientists include Banneker, Just, Turner and Hinton; American education is indebted to Booker T. Washington and John Hope. As musicians and singers are J. Rosamond Johnson, Burleigh, Will Marion Cook, Still, Dett and Handy; Hayes, Robeson and Anderson; on the state were Bert Williams, Gilpin and Richard Harrison; among inventors were Matseliger, Woods, and McCoy. The music of Negroes from the religious folk-song to jazz is world known.

Most slaves were employed as farmers and servants, with a few as artisans. In 1900 53% were in agriculture and 25% servants and laborers and only 5% artisans which show how caste was keeping the freedman out of industry. In 1940, among the men 40% were in Agriculture, 29% in industry, 21% laborers and 5% in business and professions. Among the women, 60% were servants, 17% in industry and 16% in agriculture. Since then the flight of Negroes from farms to cities and from domestic service to industry has continued at increased tempo.

In 1900, a Negro boy baby at birth had a life expectation of thirty-two years; in 1947, this had increased to fifty-seven years. In 1870, nine-tenths of the Negroes were illiterate. The census of 1940 reported the illiterates at 10 per cent, probably an inaccurate figure due to our methods of collecting statistics of reading and writing. Today certainly the Negro illiterates are below 20 per cent. In 1910, there were in school 1,644,000, or 45 per cent, of all Negroes 5 to 20 years of age; in 1940, 64 per cent of such Negro children were in school, or 4,198,000. In 1900, Charles Dudley Warner, speaking for American intellectuals, said that Negroes could not assimilate and use college training. In 1910 not more than 5,000 Negroes were in college. In 1948, more then 88,000 Negroes were enrolled in college.

In 1918, 324 Negroes received the Bachelor's degree; in 1948 some 5,635 received this degree. There are today more than 1,500 Negro students enrolled in Northern colleges and universities, while from these institutions 279 have received the doctorate in philosophy. In the first edition of "Who's Who in America" there was not, so far as I can ascertain, the name of a single American of Negro descent. The fiftieth edition, in 1948, contains the names of 91 Negroes; and in "American Men of Science," 77 Negroes are listed. There are today on the faculties of the leading universities of the North, 70 Negroes instructors, ranging from a full professor at the University of Chicago to associate professors and instructors in other institutions.

35-4-24

The group has long been internally divided by dilemma as to whether its striving upward, should be aimed at strengthening its inner cultural and group bonds, both for intrinsic progress and for offensive power against caste; or whether it should seek escape whereever and however possible into the surrounding American culture. Decision in this matter has been largely determined by outer compulsion rather than inner plan; for prolonged policies of segregation and discrimination have involuntarily welded the mass almost into a nation within a nation with its own schools, churches, hospitals, newspapers and many business enterprise.

35-4-25

The result has been to make American Negroes to wide extent provincial, introvert, self-conscious and narrowly race-loyal; but it has also inspired them to frantic and often successful effort to achieve, to deserve, to show the world their capacity to share modern civilization. As a result there is almost no area of American civilization in which the Negro has not made creditable showing in the face of all his handicaps.

If, however, the effect of the color caste system on the North American Negro has been both good and bad, its effect on white America has been disastrous. It has repeatedly led the greatest modern attempt at democratic government to deny its political ideals, to falsify its philanthropic assertions and to make its religion to a great extent hypocritical. A Nation which boldly declared "That all men are created equal" proceededto build its economy on chattel slavery; masters who declared race-mixture impossible , sold their own children into slavery and left a mulatto progeny which neither law nor science can today disentangle; churches which excused slavery as calling the heathen to God, refused to recognize the freedom of converts or admit them to equal communion.

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complete. Poverty, ignorance, disease and crime have been forced on these unfortunate victims of greed to an extent far beyond any social necessity; and a great nation, which today ought to be in the forefront of the march toward peace and democracy, finds itself continuously making common cause with race-hate, prejudice exploitation and oppression of the common man. Its high and noble words are turned against it, because they are contradicted in every syllable by the treatment of the American Negro for three hundred and thirty years.

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35-4-27

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BY

W. E. B. DU BOIS

1. The Negro Group

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The so-called American Negro group, therefore, while it is in no sense absolutely set off physically from its fellow Americans has nevertheless a strong, hereditary cultural unity, born of slavery, of common suffering, prolonged proscription and curtailment of political and civil rights; and especially because of economic and social disabilities. Largely from this fact, have arisen their cultural gifts to America-their rhythm, music and folk-song; their religious faith and customs; their contribution to American art and literature; their defense of their country in every war, on land, sea and in the air; and especially the hard, continuous toil upon which the prosperity and wealth of this continent has largely been built.

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Finally it was the Negro soldier as a co-fighter with the whites for independence from the British economic empire which began emancipation. The British bid for his help and the colonials against their first impulse had to bid in return and virtually to promise the Negro soldier freedom after the Revolutionary War. It was for the protection of American Negro sailors as well as white that the War of 1812 was precipitated and, after independence from England was accomplished, freedom for the black laboring class, and enfranchisement for whites and blacks was in sight.

In the meantime, however, white labor had continued to regard the United States as a place of refuge; as a place for free land; for continuous employment and high wage; for freedom of thought and faith. It was here,

however, that employers intervened; not because of any moral obliquity but because the Industrial Revolution, based upon the crops raised by slave labor in the Caribbean and in the Southern United States, was made possible by world trade and a new and astonishing technique; and finally was made triumphant by a vast transportation of slave labor through the British slave-trade in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

4. Civil War

This new mass of slaves became competitors of white labor and drove white labor for refuge into the arms of employers, whose interests were founded on slave labor. The doctrine of race inferiority was used to convince white labor that they had the right to be free and to vote, while the Negroes must be slaves or depress the wage of whites; western free soil became a ditional lure and compensation, if it could be restricted to free labor.

On the other hand, the fight of the slave-holders against democracy increased with the spread of the wealth and power of the Cotton Kingdom. Through political power based on slaves they became the dominant political force in the United States; they were successful in expanding into Mexico and tried to penetrate the Caribbean. Finally they demanded for slavery a part of the free soil of the West, and because of this last excessive, and in fact impossible effort, a Civil War to preserve and extend slavery ensued.

This fight for slave labor was echoed in the law. The free Negro was systematically discouraged, disfranchised and reduced to serfdom. He became by law the easy victim of the kidnapper and liable to treatment as a fugitive slave. The Church, influenced by wealth and respectability, was predominately on the side of the slave owner and effort was made to make the degradation of the Negro, as a race, final by Supreme Court decision.

But from the beginning, the outcome of the Civil War was inevitable and this not mainly on account of the predominant wealth and power of the North; it was because of the clear fact that the Southern slave economy was built

on black labor. If at any time the slaves or any large part of them, was workers ceased to support the South; and if even more decisively, as fighters they joined the North, there was no way in the world for the South to win. Just as soon then as slaves became spies for the invading Northern armies; laborers for their camps and fortifications, and finally produced 200,000 trained and efficient soldiers with arms in their hands, and with the possibility of a million more, the fate of the slave South was sealed.

5. Reconstruction

Victory however brought dilemma; if victory meant full economic freedom for labor in the South, white and black; if it meant land and education, and eventually votes, then the slave empire was doomed, and the profits of Northern industry built on the Southern slave foundation would also be seriously curtailed. Northern industry had a stake in the Cotton Kingdom and in the cheap slave labor that supported it. It had expanded for war industries during the fighting, encouraged by government subsidy and eventually protected bya huge tariff rampart. When war profits declined there was still prospect of tremendous post war profits on cotton and other products of Southern agriculture. Therefore, what the North wanted was not freedom and higher wage for black labor, but its control under such forms of law as would keep it cheap; and also stop its open competition with Northern labor. The moral protest of abolitionists must be appeased but profitable industry was determined to control wages and government.

The result was an attempt at Reconstruction in which black labor established schools; tried to divide up the land and put a new social legislation in force. On the other hand, the power of Southern land-owners soon joined with Northern industry to disfranchise the Negrop keep him from access to free land or to capital, and to build up the present caste system for blacks founded on color discrimination, peonage, intimidation and mob-violence.

6. Caste

It is this fact that underlies many of the contradictions in the social and political development of the United States since the Civil War. Despite our resources and our miraculous technique; despite comparatively high wage paid many of our workers and their consequent high standard of living, we are nevertheless ruled by wealth, monopoly and big business organisation to an astounding degree. Our railway transportation is built upon monumental economic injustice both to passengers, shippers and to different sections of the land. The monopoly of land and natural resources throughout the United States both in cities, and in farming districts is a disgraceful aftermath to the vast land heritage with which this nation started.

In 1876, the democratic process of government was crippled throughout the whole nation. This came about not simply through the disfranchisement of Negroes but through the fact that the political power of the disfranchised Negroes and of a large number of equally disfranchised whites was preserved as the basis of political power, but the wielding of that power was left in the hands and under the control of the successors to the planter dynasty in the South.

Let us examine these facts more carefully. The United States has always professed to be a Democracy. She has never wholly attained her ideal, but slowly she has approached it. The privilege of voting has in time been widened by abolishing limitations of birth, religion and lack of property. After the Civil War, which abolished slavery, the nation in gratitude to the black soldiers and laborers who helped win that war, sought to admit to the suffrage all persons without distinction of "race, color or previous condition of servitude." They were warned by the great leaders of abolition, like Sumner, Stevens and Douglass, that this could only be effective, if the Freedmen were given schools, land and some minimum of capital. A Freedmen's Bureau to

furnish these prerequisites to effective citizenship was planned and put into partial operation. But Congress and the nation, weary of the costs of war and eager to get back to profitable industry, refused the necessary funds. The effort dies, but in order to restore friendly civil government in the South the enfranchised Freedman, seventy-five per cent illiterate, without land or tools, was thrown into competitive industry with a ballot in his hands. By herculean effort, helped by philanthropy and his own hard work, the Negro built a school system, bought land and cooperated in starting a new economic order in the South. In a generation he had reduced his illiteracy by half and had become a wage-earning laborer and share-cropper. He still was handicapped by poverty, disease and crime, but nevertheless the rise of the American Negro from slavery in 1860 to freedom in 1880, has few parallels in modern history.

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However, opposition to any democracy which included the Negro race on any terms was so strong in the former slave-holding South, and found so much sympathy in large parts of the rest of the nation, that despite notable improvement in the condition of the Negro by every standard of social measurement, the effort to deprive Negroes of the right to vote succeeded. At first he was driven from the polls in the South by mobs and violence; and then he was openly cheated; finally by a "Gentlemen's agreement" with the North, the Negro was disfranchised in the South by a series of laws, methods of administration, court decisions and general public policy, so that today three-fourths of the Negro population of Negro population of the nation is deprived of the right to vote by open and declared policy.

Most persons seem to regard this as simply unfortunate for Negroes, as depriving a modern working class of the minimum rights for self-protection and opportunity for progress. This is true as has been shown in poor educational opportunities, discrimination in work, health protection and in the courts. But the situation is far more serious than this: the disfranchisement of the American Negro makes the funtioning of all democracy in the nation

difficult; and as democracy fails to function in the leading democracy in the world, it fails in the world.

Let us face the facts: the representation of the people in the Congress of the United States is based on population; members of the House of Representatives are elected by groups of approximately 275,000 to 300,000 persons living in 435 Congressional Districts. Naturally difficulties of division within state boundaries, unequal growth of population, migration from year to year, and slow adjustment to these and other changes, makes equal population of these districts only approximate; but unless by and large, and in the long run, essential equality is maintained, the whole basis of democratic representation is marred and as in the celebrated "rotten borough" cases in England in the nineteenth century, representation must be eventually equalized or democracy relapses into oligarchy or even fascism.

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This is exactly what threatens the United States today because of the unjust disfranchisement of the Negro and the use of his numerical presence to increase the political power of his enemies and of the enemies of democracy. The nation has not the courage to eliminate from citizenship all persons of Negro descent and thus try to restore slavery. It therefore makes its democracy unworkable by paradox and contradiction.

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The world will not forget that the population of this group makes it in size one of the considerable nations of the world. We number as many as the inhabitants of the Argentine or Czechoslovakia, or the whole of Scandinavia including Sweden, Norway and Denmark. We are very nearly the size of Egypt, Rumania and Yugoslavia. We are larger than Canada, Saudi Arabia, Ethiopia, Hungary or the Netherlands. We have twice as many persons as Australia or Switzerland, and more than the whole Union of South Africa. We have more people than Portugal or Peru; twice as many as Greece and nearly as many as Turkey. We have more people by far than Belgium and half as many as Korea or Spain. In sheer numbers then we are a group which has a right to be heard.

We begin to see that the Negro is fighting a slow, determined battle and is not going to give up. There is no indication that he will sink into lethargic acceptance of present conditions as inevitable pr pres nt progress a s satisfactory. He proposes to reach complete equality as an American citizen. And by equality he means abolition of separate schools, the disappearance of "Jim-crow" travel; no segregation in public accommodations; the right to vote, the right to think and the right to speak, the right to work and to live in a decent home, and the right to marry any person who wishes to marry him. The Negro does not expect to reach these goals in a minute or in ten years. He is long-suffering and patient. But whether it takes thirty years or a thousand, equality is his goal and he will never stop until he reaches it.

It must be admitted that continuous hammering upon the gates of opportunity in the United States has had effect, and that because of this, and with the help of his white fellow-citizens the American Negro has emerged from slavery and attained emancipation from chattel slavery, considerable economic independence, social security and advance in culture.

In 1900, a Negro boy baby at birth had a life expectation of thirty-two years; in 1947, this had increased to fifty-seven years. In 1870, nine-tenths of the Negroes were illiterate. The census of 1940 reported the illiterates at 10 per cent, probably an inaccurate figure due to our methods of collecting statistics of reading and writing. Today certainly the Negro illiterates are below 20 per cent. In 1910, there were in school 1,644,000, or 45 per cent, of all Negroes 5 to 20 years of age; in 1940; 64 per cent of such Negro children were in school, or 4,188,000. In 1900, Charles Dudley Warner, speaking for American intellectuals, said that Negroes could not assimilate and use college training. In 1910 not more than 5,000 Negroes were in college. In 1948 more than 88,000 Negroes were enrolled in college.

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The year after the Rosenwald Fund went into operation, 324 Negroes received the Bachelor's degree; in 1948 some 6,635 received this degree. There are today more than 1,500 Negro students enrolled in Northern colleges and universities, while from these institutions 279 have received the doctorate in philosophy. In the first edition of "Who's Who in America" there was not, so far as I can ascertain, the name of a single American of Negro descent. The fiftieth edicion, in 1948, contains the names of ninety-one Negroes, and in "American Men of Science", seventy-seven Negroes are listed. There are today on the faculties of the leading universities of the North seventy Negro insturctors, ranging from a full professor at the University of Chicago to associate professors and instructors in other institutions.

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THE BLACK UNITED STATES

AStory of the Descendants of Africans in the United States of America

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

~~Chapter I~~ I. The Negro Group.

There were in the United States of America, 1940, 12,865,518 native-born citizens, something less than a tenth of the nation, who form largely a segregated caste, with restricted legal rights, and many illegal disabilities. The group in 1950, numbers about 15,000,000. They are descendants of the Africans brought to America during the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and reduced to slave labor. This group has no complete biological unity, but varies in color from white to black, and comprises a great variety of physical characteristics, since many are the offspring of white European-Americans as well as of Africans and American Indians. There are a large number of white Americans who also descend from Negroes but who are not counted in the colored group nor subjected to caste restrictions because the preponderance of white blood conceals their descent.

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The so-called American Negro group, therefore, while it is in no sense absolutely set off physically from its fellow Americans has nevertheless a strong, hereditary cultural unity, born of slavery, of common suffering, prolonged proscription and curtailment of political and civil rights; and especially because of economic and social disabilities. Largely from this fact, have arisen their cultural gifts to America - their rhythm, music and folk-song; their religious faith and customs; their contribution to American art and literature; their defense of their country in every war, on land, sea and in the air; and especially the hard, continuous toil upon which the prosperity and wealth of this continent has largely been built.

The group has long been internally divided by dilemma as to whether its striving upward, should be aimed at strengthening its inner cultural and group bonds, both for intrinsic progress and for offensive power against caste; or whether it should seek escape wherever and however possible into the surrounding American culture. Decision in this matter has been largely determined by outer compulsion rather than inner plan; for prolonged policies of segregation and discrimination have involuntarily welded the mass almost into a nation within a nation with its own schools, churches, hospitals, newspapers and many business enterprises.

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The result has been to make American Negroes to wide extent provincial, introvertive, self-conscious and narrowly race-loyal; but it has also inspired them to frantic and often successful effort to achieve, to deserve, to show the world their capacity to share modern civilization. As a result there is almost no area of American civilization in which the Negro has not made creditable showing in the face of all his handicaps.

If, however, the effect of the color caste system on the North American Negro has been both good and bad, its effect on white America has been disastrous. It has repeatedly led the greatest modern attempt at democratic government to deny its political ideals, to falsify its philanthropic assertions and to make its religion to a great extent hypocritical. A nation which boldly declared 'That all men are created equal', proceeded to build its economy on chattel slavery; masters who declared race-mixture impossible, sold their own children into slavery and left a mulatto progeny which neither law nor science can today disentangle; churches which excused slavery as calling the heathen to God, refused to recognize the freedom of converts or admit them to equal

communion. Sectional strife over the profits of slave labor and conscientious revolt against making human beings real estate led to bloody civil war, and to a partial emancipation of slaves which nevertheless even to this day is not complete. Poverty, ignorance, disease and crime have been forced on these unfortunate victims of greed to an extent far beyond any social necessity; and a great nation, which today ought to be in the forefront of the march toward peace and democracy, finds itself continuously making common cause with race-hate, prejudiced exploitation and oppression of the common man. Its high and noble words are turned against it, because they are contradicted in every syllable by the treatment of the American Negro for three hundred and twenty-eight years.

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2 Slavery

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Slavery in America is a strange and contradictory story. It cannot be regarded as mainly either a theoretical problem of morals or a scientific problem of race. From either of these points of view, the rise of slavery in America is simply inexplicable. Looking at the facts frankly, slavery evidently was a matter of economics, a question of income and labor, rather than a problem of right and wrong, or of the physical differences in men. Once slavery began to be the source of vast income for men and nations, there followed frantic search for moral and racial justifications. Such excuses were found and men did not inquire too carefully into either their logic or truth.

The twenty Negroes brought to Virginia in 1619, were not the first who had landed on this continent. For a century small numbers of Negroes had been arriving as servants, as laborers, as free adventurers. The southwestern part of the present United States was first traversed by four explorers of whom one was an African Negro. Negroes accompanied early explorers like D'Ayllon and Menendez in the southeastern United

States. But just as the earlier black visitors to the West Indies were servants and adventurers and then later began to appear as laborers on the sugar plantations, so in Virginia, these imported black laborers in 1619 and after, came to be wanted for the raising of tobacco which was the money crop.

In the minds of the early planters, there was no distinction as to labor whether it was white or black; in law there was at first no discrimination. But as imported white labor became scarcer and more protected by law, it became less profitable than Negro labor which flooded the markets because of European slave traders, internal strife in Africa; and because in America the Negroes were increasingly stripped of legal defense. For these reasons America became a land of black slavery, and there arose first, the fabulously rich sugar empire; then the cotton kingdom, and finally colonial imperialism.

3 ~~Chapter III~~ Revolt or Escape

Then came the inevitable fight between free labor and democracy on the one hand, and slave labor with its huge profits on the other. Black slaves were the spear-head of this fight. They were the first in America to stage the "sit-down" strike, to slow up and sabotage the work of the plantation. They revolted time after time and no matter what recorded history may say, the enacted laws against slave revolt are unanswerable testimony as to what these revolts meant all over America.

The slaves themselves especially imperiled the whole slave system by escape from slavery. It was the fugitive slave more than the slave revolt, which finally threatened investment and income; and the organization for helping fugitive slaves through Free Northern Negroes and their white friends, in the guise of an underground movement, was of tremendous influence.

Finally it was the Negro soldier as a co-fighter with the whites for independence from the British economic empire which began emancipation. The British bid for his help and the colonials against their first impulse had to bid in return and virtually to promise the Negro soldier freedom after the Revolutionary War. It was for the protection of American Negro sailors as well as white that the war of 1812 was precipitated and, after independence from England was accomplished, freedom for the black laboring class, and enfranchisement for whites and blacks was in sight.

In the meantime, however, white labor had continued to regard the United States as a place of refuge; as a place for free land; for continuous employment and high wage; for freedom of thought and faith. It was here, however, that employers intervened; not because of any moral obliquity but because the Industrial Revolution, based upon the crops raised by slave labor in the Caribbean and in the southern United States, was made possible by world trade and a new and astonishing technique; and finally was made triumphant by a vast transportation of slave labor through the British slave-trade in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

This new mass of slaves became competitors of white labor and drove white labor for refuge into the arms of employers, whose interests were founded on slave labor. The doctrine of race inferiority was used to convince white labor that they had the right to be free and to vote, while the Negroes must be slaves or depress the wage of whites; western free soil became additional lure and compensation, if it could be restricted to free labor.

On the other hand the fight of the slave-holders against democracy increased with the spread of the wealth and power of the Cotton

Kingdom. Through political power based on slaves they became the dominant political force in the United States; they were successful in expanding into Mexico and tried to penetrate the Caribbean. Finally they demanded for slavery a part of the free soil of the West, and because of this last excessive, and in fact impossible effort, a Civil War to preserve and extend slavery ensued.

This fight for slave labor was echoed in the law. The free Negro was systematically discouraged, disfranchised and reduced to serfdom. He became by law the easy victim of the kidnapper and liable to treatment as a fugitive slave. The Church, influenced by wealth and respectability, was predominately on the side of the slave owner and effort was made to make the degradation of the Negro, as a race, final by Supreme Court decision.

But from the beginning, the outcome of the Civil War was inevitable and this not mainly on account of the predominant wealth and power of the North; it was because of the clear fact that the Southern slave economy was built on black labor. If at any time the slaves or any large part of them, as workers ceased to support the South; and if even more decisively, as fighters they joined the North, there was no way in the world for the South to win. Just as soon then as slaves became spies for the invading Northern armies; laborers for their camps and fortifications, and finally produced 200,000 trained and efficient soldiers with arms in their hands, and with the possibility of a million more, the fate of the slave South was sealed.

Victory however brought dilemma; if victory meant full economic freedom for labor in the South, white and black; if it meant land and education, and eventually votes, then the slave empire was doomed, and the profits of Northern industry built on the Southern slave foundation would also be seriously curtailed. Northern industry had a stake

in the Cotton Kingdom and in the cheap slave labor that supported it. It had expanded for war industries during the fighting, encouraged by government subsidy and eventually protected by a huge tariff rampart. When war profits declined there was still prospect of tremendous post war profits on cotton and other products of Southern agriculture. Therefore, what the North wanted was not freedom and higher wage for black labor, but its control under such forms of law as would keep it cheap; and also stop its open competition with Northern labor. The moral protest of abolitionists must be appeased but profitable industry was determined to control wages and government.

The result was an attempt at Reconstruction in which black labor established schools; tried to divide up the land and put a new social legislation in force. On the other hand, the power of Southern land owners soon joined with Northern industry to disfranchise the Negro; keep him from access to free land or to capital, and to build up the present caste system for blacks founded on color discrimination, peonage, intimidation and mob-violence.

It is this fact that underlies many of the contradictions in the social and political development of the United States since the Civil War. Despite our resources and our miraculous technique; despite comparatively high wage paid many of our workers and their consequent high standard of living, we are nevertheless ruled by wealth, monoply and big business organization to an astounding degree. Our railway transportation is built upon monumental economic injustice both to passengers, shippers and to different sections of the land. The monopoly of land and natural resources throughout the United States both in cities, and in farming districts is a disgraceful aftermath to the vast land heritage with which this nation started.

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Let us examine these facts more carefully. The United States has always professed to be a Democracy. She has never wholly attained her ideal, but slowly she has approached it. The privilege of voting has in time been widened by abolishing limitations of birth, religion and lack of property. After the Civil War, which abolished slavery, the nation in gratitude to the black soldiers and laborers who helped win that war, sought to admit to the suffrage all persons without distinction of "race, color or previous condition of servitude". They were warned by the great leaders of abolition, like Sumner, Stevens and Douglass, that this could only be effective, if the Freedmen were given schools, land and some minimum of capital. A Freedmen's Bureau to furnish these prerequisites to effective citizenship was planned and put into partial operation. But Congress and the nation, weary of the costs of war and eager to get back to profitable industry, refused the necessary funds. The effort died, but in order to restore friendly civil government in the South the enfranchised Freedman, seventy-five per cent illiterate, without land or tools, was thrown into competitive industry with a ballot in his hands. By herculean effort, helped by philanthropy and his own hard work, the Negro built a school system, bought land and cooperated in starting a new economic order in the

South. In a generation he had reduced his illiteracy by half and had become a wage-earning laborer and share-cropper. He still was handicapped by poverty, disease and crime, but nevertheless the rise of the American Negro from slavery in 1860 to freedom in 1880, has few parallels in modern history.

However, opposition to any democracy which included the Negro race on any terms was so strong in the former slave-holding South, and found so much sympathy in large parts of the rest of the nation, that despite notable improvement in the condition of the Negro by every standard of social measurement, the effort to deprive Negroes of the right to vote succeeded. At first he was driven from the polls in the South by mobs and violence; and then he was openly cheated; finally by a "Gentleman's agreement" with the North, the Negro was disfranchised in the South by a series of laws, methods of administration, court decisions and general public policy, so that today three-fourths of the Negro population of the nation is deprived of the right to vote by open and declared policy.

Most persons seem to regard this as simply unfortunate for Negroes, as depriving a modern working class of the minimum rights for self-protection and opportunity for progress. This is true as has been shown in poor educational opportunities, discrimination in work, health protection and in the courts. But the situation is far more serious than this: the disfranchisement of the American Negro makes the functioning of all democracy in the nation difficult; and as democracy fails to function in the leading democracy in the world, it fails in the world.

Let us face the facts: the representation of the people in the Congress of the United States is based on population; members of the House of Representatives are elected by groups of approximately 275,000

to 300,000 persons living in 435 Congressional Districts. Naturally difficulties of division within state boundaries, unequal growth of population, migration from year to year, and slow adjustment to these and other changes, makes equal population of these districts only approximate; but unless by and large, and in the long run, essential equality is maintained, the whole basis of democratic representation is marred and as in the celebrated "rotten borough" cases in England in the nineteenth century, representation must be eventually equalized or democracy relapses into oligarchy or even fascism.

This is exactly what threatens the United States today because of the unjust disfranchisement of the Negro and the use of his numerical presence to increase the political power of his enemies and of the enemies of democracy. The nation has not the courage to eliminate from citizenship all persons of Negro descent and thus try to restore slavery It therefore makes its democracy unworkable by paradox and contradiction

Let us see what effect the disfranchisement of Negroes has upon democracy in the United States. In 1944, five hundred and thirty-one electoral votes were cast for the president of the United States. Of these, one hundred and twenty-nine, came from Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia Louisiana, Oklahoma, North and South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, Florida and Mississippi. The number of these votes and the party for which they were cast, depended principally upon the disfranchisement of the Negro and were not subject to public opinion or democratic control. They represented nearly a fourth of the power of the electoral college and yet they represented only a tenth of the actual voters.

If we take the voting population according to the census of 1940, and the vote actually cast in 1946 for members of Congress, we have a fair picture of how democracy is working in the United States.

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be persisted in, without infringing upon the rights of the peoples of the world and especially upon the ideals and the work of the United Nations.

This question then, which is without doubt primarily an internal and national question, becomes inevitably an international question and will in the future become more and more international, as the nations draw together. In this great attempt to find common ground and to maintain peace, it is therefore, fitting and proper that the thirteen million American citizens of Negro descent should appeal to the United Nations and ask that organization in the proper way to take cognizance of a situation which deprives this group of their rights as men and citizens, and by so doing makes the functioning of the United Nations more difficult, if not in many cases impossible.

The World will not forget that the population of this group makes it in size one of the considerable nations of the world. We number as many as the inhabitants of the Argentine or Czechoslovakia, or the whole of Scandanavia including Sweden, Norway and Denmark. We are very nearly the size of Egypt, Rumania and Yugoslavia. We are larger than Canada, Saudi Arabia, Ethiopia, Hungary or the Netherlands. We have twice as many persons as Australia or Switzerland, and more than the whole Union of South Africa. We have more people than Portugal or Peru; twice as many as Greece and nearly as many as Turkey. We have more people by far than Belgium and half as many as Korea or Spain. In sheer numbers then we are a group which has a right to be heard, and while we rejoice that other smaller nations can stand and make their wants known in the United Nations we maintain equally that our voice should not be supressed or ignored.

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editor himself are subject to "Jim-Crow" laws, to denial of the right to vote, to unequal chance to earn a living; of the right to enter many places of public entertainment supported by their taxes. In other words our complaint is mainly against a discrimination based mainly on color of skin, and it is this that we denounce as not only indefensible but barbaric.

35-4-01

It may be quite properly asked at this point, to whom a petition and statement such as this should be addressed? Many persons say that this represents a domestic question which is purely a matter of internal concern; and that therefore it should be addressed to the people and government of the United States and the various states.

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It must not be thought that this procedure has not already been taken. From the very beginning of this nation, in the late eighteenth century, and even before, in the colonies, decade by decade and indeed year by year, the Negroes of the United States have appealed for redress of grievances, and have given facts and figures to support their contention.

It must ~~also~~ be admitted that ~~this~~ continuous hammering upon the gates of opportunity in the United States has had effect, and that because of this, and with the help of his white fellow-citizens the American Negro has emerged from slavery and attained emancipation from chattel slavery, considerable economic independence, social security and advance in culture. (city A)

But manifestly this is not enough; no large group of a nation can lag behind the average culture of that nation, as the American Negro still does, without suffering not only itself but becoming a menace ~~to the nation~~.

~~In addition to this, in its international relations, the~~

But as imported white labor became scarcer and more protected by law, it became less profitable than Negro labor which flooded the markets because of European slave traders, internal strife in Africa; and because in America the Negroes were increasingly stripped of legal defense. For these reasons America became a land of black slavery, and there arose first, the favulously rich sugar empire; then the cotton kingdom, and finally colonial imperialis.

3. Revolt and Escape

Then came the inevitable fight between free labor and democracy on the one hand, and slave labor with its huge profits on the other. Black slaves were the spear-head of this fight. They were the first in America to stage the "sit-down" strike, to slow up and sabotage the work of the plantation. They revolted time after time and no matter what recorded history may say, the enacted laws against slave revolt are unanswerable testimonyes to what these revolts meant all over America.

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The slaves themselves especially imperiled the whole slave system by escape from slavery. It was the fugitive slave more than the slave revolt, which finally threatened investment and income; and the organization for helping fugitive slaves through Free Northern Negroes and their white friends, in the guise of an underground movement, was of tremendous influence.

Finally it was the Negro soldier as a co-fighter with the white for independence from the British economic empire which began emancipation. The British bid for his help and the colonials aga nst their first impulse had to bid in return and virtually to promise the Negro soldier freedom after the Revolutionary War. It was for the protection of American Negro sailors as well as white that the War of 1812 was precipitated and, after independence from England was accomplished, freedom for the black laboring class, and enfranchisement for whites and blacks was in sight.

In the meantime, however, white labor had continued to regard the United States as a place of refuge; as a place for free land; for continuous

But as imported white labor became scarcer and more protected by law, it became less profitable than Negro labor which flooded the markets because of European slave traders, internal strife in Africa; and because in America the Negroes were increasingly stripped of legal defense. For these reasons America became a land of black slavery, and there arose first, the fabulously rich sugar empire; then the cotton kingdom, and finally colonial imperialism.

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In addition to serious and widely publicized revolts in 1739, 1800, 1822 and 1831, there were, according to Aptheker, at least 250 revolts and conspiracies in the history of American Negro slavery

I SPEAK FOR PEACE

Speech by Du Bois in New York, September 24, 1950
New York: Peace Information Center, 1950
Leaflet

[1950]

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

30-6-48

'I SPEAK FOR PEACE'

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

Historian, Poet, Statesman & Humanitarian

The great issue, of this time, of this nation, of this world, is PEACE; and the central theme of the campaign which begins here today is Peace, no more War. There are in this nation today powerful interests which are determined on War. To this end they are suppressing the Bill of Rights so as to stop discussion, distort the facts and stampede the nation through the hysteria of groundless Fear. Who is it among us who wants War and why do they want it?

The American Labor Party knows who and why, and there are many others who also know. But the American Labor Party not only knows but it is going to do something about it. That right of action is the right to elect our lawmakers and executives by universal and secret ballot.

Our party therefore has selected candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor; for comptroller and attorney-general, for mayor of the city of New York and for members of the federal Congress.

It has asked me to run for the United States Senate. This is for me a new role. Only once in my life have I held public office, and that was when for a month I was, in 1928, made Special Minister Plenipotentiary to Liberia. My political activity has been almost wholly confined to writing. In this writing, with some speaking, I tried first to put the Negro vote in proper and effective relation to the national needs. In the first election of Woodrow Wilson, I sought to end Negro subserviency to the Republican Party. I tried to induce the Bull Moose movement to make Negro Rights a main plank and fought it when it refused. I opposed Taft's "lily-white" Southern policy and supported the third party movements of La Follette and Henry Wallace. I have never been an active party worker, but I have been an enrolled member of the Socialist Party, of the Democratic Party under the New Deal, and lately of the American Labor Party.

The basic motive of my political thought and activity has been the securing for all Americans, civil and political rights regardless of race or color. I assumed, and assumed too easily, that once color discrimination was done away with, the nation and the world would be free to attack and solve certain basic problems of human progress which I knew full well cried for solution. Behind and beneath this demand for rights lay always therefore the assumption that with the right to vote, the right to think and speak, and the right to know, would come through the very exercise of these fundamental privileges: the basic right of human beings to live, to work; to eat and be sheltered, to be shielded from disease and have their children educated.

But to my amazement and fright, I have lived to see the era of Peace which I was trained to look forward to as the only goal of civilization transformed into plans for universal world war; a theory of progress by war and more war, each more savage and destructive than the last. I now realize that I, as well as you, am facing a crisis in which no consideration of ease or age, suffice to hold me back from a great duty. That duty is the one of trying to bring reason and past experience to bear upon a group of people gone temporarily insane.

The basic cause of this insanity is the effort of powerful interests, armed by control of press and radio, school and platform, backed by almost unlimited money, to turn the attention of the world from the fundamental problem of our age.

That problem IS THAT IN OUR UNPRECEDENTED ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY, WITH ITS MARVELOUS TECHNIQUE AND WORLD-WIDE EXTENT, THE VAST MAJORITY OF MANKIND REMAIN SICK, IGNORANT AND STARVED WHILE A FEW HAVE MORE INCOME IN GOODS AND SERVICES THAN THEY CAN USE.

It is no sufficient answer to this fundamental problem, to point out that the present degradation of the worker is not near so great as it once was, or much less in some lands than in others. The point is that it is far too great than is necessary or decent and calls for drastic cure now and not a thousand years hence.

This is the basic problem of our culture, no matter how much we try to conceal and ignore it; or try to divert attention from it to other matters. There are no other matters so important or so pressing. We may be led to yell our heads off to convince ourselves that the problem of this world today is the Soviet Union and Communism. That is deliberate deception. The problem of economic justice to working men existed before the Russian revolution and would remain if Russia were swept from the face of the earth tomorrow. Proposals to solve this problem by socialism and communism, did not originate in Russia and will not end there. What Russia did was to attempt to solve this problem in a systematic way, at a time when the 19th century had bequeathed to the world the dogma that the problem of economic justice was insoluble; that most men must always be poor, ignorant and sick, because most men were so inferior in gift and morals that this was inevitable; that civilization depended on making the few masters of the many, the Rich the rulers of the Poor, and thus in this way, and only in this way, could civilization be built and maintained.

Is this true? Whether it is true or not, we have no right to stop people and nations from denying the necessity of poverty, disease and ignorance, and from experimenting in their own way to make a better world. Moreover, our own duty is clear and that is not to pull down others but rather to build ourselves up; to prove to the world that the economic condition of mankind can be bettered and that we know how to do this and that we propose to prove our belief by action. Instead of this, what are we up to? We are trying to fight an Idea. We are going to make nations agree with us and our way of life by using atom bombs, and jet planes, battleships and artillery.

Why? Why do we propose to make the Russian experiment fail, to throttle China and to throw the world into continuous war? The reason is clear: we fear that any success of socialism or communism will interfere with our money-making. We have become a nation of money-makers. We think that money-making is the great end of man. Our whole ideology bows to this fantastic idea. Religion, science, art and morals in America tend to be measured by the profit they bring, and the true vocation of American manhood is regarded as profit-making business enterprise.

War is Big Business and a business immensely profitable to a few, but of measureless disaster and death of dream to the many. Big business wants war in order to keep your mind off social reform; it would rather spend your taxes for atom bombs than for schools because in this way it makes more money; it would rather have your sons dying in Korea than studying in America and asking awkward questions. The system which it advocates depends on war and more war.

In order to have war, Big Business must have Hate; so its press and newspapers ask you to hate communists and if not communists, hate all who do not hate communists; indeed hate all who do not take orders from those who now rule America.

What has happened to the world, is that those who profit from war, especially in the United States, have gained control of government, of information and propaganda. This came about because of the First World War, which we entered with reluctance and participated in mainly by furnishing materials at a huge profit to those who controlled them. The result was two-fold; Americans conceived the idea of continuing to profit from the world's disaster and to move in as successor of the British Empire as ruler of most of mankind. On the other hand, Russia and other nations who had been through Hell because of war, began experiments for reforming if not replacing the current methods of industrial organization. We joined the capi-

talists of the world to suppress their socialist experiments which threatened our plan of world industrial empire. However, just as plans were ripe for a mass attack, in particular on the Soviets, the bottom fell out of modern capitalist industry. This was no fault of Russia nor of socialism, but was directly due to the overreaching greed of private profit

But no matter what its cause, the result was that the Soviet experiment got a breathing space while in the United States the New Deal was forced to adopt many socialist remedies for poverty, unemployment and disease: we curbed the profits of capital; we put the State into certain industries and we adopted planned industry like the TVA, and we relieved the unemployed, and we established Social Security.

In other words, the United States began to form and carry out its own plans for so reorganizing industry as to save capitalism wherever it deserved to be saved.

Here the American Labor Party takes its stand as the successor of the New Deal. It maintains that the Soviet Union has a right to adopt its own economic philosophy and carry it out as it will. And that also the United States has a right to attempt to save its own way of life and that this can be done as the New Deal started to prove, when it was sabotaged not only by its enemies but more completely by its friends. What the American Labor Party asserts is that the present plan of Big Business to compel the world to adopt our philosophy and our methods by force of arms is not only unreasonable in the light of our failures, but impossible in itself and can only end in disaster.

It would seem that the futile efforts of a succession of master races to impose their will and power upon mankind would teach us that our program of world conquest is crazy. There is no possible chance for us to accomplish what Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, Great Britain and Hitler failed to do. With our little police action in Korea shaking our resources to the foundations, how long and what effort will it take to conquer China, the Soviet Union, the Balkans - not to mention India. Our military plans are idiotic and still more so if we depend on Germany and Japan to pull our chestnuts out of the fire. It will take more than one wild man of Tokyo to bring this fantasy to fact.

Moreover, we point out that the persons who are forcing us to adopt this policy of force and violence are the upholders of Big Business; and they are profiting as never before by war and preparation for war, and are deliberately blind to the fact that their profit is the disaster of America and the world. Moreover, we point out that Herbert Lehman was trained in Big Business and today deliberately represents its interests. Last year, Herbert Lehman called John Foster Dulles "a bigot, an anti-Semite and a Fascist". For that reason I voted for Lehman instead of Dulles. This year Senator Lehman welcomes this same Dulles into "bi-partisan" collaboration for war; he sponsors legislation for concentration camps for Communists and those called Communists; he ignores the restoration to power in Germany of the same gang which killed six million Jews, and acquiesces into their re-arming.

Why? What has changed Mr. Lehman? He has not changed. He follows automatically his training in the same school which made Dulles a war-monger and attorney of the Nazis, and that is, foreign investment of American capital, so as to make enormous profit out of the poverty and helplessness of Asia and Africa. American capital is pouring into South Africa and Rhodesia. We are the real owners of serf-labor in the Belgian Congo. We are wild to have Chinese factory hands at 12 cents a day. We helped shoot down the black miners in West Africa. And to bulwark our investment and guarantee high profit, the power of business joins hands with the military.

Thus, we are today ruled by Big Business and Big Brass for profit. A representative of the Steel Trust has been Secretary of State; a representative of Morgan and Rockefeller is chief adviser of Truman on foreign affairs; another Morgan man has been under-secretary of State and will be second in command under Marshall. A secretary of the Navy and Defense chief represented Dillon, Reid and Company, and another became Secretary of War. Where Big Business does not control government, men trained for war do. We have just reformed our defense department by placing a soldier at its head in defiance of sound tradition; his first word is universal training of our children for all-out war all over the earth, at a cost greater than we ever spent for education, health, housing and social uplift altogether. And for what? For profit to investors which is today piling up at the rate of $23,000,000,000 a year; with the prospect that the profit for 1950 will be four and a half that of 1939, and twice as high as the enormous war profit of 1944.

It is the theory of democratic government, that when a situation like this arises, two political parties will examine, debate and dispute issues and acts until the people can make intelligent choice of the problems before them. Today we have only one political party which shares power for the same ends. Men like Dewey and Hanley can only try to outdo what the Democrats have already done; if the Democrats are for war, they are for more war; if the Democrats repudiate the New Deal, the Republicans loathe and despise it. The one point of agreement between the two so-called parties is war on any nation or movement which stands in the way of American profit; and the suppression of all discussion of the merits of the present crisis. I try to spread in America news of the peace movement in Europe and I am threatened with jail. Paul Robeson advises Negroes never to fight against people who are striving for a better world for black and white, and he is denied the right to make a living.

In this situation the American Labor Party takes its stand on the proposition "There can be no progress without Peace". We are the only nation in the civilized world advocating war and compelling other nations to fight. For this we are hated and feared. We call for the immediate settlement of the war in Korea, which an American soldier has characterized when he said "I never saw such a useless, damned war in all my life". Mediation with both North and South in conference, and China represented in the United Nations, is the only solution. We ask resumption of the free flow of trade between east and west and the utter overthrow of colonialism even when masked under Point Four.

To stop this program of reason and progress, the allied and associated political profit-makers, called the Republican and Democratic parties, have adopted the last tactics of despair. They have made not only truth but civil rights a casualty of war. They have turned your attention from progress and peace to hate and fear. They are making it illegal to think of progress or to advocate peace or progress. Every path to reform like taxation of great wealth; effective rent control; river development and forest planning are all called communistic or socialistic and their promoters threatened with disgrace, jail or loss of livelihood.

And now as a last exercise of tyranny, we are presented with the McCarran bill - the Fugitive Slave Law of 1950. You know what the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was: capital invested in human beings began to run away; foolish northerners, black and white, helped it hide. The Slave Power ruled the nation as Wall Street rules it today; they passed a bill that made kidnapping of any Negro possible without trial, that made a man prove his freedom instead of forcing masters to prove property; and tried to make anti-slavery opinion a crime. This law was so successful that in a decade it brought Civil War and slavery was abolished three years later.

So today, we are bidden to hate Communism when what we must hate is war; we are called subversive when we try to think and act as human beings and not as puppets. If we attack segregation in the army or civil life, we are called traitors to America. Against this the American Labor Party protests and fights. And as its candidate for the United States Senate, I ask you to vote to curb Big Business and War as represented by Herbert Lehman, War and Big Business as represented by that eminent veteran, Joe Hanley, and to uphold peace and civil rights which are being sabotaged by Harry Truman.

(Statement by Dr. Du Bois on his candidacy for the United States Senate on the American Labor Party ticket at a press conference held September 24, 1950 at the Hotel Theresa, New York City.)

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, Chairman of the PEACE INFORMATION CENTER, was one of the original founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He is Vice-Chairman of the Council on African Affairs.

Copies of this statement may be obtained from:
PEACE INFORMATION CENTER
709 BROADWAY,
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I TAKE MY STAND FOR PEACE

New York: Masses and Mainstream, 1951
Pamphlet

I take my stand FOR peace

— W. E. B. Du Bois

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

DR. WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS, *born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, in 1868, is one of the world's outstanding scholars. He is the author of numerous books, many of which pioneered in scientific historical, anthropological and sociological research. His novels, poetry, and books of collected essays are permanent additions to the body of American literature. He was one of the chief founders of two great organizations of the Negro people: the Niagara Movement (1905) and the N.A.A.C.P. (1909), whose magazine* The Crisis *he edited from 1910 to 1933. More recently he has served as a Vice-Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, and as a leader of the American Labor Party ran for United States Senator in New York in 1950, polling two hundred thousand votes.*

This pamphlet, reprinted from the progressive cultural monthly Masses & Mainstream, *was written prior to the indictment of Dr. Du Bois and his associates in the former Peace Information Center.*

The drawing of Dr. Du Bois is by the distinguished Negro artist, Charles White.

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THE world is astonished at recent developments in the United States. Our actions and attitudes are discussed with puzzled wonder on the streets of every city in the world. Reluctantly the world is coming to believe that we actually want war; that we must have war; that in no other way can we keep our workers employed and maintain huge profits save by spending seventy thousand million dollars a year for war preparation and adding to the vast debt of over 200 thousand millions which we already owe chiefly for war in the past.

Our present war expenditure must be increased, yet we cannot tax the rich much more since the lawyers who make the tax laws can also break them and let the bulk of wealth go untaxed. We cannot raise the taxes on the poor much higher because rising prices leave less and less to tax. Citizens have borrowed 200 thousand million dollars on homes, farms, and furniture, and the poor and middle class have spent nearly all their savings. Yet we cannot stop; either we spend more and more on top of

what we are spending or our whole industrial organization, with its billions of private profit monopoly, will face collapse.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union whom we are determined to destroy does not at present seem willing to fight. We have warned and dared it. We have publicly and privately insulted it. We have eagerly given currency to every charge which anyone at any time makes against the Soviet Union, its economy, its morals, its plans. We thought that at last in Korea we had them where they must fight and we prepared jauntily for World War III almost with shouts of joy.

We were sure the Russians had started the Korean uprising, were furnishing arms and ready to march to war. Henry Wallace actually saw them and ran backward so fast that he tripped over his own resolutions, and stepped in the faces of his friends. Still the Soviets did not fight and began instead to call for world peace; for union against the atom bomb; for peace congresses. But the United States was not misled; not they. They stopped the peace appeal. They picked up and jailed advocates of peace. They barred from our shores foreign advocates of peace, persons of the highest reputation.

Highly placed public officials and military men began openly to declare that if the Russians would not attack us, we would attack them to keep them from attacking us. Meantime, wave after wave of our young men are being trained for murder, and Congress is on the verge of calling every youth in the land for this purpose.

This is what Europe sees us set for, in contradiction to everything we once professed—liberty, free speech, truth and justice. To this our masters will lead us unless you intervene: unless right here and now you, the people of the United States, say No! Enough of this hysteria, this crazy foolishness!

ONCE . . . THE LAND OF THE FREE

Our slow but steady descent into belief in complete and universal war and our determination to make all men agree with what some believe, rather than to let them exercise their free American heritage of choosing truth—this literal descent into Hell in our day, and in this our own country, has been so gradual and complete that many honest Americans cannot believe what they actually hear and see; and sit bewildered, rubbing their eyes in order to get some vague conception of what can

have happened to the land which once declared "these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

No American born before 1900 could possibly conceive that the United States would become a land approaching universal military service; with its armed forces in every continent and on every sea; pledged to conquer and control masses of mankind, order the thought and belief of the nations of the world, and ready to spend for these objects more money than it ever spent for religion, education or social uplift altogether.

When men arise and say this and try to prove its truth, every effort is made by secret police, organized spies and hired informers; by deliberate subversion of the fundamental principles of our law, to imprison, slander and silence such persons, and deprive them of earning an honest livelihood.

Avoiding all hysteria and exaggeration, all natural indignation and instinctive defense of the right of free speech and hatred of thought control, it is clear to all Americans who still dare to think, that my description of this America is

true, and if true, frightening to all men who once thought of this land as the Land of the Free.

UNITED STATES ALONE WANTS WAR...

My platform then, like the platform of every honest American who still dares believe in peace and freedom, takes its unalterable stand against war and slavery. There was a day when most men believed that progress depended on war; that by war, and mainly by war, had modern men gained freedom, religion and democracy. We believed this because we were taught this in our literature and science, in church and school, on platform and in newspaper. It was always a lie and as war has become universal and so horrible and destructive that everybody recognizes it as murder, crippling, insanity and stark death of human culture, we realize that there is scarce a victory formerly claimed by war which mankind might not have gained more cheaply and more decently and even more completely by methods of peace. If that was true in the past, it is so clear and indisputable today that no sane being denies it. And yet of all nations of earth today, the United States alone

wants war, prepares for war, forces other nations to fight and asks you and me to impoverish ourselves, give up health and schools, sacrifice our sons and daughters to a Jim-Crow army, and commit suicide, for a world war that nobody wants but the rich Americans who profit by it.

If war were a matter of careful study and grave decision, of prayerful thought and solemn deliberation, we might take its fearful outbreak as at least no more than human error, soon to be stopped by decency and common sense. But when did you ever vote for war? You who have spent most of your lives in a fighting, murdering world? When did you ever have a chance to decide this matter of maiming and murder? Never! And you never will as long as an executive of his own initiative can start a "little police action" which costs the lives and health of over 60,000 American boys, in order that big business can interfere with the governments of Asia.

Of what are we in such deathly fear? Have we been invaded? Has anyone dropped an atom bomb on us? Have we been impoverished or enslaved by foreigners? Is our business failing, and are our millionaires disappearing? Has the rate of profit gone down, is our machinery less

cunning, or our natural resources destroyed by strangers? Is there any sign that the United States of America is victim, or can be victim of any foreign country? No! Then of what are we afraid, and why are we trying to guard the earth from Pacific to Atlantic and from the North to the South Pole, unless it be from ourselves?

. . . AFRAID OF AN IDEA

Our rulers are afraid of an idea; tempted by a vision of power which this idea fights. The power they crave long misled and slaughtered the peoples of Europe and Asia, and now insidiously creeps into our own fever-mad heads; and that is Imperialism—world rule over the world. Once this was sought through black slavery: then it was made easy by yellow coolies: then by all "lesser breeds without the law," who could furnish a "white man's burden" and let him strut over the world, and lord it in Asia and Africa, and rule and rule without end, forever and forever. That was the vision of the nineteenth century. The fever of imperialism caught the United States as the nineteenth century died and we choked a few islands out of dying Spain. But these were but small

change which whetted our appetite. With the first World War came the vision of an Imperial United States as successor of the empire on which the sun already sets. We rushed so madly at the spoils left by European empire that we brought down our whole industrial system about our own ears.

It would seem that the memory of the great depression of the Thirties would convince all thinking men that war is not the path to the millenium, and that what we need is reform of our own system of work and industrial organization, before we attempt to teach the world what to think or how to live.

But what the men of big business ignored was that the industrial system which they were seeking to re-install had already met a terrible and costly reverse; that modifications of imperialism and monopoly capitalism had already been suggested and tried. Such efforts comprehended loosely by the name "Socialism," were not invented by Russia nor first tried by Russia. On the contrary, Socialism is an English, French and German conception and was tried in Russia because that unhappy land was one of the last and worst victims of the capitalist system.

If tomorrow Russia disappeared from the face

of the earth, the basic problem facing the modern world would remain: and that is, why is it, with the earth's abundance and our mastery of natural forces, and miraculous technique; with our commerce belting the earth, and goods and services pouring from our stores, factories, ships and warehouses—why is it that nevertheless, most human beings are starving to death, dying of preventable disease and too ignorant to know what is the matter, while a small minority are so rich that they cannot spend their income?

That is the problem which faces the world, and Russia was not the first to pose it, nor will she be the last to ask and demand answer. The nineteenth century said that this situation was inevitable and must always remain because of the natural inferiority of most men; the twentieth century knows better. It says that there can be food enough for all; that clothes and shelter for all can be provided; that most disease is preventable and that the overwhelming mass of human beings can be educated; that intelligence, health and decent comfort are not only possible, but should be demanded, by all men; planned by all states; and made increasingly effective by all voters in each election.

But the powerful who today own the earth and

the fullness thereof; who monopolize its industry and own its press and screen its news, have another answer. They order us to fight an Idea, to "contain" and crush any dream of abolishing poverty, disease and ignorance; and to do this by organizing war, murder and destruction on any people who dare to try to plan plenty for all mankind. From the nineteenth century, they attempt to take over imperialism to bribe the workers and thinkers of the most powerful countries by high wage and privilege, in order to build a false and dishonest prosperity on the slavery and degradation, the low wage and disease, of Africa and Asia and the islands of the sea; and to pay the price for this, they demand that you, your sons and daughters, in endless stream, be murdered and crippled in endless wars.

This is why we are fighting or preparing to fight in Europe, Asia and Africa—not against an enemy, but against the Idea—against the rising demand of the working classes of the world for better wages, decent housing, regular employment, medical service and schools for all.

It does not answer this world-wide demand to say that we of America have these things in greater abundance than the rest of the world, if our pros-

perity is based on, or seeks to base itself on, the exploitation and degradation of the rest of mankind. Remember, it is American money that owns more and more of South African mines worked by slave labor; it is American enterprise that fattens off Rhodesian copper; it is American investors that seek to dominate China, India, Korea and Burma; who are throttling the starved workers of the Near East.

Yet is it not clear that such a program is sheer insanity? That no nation, however rich and smart, can conquer this world? Have not Egypt, Assyria, Greece, Rome, Britain and Germany taught us this? And also that no Idea based on truth and righteousness can ultimately be suppressed by force and murder?

WHAT CAN BE DONE...?

I never thought I would live to see the day that free speech and freedom of opinion would be so throttled in the United States as it is today. Today in this free country, no man can be sure of earning a living, of escaping slander and personal violence, or even of keeping out of jail unless publicly and repeatedly he proclaims:

—that he hates Russia.
—that he opposes Socialism and Communism.
—that he supports wholeheartedly the war in Korea.
—that he is ready to spend any amount for further war, anywhere or at anytime.
—that he is ready to fight the Soviet Union, China and any other country, or all countries together.
—that he believes in the use of the atom bomb or any other weapon of mass destruction, and regards anyone opposed as a traitor.
—that he not only believes in and consents to all these things, but is willing to spy on his neighbors and denounce them if they do not believe as he does.

The mere statement of this creed shows its absolute insanity. What can be done to bring this nation to its senses? Most people answer: nothing; just sit still; bend to the storm; if necessary, lie and join the witch-hunt, swear to God that never, never did you ever sympathize with the Russian peasants' fight to be free; that you never in your life belonged to a liberal organization, or had a friend who did; and if so, you were deceived, deluded and a damned fool.

I want progress; I want education; I want social medicine; I want a living wage and old age security; I want employment for all and relief for the unemployed and sick; I want public works, public services and public improvements. I want freedom for my people. And because I know and you know that we cannot have these things, and at the same time fight, destroy and kill all around the world in order to make huge profit for big business; for that reason, I take my stand beside the millions in every nation and continent and cry *Peace—No More War!*

A new era of power, held and exercised by the working classes the world over, is dawning and while its eventual form is not yet clear, its progress cannot be held back by any power of man.

"It is a curious thing that I am called upon to defend myself against criminal charges for openly advocating the one thing all people want—PEACE."

—W. E. B. DU BOIS

SHAME OF A NATION

Five American citizens may go to jail for five years because they circulated information about peace activities in our country and throughout the world. They are the distinguished 83-year-old scholar, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Mrs. Elizabeth Moos, Kyrle Elkin, Abbott Simon, and Sylvia Soloff.

Their right to speak for peace must be upheld. Readers of this pamphlet are urged to write to U.S. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath to quash the indictment against Dr. Du Bois and his associates in the former Peace Information Center. Please send copies of such letters, telegrams, resolutions, together with contributions for their defense, to

SHIRLEY GRAHAM, *Treasurer*

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND
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PEACE IS DANGEROUS

Partially given as speech to National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, New York, September 28, 1951 and at Community Church, Boston, Massachusetts, November 11, 1951

New York, The National Guardian, 1951

Pamphlet

Peace Is Dangerous

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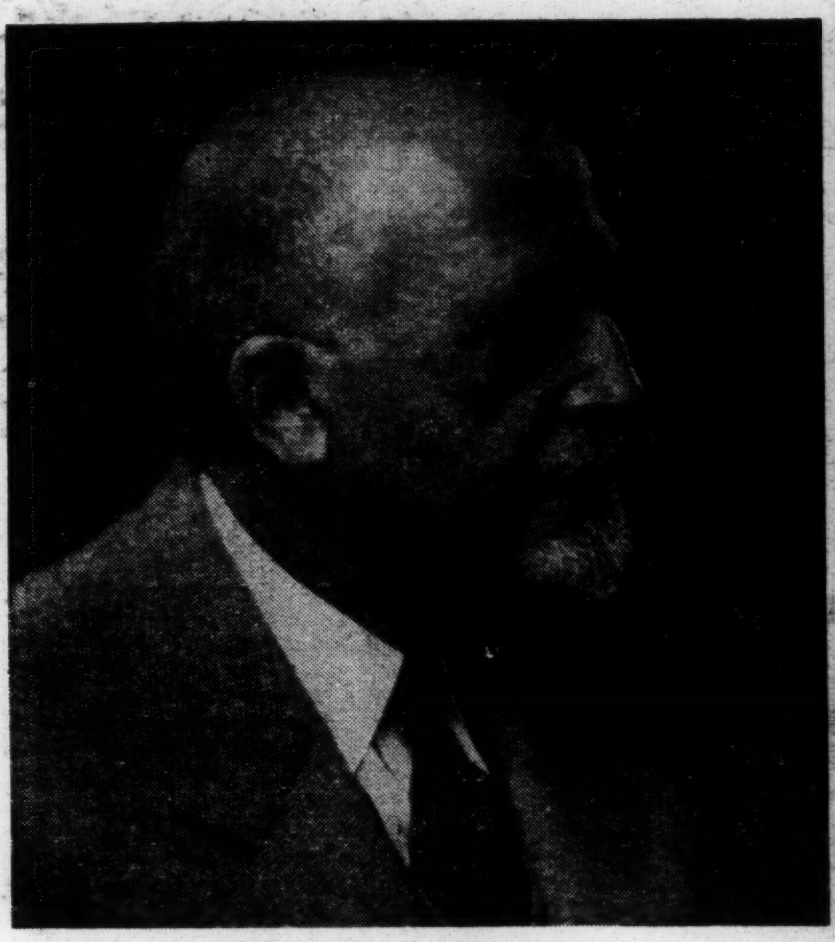

By W. E. B. DuBois

The author of this pamphlet, an American known throughout the world for his scholarship and his unwavering fight for human rights and dignity during more than half a century, speaks with authority of "the great silence that has fallen on the real soul of the nation." In 1951, his 83rd year, he was brought in handcuffs before an American court to be indicted for advocating peace without registering as a "foreign agent." After a week's trial the case against him and four associates in the Peace Information Center, which circulated peace information and petitions, collapsed for lack of evidence to prove peace un-American. Most newspapers, possibly out of sheer embarrassment at having to reveal that the U. S. Government had reached such a stage of hysterical absurdity, handled the trial by completely ignoring it.

As a historian steeped in the greatness of his country's past, Dr. DuBois refuses to despair in this time of great silence; he has faith that the voice of America will not forever be "the babble of cowards" that its masters would have it become. As long as harassment and persecution cannot still the wise words of a W. E. B. DuBois, Americans may share that faith.

Cedric Belfrage
Editor, National Guardian

A portion of this article was delivered as a speech in Town Hall, New York, on September 28, 1951, at a meeting sponsored by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences & Professions. It was revised and enlarged for an Armistice Day address delivered at the Community Church, Boston, on November 11, 1951.

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Peace is dangerous

By W. E. B. DuBois

PEACE IS DANGEROUS; not to all folk, but certainly to those whose power and standard of living depend on war. The danger of war to the majority of men is all too obvious: The killing and maiming of the young; the destruction of property and interference with normal reproduction; the distortion of culture patterns and discouragement of creative effort. When we realize that at least thirty million of the best specimens of the world's youth have been killed in wars since 1914, and many more millions crippled in body and soul, we can get some partial idea of the loss to modern civilization through war.

Why then does war persist? What decisive interests promote and continue it against irretrievable loss on the part of the majority of men? Those who gain from war and suffer from peace are easily discernible at cursory glance: The munition makers and those who furnish war materials and machines. Not so readily seen are those who profit by

the financial changes which war inevitably brings about. Still further in the background are investors and workers whose income is raised by war industries.

Even these large and important groups do not explain the popularity of war or at least the weak resistance to war hysteria. For explanation of this phenomenon we must look further to that vast number of Americans to whom present conditions bring comfort and satisfaction. This mass of intelligent persons either know or fear that if the present system of social and industrial organization prevalent in Western Europe and North America undergoes any essential change, they may not be able to enjoy what they consider the "American way of life". This standard of living does not necessarily call for luxury or conspicuous expenditure. It asks for a comfortable home, enough suitable clothing and sufficient nourishing food; not necessarily an automobile, but convenient transportation facilities, a telephone, medical care, vacations, education for children and provision for a decent old age.

That is what the average American expects from the "American way of life," or wants to be able to expect. It is not, to be sure, what the average American gets. Probably two-thirds of American families do not get it and half of these do not dare hope for it, although it remains their ideal. But a large and influential part of the American middle class do get these things. They believe they deserve them and they are willing to fight to keep them.

The basic question now is: Must this way of life, actual or believed possible for a large minority or even a majority of Americans, be defended by war or is it seriously endangered by peace? Our fear today undoubtedly is that peace is dangerous for this way of life for a large number of Americans and for the hope of it by the majority of our citizens.

This furnishes the reason behind the huge majority of the nation now rushing toward a third and final world war.

The time of all times, then, to examine this thesis and disclose its truth or falsity is now.

Causes of poverty: the forbidden subject

FIRST OF ALL, SOME AMERICANS ARE CONVINCED that our industrial system is so good that the mere existence of any other system is a threat. Most intelligent persons do not go this far. They acknowledge the shortcomings of our economy but still think it the best. They are, however, quite willing for others to try other ways; but they fear to have other ways, deemed inferior and impractical, tried on peoples who do not want them. It is the alleged forced expansion of communism which is today scaring most Americans into war.

But is it true that expanding communism is threatening our way of life? Or, on the contrary, is it the maintenance of our industrial methods which is threatening to keep the mass of the world's people not only below our own standard of living, but even below the life of ordinary decency and sheer survival? It is this aspect of world war which America is today refusing to discuss, indeed is often not permitted to discuss.

Most of us through education and lack of information firmly believe that the poverty and distress of the majority of human beings are primarily their own fault and perhaps can never be entirely alleviated. We are willing to do something in some vague "Point Four," provided the funds for this come out of public taxation and not out of private profits. But we say that even our great wealth is not able to support the world. When two answers are made to this we do not try to reply. The first answer is that a few centuries ago the aristocracy of the world believed that a standard of life such as American workers have today could not be

achieved in any state without the ruin of its culture.

I was taught in high school, at the close of the last century, that labor unions were futile, strikes wrong, and increased wages would go mainly to waste and drunkenness, The second answer as to inevitable poverty for most men is that the colonial system helped cause poverty, that this system is now disappearing and that the remaining poverty and distress are not our fault and are falsely made to seem so by Russia.

Here emerges the kernel of the falsehood which is scaring America into war. Colonialism has not disappeared, even though its back is broken in India and China. American business, however, is desperately trying to maintain and restore where possible the essentials of colonialism under the name of Free Enterprise and Western Democracy, and is plunging the world into destruction with false ideals and misleading fears.

That is a grave charge and needs, I am quite aware, circumstantial proof. Let me indicate proof in this way: There are today at least eighteen main causes of World War and no one of them is Russia. On the contrary, they are the great groups of essential raw material, and the land and labor necessary for their production, which the leading nations of the world need for their industry and their standard of living. These products are illustrated by the gold and diamonds from South Africa; copper from Rhodesia, uranium from the Congo, oil from the Middle East, tin and rubber from Malaya, beverages like tea from China, coffee from Brazil and cocoa from West Africa; drugs like opium and quinine from India; foods like sugar, chocolate, coconuts, fruits and spices from the whole tropical world; fibres like cotton, silk and hemp from our own South, China and India; and dozens of other drugs, dyestuffs and foods.

These materials, with few exceptions, are produced in tropical lands inhabited by colored peoples whose poverty

and ignorance are not natural nor indigenous, but have been increased and made wider during the last three centuries by the determination of Europe and North America to rule the world for their own comfort, luxury and power.

Armed by scientific discovery and a new industrial technique, the white world, since the 17th century, has set itself to reduce colored labor to serfdom or slavery, to seize the land and natural resources of colonial and quasi-colonial countries and so far as possible to rule these peoples by absolute military dictatorship, allowing them little education, no land and too little income for health or decency. Spain, followed by France and Holland, and succeeded by Great Britain, built up a domination of the world which became the foundation of modern civilization. Wealth, luxury, art and learning were thus sustained in the western world until its cultural accomplishment came to be regarded as the highest ideal in the universe: "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle in Cathay!"

Logic taught us that eventually the revolt of the miserable victims of this world tyranny would cause its extinction. Revolt came early and still continues. But long before divided and ignorant colonial might could successfully storm the bastions of the west, those bastions themselves fell of their own presumption and overweight. The imperial thieves fell out over the division of the fabulous spoils of Asia, Africa and South America, and Europe approached suicide in three world wars, each of increased cost, destruction and human murder.

The rich fall out; the poor feel their power

THE RIFT IN IMPERIALISM BEGAN when Germany and Italy, later Japan, and finally the United States, demanded a larger share of the spoils of imperial control of

the colored world. They insisted on a redistribution of wealth and power. The ensuing World War effected such a redistribution. But it also weakened the intricate system of commercial control which had placed the real power of great modern states in the hands of those who controlled wealth—not simply national wealth but the most valuable materials of the whole earth.

The power of the rich in the late 18th and early 19th centuries was curtailed by democratic control in the hands of the mass of the inhabitants; but this control was limited at home and of no avail in those parts of Asia, Africa and America which the organized industry of the imperial states dominated. Both the national and international organization of industry and commerce was not only undemocratic, but usually oligarchical, if not approaching absolute monarchy. The system placed so great power in the hands of those controlling home industry that they could and did reduce national democracy to the rule of wealth; or at most made home labor a minor partner with industry in the impoverishment, disease and compulsory ignorance of the majority of the peoples of the earth.

The first World War shook this system to its foundations, not only by its cost, but because it filled many of the colored peoples with a fierce desire to escape from the coercion of Europe. In Eastern Europe, which under Western Europe leadership had sunk to quasi-colonial status, the result was a revolution which put socialists in control of Russia.

Socialism was an old, but indefinite and unsystematized theory of easing the monopoly of wealth and the oligarchical control of industry by substituting public welfare for private profit. The great but impractical theorists who had advocated such a change from the first rise of modern industry in the 15th century had seldom been able to agree on a definite program, and the few attempts at socialism had

usually failed or been easily suppressed.

In the case of the Russian Revolution of 1917, however, a set of educated and devoted leaders appeared, determined to carry out the theories of Karl Marx. Marx, by long and thorough study of the Hegelian philosophy of science and by wide knowledge of actual working conditions, had tried to find a scientific foundation for the production and distribution of wealth. Lenin and his Russian followers were not entirely dogmatic. They doubted that the time was ripe or the Russians ready immediately to found a socialist state, and they tried to make some compromise and alliance with the economy of Western Europe. But Britain, France, Japan and the United States made the mistake of trying summarily and by force to suppress this revolution, using the armies of sixteen nations, together with spies, traitors and the worst types of hired mercenaries.

Without doubt this wide effort to stop the Revolution of 1917 would have succeeded for a time had not the whole system of European economy tottered so crazily in 1929 and after. Europe, the United States and Japan needed all their energies to restore their own solvency and rebuild international trade. But even then Britain and France were determined to dominate world industry and commerce as they had before the first World War. They were willing to admit the United States and Germany to junior partnership, but determined to ignore Italy and firmly excluded Japan.

This short-sighted effort led to three developments which changed the course of modern history. It gave the Soviet Union time to build an independent socialist state; it encouraged Japan to undertake her own colonial empire in Asia; and Italy and Germany, joined later by Japan, attempted to restore the European domination of labor, land and products in the colonial and semi-colonial areas of the world, but with one revolutionary change: France and the United States were now to be Junior Partners, and Germany

was set to rule the world with the advice of Italy and Japan. There ensued long attempts at compromise—not touching the control of the world by Europe, but only concerning the division of power between the older empires and newer interlopers. Both sides tacitly agreed that the destruction of Russia and communism must follow their understanding.

But Western and Central Europe could find no basis of agreement and a second World War followed, which was at bottom caused by the rivalry among the great groups for control of the colonial products which I have named.

This war not only further wracked the world industrial system, but curiously enough, compelled Britain and America to make an alliance with the Soviet Union as the only method of conquering almost invincible Germany, Italy and Japan. They hesitated long and hoped until the end that Germany and the Soviet Union would annihilate each other while Western Europe and America were withholding or delaying their support of the hard-pressed Russian armies.

Germany and Japan were completely conquered at last, but what remained were the same causes of World War which ante-dated 1914: namely, those valuable and indispensable materials from colonial regions together with the cheap labor necessary to produce them, which must be seized and used for domestic industry and consumption if the pre-world war organization of industry and control of wealth was to continue. That it must continue, no Britisher nor American for a moment doubted.

U. S. A.—colonialism's last stronghold

CONSIDER FOR A MOMENT OUR OWN COUNTRY and its interest in colonial products or products of semi-colonial areas.

In 1930 we imported at least two billion dollars' worth

of diamonds, silk, coffee, mineral oil, rubber, paper, copper, fibres, sugar, spices, vegetable oils and cocoa. They are all materials upon which not only our own industry but our present standards of living are based. We could scarcely be satisfied a day without abundant supply of them. Moreover we buy them cheap. We pay practically nothing for the land on which they are grown or found; we pay the colored laborer from 25 cents to a dollar a day and make him work. On the other hand the goods which we export to pay for these cheap colonial goods are priced at our own valuation because we control the monopoly of the only markets where colonials can buy machinery, tools and processed goods. We even prevent colonials from supplying their own needs and make them work for us.

This colonial trade is a source of vast profit to private enterprise because even the capital investment needed in colonial life often comes from taxes on citizens in the home country while private firms reap the profits. Thus British taxpayers built the great West African harbor of Takoradi, while private shippers use it. The United States Navy built the harbor at Monrovia, Liberia, from our tax money while the Firestone Company uses it for sizeable dividends.

Moreover this foreign trade with colonial countries is far more profitable than domestic industry. There are in colonies few if any labor unions; there is a minimum of taxation on foreign corporations; there are no wage floors or prohibition of child labor; freight charges are set by the foreign firms who monopolize transport and can make or break a local industry. Capital rushes for such investment if it is assured that there will be no danger of native presumption trying to control foreign capital. This is just what began to happen after the second World War. Not only was Russia, whose industries often paid 50% on investment to Germans, French and British, lost to western business, but also Poland, Czechoslovakia and much of the Balkan area.

Vast colonial regions began to break from European domination. Britain had to emancipate India, but before leaving she encouraged a resurgence of religious hate and made fast alliance with native capitalists, who continued to exploit the poor. The United States entered China as a welcomed friend but we were more interested in tea, silk, fibres, tungsten, oils and cotton than in people. So the wretched Chinese for ten awful years writhed in poverty, war and misery, bearing alone the world burden of Japanese imperialism until in one mighty surge they wrenched American guns right out of the hands of the scoundrel Chiang Kai-shek and drove his filthy outfit onto Formosa where our taxes still support it. Indonesia began to break the bonds of Dutch and British control; Southeast Asia revolted fiercely against their British and French masters. There were other signs of revolt in Africa, the South Seas, the Philippines, the Caribbean and South and Central America. The whole of Western Europe leaned toward control of wealth by democratic process.

It was at this point that world-wide propaganda, led by the United States, on a scale which put Hitler to shame, was started to make men believe that socialism led by a new Russian imperialism was starting a third world war and that America must curb the movement by unlimited force. As a matter of fact what was really beginning was the desperate American attempt to revive colonial imperialism with the United States in the saddle instead of Britain.

Mink coats or humanity's welfare—which?

THE UNITED STATES STEPPED UP ITS PROPAGANDA of disbelief in communism as a workable system by a bitter attack on the decency and humanity of the Russian people and by stressing the utter dishonesty of their

leaders. Every charge against the Soviets, no matter how unsupported and questionable, was given the widest publicity, and our government openly encouraged and supported subversive organizations formed on our own soil by foes of Russia. We have just given 100 million dollars to encourage this treason against a nation with which we are not yet at open war. The result is a hysteria and hate of the Soviets which almost precludes reason.

The real causes of World War will persist and threaten so long as peoples of Europe and America are determined to control the wealth of most of the world by means of cheap labor and monopolies. Against this a resurgence of the revolt of the poor will raise a new Russia from the dead if we kill this one, and birth a new theory of communism so long as Africa, Asia and South America see the impossibility of otherwise escaping poverty, ignorance and disease.

This brings the question of war straight back home. If the United States stops trying to own cheap colored labor, to control land and raw materials over the world; so to regulate exchange of goods and services that while cocoa and sugar call for the highest prices in our markets, the peons who raise them do not get enough to eat; if we stop the war policy we are pursuing to continue this system, will resultant World Peace be dangerous to the American way of life? Let us put it even more bluntly: Suppose it proved true that if we had fewer automobiles, fewer night clubs, and fewer mink coats—if this self-denial on the part of certain Americans would prevent world war and give Chinese children enough to eat, would we be willing to make the sacrifice?

I used to say as a teacher of youth: "You are told, do right and you will be happy; have courage and you will win; sacrifice and you will be rich. Now it is gloriously true that many men have done the right and are happy, many courageous heroes have won the good fight, and many who have sacrificed have gained more than a fortune. But," I would

add, "let us also face the bitter truth—many who have stood for the right have been ruined; many who have battled bravely have gone down in defeat; and many who have sacrificed their last penny have died in poverty. What we have got to learn is to do right even if we do not achieve happiness; to be brave in the face of defeat and to sacrifice even if we reap no reward." My students used to look a bit doubtful at this doctrine, and many of you may want either to deny or ignore what you know is true.

Now let us apply this reasoning to what we call the American way of life. Most Americans do not enjoy this way of life. As I have said, probably two-thirds of American families are below this standard of comfort and nine-tenths of the people of the world would be happy with a tenth of our standards. What are we going to do—fight to preserve the present methods of world industry, or make Peace in order to consider what is right and best for humanity?

The great silence on America's soul can be broken

LET US BE HUMBLE, not arrogant or boastful, in this awful crisis.

Who are we to lead this world to Peace and Righteousness? We whose nation is shot through with crime, graft and violence, who are driving decent Americans to jail, poverty and suicide; we whose "Un-American" inquisition against free speech and thought was lately headed by a convicted thief and is now presided over by a Georgia statesman who holds office by the 30,000 votes cast in his congressional district, with 150,000 of his Negro neighbors disfranchised? We not only abrogate our own Bill of Rights on the street and on the Bench, but send our arms and armies to help overthrow any people on earth who today fight to be free, and call to our aid the reactionary tyrannies in Spain, Turkey

and Greece. Our effort to control the world by force of arms is as fantastic as it is evil. Our last desperate plan to restore colonial imperialism with the help of Germany and Japan is the eraziest dream of a crazy age.

We who have known a better America find the present scene almost unbelievable. A great silence has fallen on the real soul of the nation. We are smearing loyal citizens on the paid testimony of self-confessed liars, traitors and spies. We are making the voice of America the babble of cowards paid to travel.

Meantime our nation writhes in nameless fear, our workers groan under increasing prices and mounting taxes, our education lags. We call disciplined labor "slavery" and yell "Freedom" for industrial anarchists. Our crime grows: gambling, liquor and drugs spread. Our democracy dies while our police, unable to apprehend murderers and thieves, arrest, handcuff and jail men and women whose only crime is to demand Peace.

My words are not a counsel of despair. Rather they are a call to new courage and determination to know the Truth. Four times this nation has faced disaster and recovered: Once at the end of the 18th century when we hesitated between separate independent colonies and a disciplined federal state; again when in the age of Jackson the uncouth, democratic west overbore the oligarchical well-mannered east; once more in the 19th century when human slavery cut the heart of the nation in two and we had to cement it with blood; finally, when in 1929 our boasted industries fell in vast ruin and begged on their knees for government aid, until Roosevelt rescued them with socialist planning and gave his life to rebuilding our economy.

What we have done, we can do again. But not by silence —not by refusing to face the ugly facts.

" . . something new under the sun"

(From FDR's last speech, written the day before he died)

THE work, my friends, is peace. More than an end of this war—an end to the beginnings of all wars. Yes, an end, forever, to this impractical, unrealistic settlement of the differences between governments by the mass killing of peoples.

Even as I speak these words, I can hear . . . an old, old chorus. . . . It is the chorus coming from the defeatists, the cynics, the perfectionists, all the world's aggregation of timid souls who tell us, for one reason or another, it can't be done. . . .

Oh, yes, they will agree, war is horror. War is hell. And yet, in their pale, anemic minds there is a kind of worship of this same horror of war. They tell us there can be no end to it. They endow it with immortality. They certify it as the ultimate fate of mankind on earth.

Now, you and I don't stand in such awe and adoration. We don't think war deserves it. You and I are not willing to concede that we were put here on earth for no better purpose. And from here on, the wars that would come if we let them would leave precious few of us to argue to the contrary.

. . . Today the cult of the faint-hearted, the credo of those cringing adorers of a criminal precedent, is on its way out. And in a space of time as far back as history goes, that is something new under the sun.

—FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, APRIL 1945

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE UNITED STATES?

Speech at Madison Square Garden, New York,
May 13, 1952
New York: American Labor Party, 1952
Fragment of draft manuscript

1952

42-59-11

from

This is ~~the complete text of~~ the key-note address by ~~the world-renowned Negro scholar and author,~~ Dr. W.E. B. Du Bois, given at Madison Square Garden, May 13, 1952, before 17,000 persons at a meeting sponsored by the American Labor Party launching the 1952 political campaign.

"What is wrong with the United States? We are an intelligent, rich and powerful nation. Yet today we are confused and frightened. We fear poverty, unemployment and jail.

"We are suspicious not only of enemies but especially of friends. We shrink before the world and are ready to make war on everybody. General Eisenhower has assured us that "we can lick the world" and we are preparing to spend seventy billions of dollars to do it even when we do not know whom to fight or why or how.

"Of the 35 civilized nations of the world, we and Japan are the only ones which have refused to sign the International Treaty promising not to resort to germ warfare; and it widely charged that we are now using bacteria in China.

"We face today a national election, to exercise the greatest prerogative of citizenship, in order to decide our future policy as to peace and war; trade and commerce; taxation, wages and prices; employment; social progress in housing, flood control, education, sickness and old age; honesty in public service; labor unions and civil rights.

"These are tremendous problems before us which we are supposed to settle in broad outline, and yet apparently we will not have real opportunity to pass judgement on these questions.

"We are deprived from day to day of knowledge of the real facts. Our sons fight and die and we cannot learn why or how. Death by bullets are reported but deaths by freezing and disease are concealed. We are allowed

THE STORY OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Vienna, Austria: The Secretariat of the World Council of Peace, 1956
Pamphlet and draft manuscript

W. E. B.
Du BOIS

THE STORY OF
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

42/5A/2

THE STORY OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

by

W. E. B. Du BOIS

THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE
VIENNA — 1956

42/5A/3

PREFACE

The 250th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin has been celebrated by the whole world.

The World Council of Peace included this anniversary among the great cultural anniversaries to be celebrated in 1956.

This choice was made to enable the peace movement to associate itself with the commemoration of a man who, by his own unaided efforts, became his country's greatest journalist, a scientist of world renown who paved the way for all modern research on electricity, and a great citizen who worked for his country's independence and strove to win it through negotiation.

But Benjamin Franklin's greatest claim to glory is that he was a man in every sense of the word.

The end of his life was the culminating point in the ascending development of a man who, from being a slave dealer became an opponent of slavery, from being a colonialist ended by drawing up his country's Declaration of Independence, defending it against the imperialism of the colonialists. In Europe he personified the great ideas of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the goal of all the liberating efforts of the 18th and 19th centuries.

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

This short life of Benjamin Franklin has been written for the World Council of Peace, which, since its inception at Paris in 1949, I have held in highest esteem, and co-operated with whenever and wherever I have been given opportunity. The work is based entirely on secondary material and is aimed principally at youthful readers, although I hope older ones may profit by it.

My chief sources of information have been the celebrated Franklin "Autobiography," the monumental work by Carl Van Doren, and the shorter work by Samuel Morse. My own social studies in Philadelphia and New England have given me some personal knowledge of Franklin's environment. All quotations have been taken from Franklin's own works.

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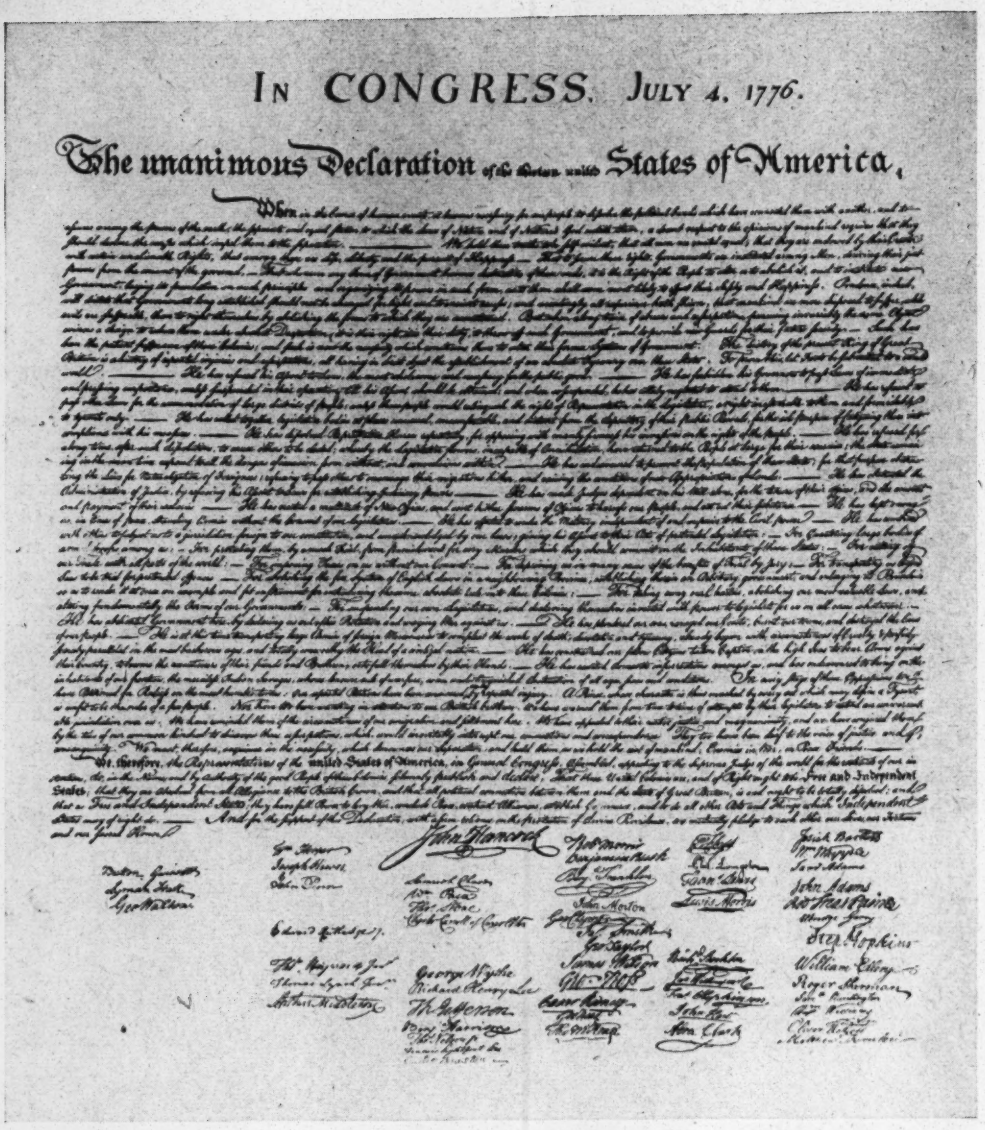
IN CONGRESS. JULY 4. 1776.

The unanimous Declaration of the United States of America,

Facsimile of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America signed on July 4, 1776. "We hold the truth to be self-evident," it proclaimed, "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their birth with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed, and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organising its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

42/5A/5

CHAPTER I

THE BOY (1706—1722)

On the first of September, 1715, a little boy, Benjamin Franklin, was standing on the waterfront of Boston Harbour in North America. He was looking out on the tossing waves and was very unhappy. He wanted to be a sailor and sail the vast Atlantic and all the seas. He wanted to see and learn and know the whole wide world and his father would not let him go.

Benjamin Franklin was born two hundred and fifty years ago in the thriving port town of Boston. His father, Josiah Franklin, had left England in 1685 and brought his family to the new land of America so as to have more freedom and more opportunity for a better life. Small Benjamin did not know as he looked east that at that very hour in France Louis XIV lay dying, a period of world history was ending, leaving a new era of the world to him. Meanwhile, the father was standing some distance away watching his little boy. Josiah Franklin's family had been farmers and artisans. He was a good father, of middle height and strong. He could sing and draw and was an excellent mechanic. But he was a bit anxious over this boy and indeed about life in general. He knew that the life of a sailor was not as alluring as his small son imagined. He had set his heart on giving Benjamin, his tenth child, and very smart, an unusual training so that through him the family might take a step upward from artisan to the learned profession of minister in the church. To this end he sent Benjamin in his eighth year toa good fitting school where he did very well. But the fees were costly. Josiah had a large family of seventeen children, and although he worked hard and steadily it was not easy to make ends meet. The father began to wonder if it was really best to train this boy above his class; so finally he took him out of the fitting school and sent him to a school of general studies with the idea of preparing him for apprenticeship to his own trade of tallow candle-maker.

Benjamin did not like this trade. It was dirty and uninteresting and his father saw the boy's unhappiness. As on this morning, they frequently took long walks visiting the harbour, the shops of carpenters, bricklayers and metal workers. Only the harbour really interested Benjamin Franklin.

But then, James, Benjamin's oldest brother, returned from England with a printer's outfit. The father saw Benjamin's immediate interest, especially because of books in the office which he wanted to read. His eyes shone as he watched the process of making a book. So in his twelfth year, Benjamin became a printer, apprenticed to his older brother, James.

The boy quickly loved his work although he and his brother did not get on so well. He could now secure books he had long wanted to read: John Bunyan, Defoe, Plutarch, and others from historical collections. With this reading came the fascinating work of setting words in print and seeing them reproduced on clean white paper. He early learned one of the first truths of the worker —that thought, to be real, must become action, and that daily work is revealed in daily thinking. He read voraciously about the world and its people and as early as his fourteenth year began to write articles.

James Franklin was now publishing a weekly newspaper and kept his young apprentice very busy. Benjamin wrote his articles in secret and finally began slipping them under the office door. The older brother did not suspect their authorship. To Benjamin's delight he read the articles and actually printed many of them. Imagine the boy's feelings as he put his own words in type. Soon people not only read but began to talk about what he had written. He dabbled in poetry, but his father, becoming aware of his efforts, discouraged poetry and guided him to careful study of good English essays. Benjamin became more aware of the real world. He wrote letters from an imaginary "Silence Dogood" which were widely read. At sixteen Franklin stood up for freedom of printers and writers:

"Without freedom of thought, there can be no such thing as wisdom... and no such thing as public liberty, without freedom of speech which is the right of every man, as far as by it he does not hurt and control the right of another; and this is the only check it ought to suffer, and the only bounds it ought to know."

This short of writing published in his brother's paper and other writings aimed at religious hypocrisy, got his brother in trouble with the authorities. James was arrested and jailed. He suggested that Benjamin's name be substituted as publisher so that the paper could continue. Thus, technically the boy's indenture was broken. Now Benjamin Franklin was a printer in his own right.

Apprentices in those days were subject to unpleasant treatment. They were often kicked and cuffed about, poorly fed and clothed. Benjamin had been no exception. His older brother, partly from bad temper and perhaps a little jealous of this boy's precocity and growing popularity, was pretty hard on him. Benjamin wanted to get away and be his own man. Legally he was bound to serve until he was twenty-one. Taking advantage of James' having made him nominal editor, he first tried to transfer to another master printer. James blocked this and Benjamin determined to go to New York. His father would not consent, so the boy, with little baggage and only a little money which he got by selling some of his books, ran away from home in 1723.

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CHAPTER II

THE YOUTH (1723—1726)

The boat trip to New York took three days; but when he arrived and applied to the only printer in town for work, there was no opening. He advised Benjamin to go to Philadelphia, which was ninety miles away. He was sure he would find work there. Franklin left his small box of clothes and started by boat across the bay. A squall tore their sail and landed them on Long Island, where one of the passengers was nearly drowned. They were thirty hours adrift without food or water. Finally reaching land, Benjamin walked three days across country and then, finding a passenger boat, reached Philadelphia rather the worse for wear and beginning to wish he had never run away.

But on a Sunday morning he finally stood on the wharf in Philadelphia. "I was in my working dress... I was dirty from my journey; my pockets were stuffed out with shirts and stockings and I knew no soul nor where to look for lodging." Also, he had but a shilling in money, left after paying his boat fare. Then, buying some bread, he walked up Market Street with a loaf under each arm, passing the girl whom he later married on the steps of her home. Afterward she told him that he made "a most awkward, ridiculous appearance."

Franklin soon found work with an eccentric and foolish printer, whose shop he immediately started to set in order. Then an astonishing thing happened. He met the governor of the state! It came about in this way. A friend who learned of Benjamin's whereabouts told him of his family's anxiety over him. But Franklin was enjoying his freedom and was making a little money. Moreover, being from Boston, the largest city on the continent, he had soon become quite well known among the young folk. He wrote his friend about his reasons for leaving Boston and of his good chances here. His friend read the letter to the governor and the governor, Sir William Keith, a good-hearted, airy, but irresponsible man, immediately called

on young Franklin, to his astonishment and that of his boss. Keith proposed that Franklin set up a new printing shop. If he had not enough capital, why not borrow it from his father? Keith would give him a letter.

So Franklin, in a new suit, with a watched and £5 cash in his pocket, hurried back home where he was welcomed. But when he laid his plans before his father, the cautious Josiah was unimpressed. He said that Keith seemed to him a man of little sense. He wrote him politely, thanking him, but saying that his son was too young for so important and expensive an adventure. Josiah hoped Franklin would remain at home, but Benjamin went back to Philadelphia and told the governor of his failure. Keith airily dismissed the matter by promising himself to raise the capital. He commissioned Franklin to make an inventory of his needs and go to London to buy furniture for his shop.

Franklin was walking on clouds. He prepared for the trip to London even though the governor's letter and money failed to arrive. He even boarded the boat. Still no word. He finally landed in London with no friends and only £12 in his pocket. But he was a good printer and he soon found work. Here he stayed for a year and a half, in the brilliant capital of the British Empire. George I, who followed poor Queen Anne, was reigning. The King could not speak English and did not like England. But after the bankruptcy of the bursting South Sea bubble Walpole, the Whig, ruled for twenty years. Franklin arrived during his premiership. England was rich and at peace. Luxury ruled and literature flourished. Voltaire was a visitor, Newton was studying, Defoe and Swift were writing. Franklin avoided bad companions and gave up drink and gambling. He worked hard and got increased pay, at the same time keeping down expense. He was saving money so as to return to America and start his own printing establishment. He did not meantime neglect his writing, issuing among other pamphlets a dissertation "On Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain." This brought him acquaintanceship with some men of letters.

He was not yet certain about his future. He went into the business of buying and selling for export and made considerable money. He found exercise in swimming and a nobleman offered to set him up as a swimming teacher, with aristocratic patronage. But Franklin declined. He was growing homesick for America and his former idea of a printing shop for writing and publicity was revived. So on July 23, 1726, Franklin sailed for Philadelphia, leaving the temptations of London behind, and bringing some equipment for his printing shop.

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• CHAPTER III

THE YOUNG MAN (1727—1730)

Young Franklin was now of age and ready to settle down for work. He laid down a design of life: "I have never fixed a regular design as to life, by which means it has been a confused variety of different scenes. I am now entering upon a new one; let me therefore make some resolutions, and form some scheme of action, that henceforth I may live in all respects like a rational creature. 1. It is necessary for me to be extremely frugal for some time, till I have paid what I owe. 2. To endeavor to speak truth in every instance, to give nobody expectations that are not likely to be answered, but aim at sincerity in every word and action: the most amiable excellence in a human being. 3. To apply myself industriously to whatever business I take in hand, and not divert my mind from my business by any foolish project of growing suddenly rich; for industry and patience are the surest means of plenty. 4. I resolve to speak ill of no man whatever, not even in a matter of truth; but rather by some means excuse the faults I hear charged upon others, and upon proper occasions speak all the good I know of everybody."

First, after returning from London, Franklin found employment as manager of his old place of work. Then in 1728, he opened a printing shop in partnership with a friend and took over a newspaper, formerly published by a competitor, and shortened its name to the *Philadelphia Gazette.* He dropped re-publication of British books from its columns, and limited it to actual news of Pennsylvanians; he wrote much for it himself. He increased the advertisements, and printed the paper with skill and taste. He wrote or rewrote the foreign and domestic news. He wrote letters to himself as editor and answered them.

In 1730, he became sole owner of the shop. He began to show some of that smug self-righteousness and eye to public opinion which characterised his whole life. "I began to pay off the debt I was under for the printing-house. In order to secure my

credit and character as a tradesman, I took care not only to be in *reality* industrious and frugal, but to avoid all appearances to the contrary. I drest plainly; I was seen at no places of idle diversion. I never went out a fishing or shooting; a book, indeed, sometimes debauch'd me from my work, but that was seldom, snug, and gave no scandal; and, to show that I was not above my business, I sometimes brought home the paper I purchas'd at the stores thro' the streets on a wheelbarrow. Thus being esteem'd an industrious, thriving young man, and paying duly for what I bought, the merchants who imported stationery solicited my custom; others proposed supplying me with books, and I went on swimmingly."

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Franklin then got married, saying: "...that hard-to-be governed passion of youth hurried me frequently into intrigues with low women that fell in my way, which were attended with some expense and great inconvenience, besides a continual risque to my health by a distemper which of all things I dreaded." He turned toward thought of Deborah Read, the girl who had seen him first enter Philadelphia. During his absence she had married unfortunately, and separated from her good-for-nothing husband. In 1730, Franklin married her with some hesitation, fearing that her husband might return. "She proved a good and faithful helpmate, assisted me much by attending the shop; we throve together, and have ever mutually endeavor'd to make each other happy... She assisted me cheerfully in my business, folding and stitching pamphlets, tending shop, purchasing old linen rags for the paper-makers, etc., etc. We kept no idle servants, our table was plain and simple, our furniture of the cheapest."

He organized among his friends "a club of mutual improvement, which we called the Junto; we met on Friday evenings. The rules that I drew up required that every member, in his turn, should produce one or more queries on any point of Morals, Politics, or Natural Philosophy, to be discuss'd by the company; and once in three months produce and read an essay of his own writing, on any subject he pleased. Our debates were to be under the direction of a president, and to be conducted in the sincere spirit of inquiry after truth, without fondness for dispute, or desire of victory."

From this club came a loan library which in time grew into the Philadelphia Public Library. Franklin records his method of debate; "I made it a rule to forbear all direct contradiction of the sentiments of others, and all positive assertion of my own... I soon found the advantage of this change in my manner; the conversations I engaged in went on more pleasantly. The modest way in which I proposed my opinions procured them a readier reception and less contradiction; I had less mortification when I was found to be in the wrong; and I more easily prevailed with others to give up their mistakes and join with me when I happened to be in the right."

CHAPTER IV

THE MAN (1731—1735)

From 1731 to 1735, Franklin became a successful printer and publisher and a widely read writer. His business flourished and expanded. In 1732, he issued the first number of an almanac which became the most famous of his writings. He said: "I first publish'd my Almanack, under the name of *Richard Saunders*; it was continu'd by me about twenty-five years, commonly call'd *Poor Richard's Almanack*. I endeavor'd to make it both entertaining and useful, and it accordingly came to be in such demand, that I reap'd considerable profit from it, vending annually near ten thousand. And observing that it was generally read, scarce any neighborhood in the province being without it, I consider'd it as a proper vehicle for conveying instruction among the common people, who bought scarcely any other books; I therefore filled all the little spaces that occurr'd between the remarkable days in the calendar with proverbial sentences, chiefly such as inculcated industry and frugality, as a means of procuring wealth, and thereby securing virtue; it being more difficult for a man in want, to act always honestly."

The aphorisms in this Almanack illustrate Franklin's philosophy and his times. He advised thrift for a poor, hard-working people tempted often to waste. "An empty bag cannot stand upright." "Beware of little expenses, a small leak will sink a ship." "He that buys upon credit pays interest upon what he buys." "A penny saved is a penny earned." "God helps them that help themselves."

This philosophy of thrift has been greatly stressed as typifying Franklin's philosophy. But he just as strongly attacked avarice. "He does not possess wealth; it possesses him." "Avarice and happiness never saw each other. How then should they become acquainted?" "Poverty wants some things, luxury many things, avarice all things." "He that is rich need not live sparingly, and he that can live sparingly need not be rich." "Wealth is not his that has it, but his that enjoys it."

"He that is of the opinion money will do everything may well be suspected of doing everything for money." "Seven wealthy towns contend for Homer dead, through which the living Homer begged his bread."

Franklin stressed good health: "Early to bed and early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise." "A long life may not be good enough, but a good life is long enough." "Eat to live, and not live to eat." "He that can take rest is greater than he that can take cities."

Franklin believed in plain honesty and doing right; in good will and justice. "The rotten apple spoils his companion." "An innocent plowman is more worthy than a vicious prince." "Words may show a man's wit, but actions his meaning." "There was never a good knife made of bad steel." "Caesar did not merit the triumphal car more than he that conquers himself." "Better slip with foot than tongue." "A mob's a monster; heads enough but no brains." "What signifies your patience, if you can't find it when you want it?" "Many foxes grow gray, but few grow good." "All blood is alike ancient." "The noblest question in the world is, 'What good may I do in it?'" "Wish not so much to live long as to live well. Keep conscience clear, then never fear." "A lie stands on one leg, truth on two." "Half the truth is often a great lie." "Trust thyself, and another shall not betray thee." "Great beauty, great strength, and great riches are really and truly of no great use; a right heart exceeds them all." "Wink at small faults — remember thou hast great ones." "The worst wheel of the cart makes the most noise." "Deny self for self's sake." "None preaches better than the ant, and she says nothing." "Time is an herb that cures all diseases." "Where there's marriage without love there will be love without marriage." "The heart of the fool is in his mouth, but the mouth of the wise man is in his heart." "Approve not of him who commends all you say." "The family of fools is ancient." "What is serving God? 'T is doing good to man."

CHAPTER V

FRANKLIN THE MERCHANT (1736—1744)

During the eight years from his thirtieth to his thirty-eighth birthday, Franklin foreshadowed the new trader and investor who was to typify the last half of the eighteenth century and pave the way for the triumph of commerce and industry in the nineteenth. He expanded his printing and publishing and embarked on trade and commerce; he saved money and invested it and began to accumulate a fortune. His business enterprises grew in New York and Newport, in South Carolina and the West Indies. His usual method was to furnish capital and share profits until his partner took over the business or gave it up. His own store in Philadelphia not only did printing and publishing, but sold stationery, books, pencils, slates, and ink; soap, wax, maps, wine, oil, coffee, chocolate, mustard, scales, patent medicines, cheese, fish, cloth, stockings, tea, linen rags, stoves and horses. Also, he sold both the unexpired work time of indentured white servants and the bodies of black slaves for life. He advertised: "A very good tailor, having one year and ten months to run; fit for either town or country business. And a servant lad for six years, fit for country business." "Also a breeding Negro woman about twenty years of age. Can do any household work." "A likely Negro wench about fifteen years old, has had the smallpox, been in the country above a year and talks English. Inquire of the printer hereof." "A likely young Negro fellow about nineteen or twenty years of age, to be disposed of. He is very fit for labor, being used to plantation work, and has had the smallpox." "Two likely young Negroes, one a lad about nineteen, the other a girl of fifteen."

In such trade, Franklin was following the universal custom of his day and as yet had evidently given no thought to the ethics of slavery. Nor did he consider that trade had any object beside gain for the trader. It was not until many years later that the fundamental right and wrong of commerce began to force itself on his mind and conscience.

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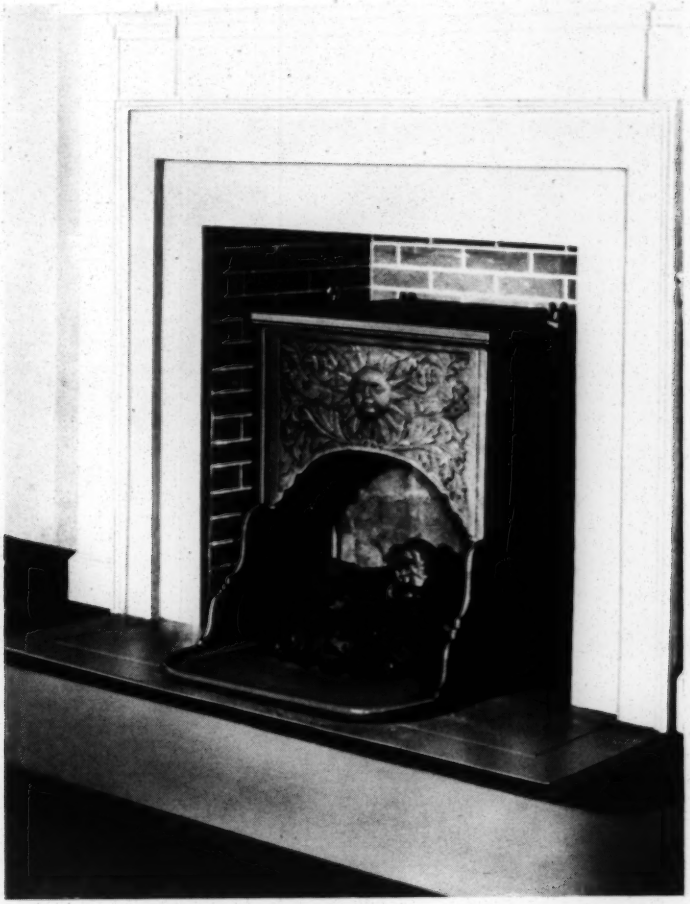

Slow-burning stove invented by Franklin in 1757.

Franklin in his print-shop with his workers.

In 1734, Franklin became public printer for Pennsylvania and Delaware, and in 1736, clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly. This insured his doing all the public printing, which was a profitable undertaking. The next year he became deputy postmaster of the city, which helped distribute his publications. Also it brought travel and contact with the widely scattered colonies and a broader knowledge of social conditions and problems. His family increased by his own children, the adoption of his brother James' son, and by another son of his own, who was perhaps not Deborah's child; but she took him into the family without protest.

Franklin was now prosperous and began to grow in thought and breadth of interest; he began to study French, Italian and German until he could read in these languages. He also learned to speak ungrammatical French so as to be understood. Socially he and his family still counted as outsiders — a printer and shopkeeper whom aristocratic Philadelphia of landholders and professional men never received socially and of course they did not invite his wife to their homes. But they had to recognize this man as efficient and valuable; he certainly did much for the city and state. He organized the first fire company; he helped reorganise the police; he worked with the churches but did not join them; he became a prominent Mason. He got on amicably with the dominant Quakers of his state.

Later, from Franklin's prominence and public spirit, he was brought in contact with certain world movements. There were the new British Methodists, who were protesting against the Church of England and now began to expand to America. When their leader, Wesley, and his helper, Whitefield, came to America, it was Franklin who helped them in Philadelphia, printed their sermons and found them an audience and place to preach, and gave them valuable advice. Out of experiences like this and widening duties as colonial postmaster, Franklin got his first ideas of colonial union; he proposed an inter-colonial philosophical society, which he planned could become a center of continental thought and activities.

CHAPTER VI

FRANKLIN RETIRES FROM BUSINESS (1745—1753)

Benjamin Franklin was now approaching fifty years of age; his property and investments were enough to support the simple life to which he and his family were accustomed. He began to retire from active business and looked forward to indulging himself in scientific inquiries and the companionship of his friends. He purchased a new home in Philadelphia and a farm in New Jersey. He began to experiment and amuse himself as well as continuing his writing. His skit appeared, defending Polly Baker for her children born out of wedlock but carefully raised. He invented the Franklin stove to save fuel and refused to patent it. He studied the pores of the skin and the laws of motion and gravity. He amused himself with "magic squares", one with sixteen figures vertical and across, which all added to the same sum each way. He learned to play the harp, the guitar and violin, and invented the harmonica. He became interested in studying the weather, looked into geology and experimented in agriculture. As a printer and writer he had observed the disorderly confusion of English spelling. He examined the first principals of phonetic reform.

Then came Franklin's interest in electricity. In Boston in 1746, he met a man from Scotland, who showed him some electrical experiments. At home again, Franklin gave up the whole winter to electricity. "I never was before engaged in any study that so totally engrossed my attention. . . ; for, what with making experiments when I can be alone, and repeating them to my friends and acquaintances who, from the novelty of the thing, come continually in crowds to see them, I have during some months past had little leisure for anything else."

Franklin distinguished between positive and negative electricity, built an electric battery and succeeded in sending an electric spark across a river. Then came his epoch-making idea that lightning was but electricity. To test this possibility he made his world-famous experiment with a kite. He stretched a large silk handkerchief on

two cross-sticks and on the first approach of a thunderstorm he took a walk in the fields.

"The kite being raised, a considerable time elapsed before there was any appearance of its being electrified. One very promising cloud had passed over it without any effect; when, at length, just as he was beginning to despair of his contrivance, he observed some loose threads of the hempen string to stand erect, and to avoid one another, just as if they had been suspended on a common conductor. Struck with this promising appearance, he immediately presented his knuckle to the key, and the discovery was complete. He perceived a very evident electric spark."

He said in 1751: "There are no bounds... to the force man may raise and use in the electrical way."

Once Europe heard this epoch-making discovery, Franklin was famous almost before he knew it. In 1753, he received the Copley medal from England, and both Harvard and Yale Colleges gave him honorary degrees — he who had never attended college a single day.

While these experiments were progressing, various public duties began to encroach on Franklin's time. He helped found a city hospital and to organize a fire insurance company. For the first time he came in close contact with the Indians. He learned about the Indian confederacy called the Six Nations. He was one of the commissioners sent by Pennsylvania to treat with them in 1749 and, if possible, keep them from siding with the French. A treaty was signed and this gave Franklin an idea: If Indians could thus unite and act together, why not the thirteen colonies?

Franklin did not advise the Indians to become civilized. "I should never advise a nation of savages to admit of civilization; for I assure you that in the possession and enjoyment of the various comforts of life, compared to these people every Indian is a gentleman." With rare foresight he added that civilized society seemed to progress only by depressing the masses below the savage state in order that a few might be raised above it.

It had occurred to Franklin earlier that Pennsylvania should have a college. Massachusetts had Harvard and Connecticut Yale. Virginia, New Jersey and Rhode Island were soon to follow.

In 1749, he proposed that since the war of Austrian succession, known in America as King George's War, was finished, an academy be established. He went into the matter of its housing, "not far from a river, having a garden, orchard, meadow and a field or two"; a library "with maps of all countries, globes, some mathematical instruments, an apparatus for experiments in natural philosophy and for mechanics; prints of all kinds, buildings, machines, etc." The students should eat together

"plainly, temperately, and frugally," and "be frequently exercised in running, leaping, wrestling and swimming."

"As to their studies, it would be well if they could be taught everything that is useful and everything that is ornamental. But art is long and their time is short."

Louis XIV had left France deeply in debt. The regent ruling for Louis XV had blown up John Law's Mississippi bubble until it burst. Now France was looking toward empire in America and buying furs from the Indians and moving into the valley of the Mississippi in an effort to cut the British colonies off from the West.

Franklin promoted the Albany Congress in 1754 to consider measures to protect the British colonies against the French. He proposed his Albany plan of colonial union, which was not listened to until ten years later. But Franklin continued thinking in continental terms.

He thought that the English, with the Saxons, made up the principal body of white people on the face of the globe and he looked on America as a great frontier for the refuge of Britain.

CHAPTER VII

ENVOY TO ENGLAND (1754—1762)

In the third quarter of the eighteenth century, when Franklin, between fifty and seventy years of age, was passing from middle age to old age, he became increasingly aware of the relation of the colonies to the British Empire and the world. He realized the truth that in his century, "France ruled the land, England ruled the seas, and Germany ruled the clouds." He knew something of the struggle between Frederick the Great of Prussia with Maria Theresa of Austria, because this seven years in Europe had been echoed in the colonies. The French cultivated the Indians, they intermarried with them, and together the vastly valuable fur trade was increasing. The British and colonists had done little but take the Indian's land. So the French were pressing in on the British colonies in the West and the Indians were largely their allies.

Franklin began to think of the general condition of the colonies in America. The population had increased rapidly from natural growth and immigration. The two hundred thousand inhabitants of 1690 had become a million and a half. Trade between England and its continental colonies now amounted to three million pounds sterling a year, or twice the West Indian trade. But war and a bad colonial policy were interferring with trade. In the seventeenth century, only four of its hundred years had been without some war in Europe. Now the great monarch, "the greatest actor of majesty who ever wore a crown," was dead and his bitter enemy William of Orange was gone and also poor Queen Anne. The long war of Spanish succession, called in America Queen Anne's war, had given England the slave trade and poured Negroes into America. England was reaching east, now that the great Mohammedan moguls had lost their power, and India fell in 1759 at the battle of Plassey. All this reacted on the continental colonies of America. The West India lobby in London had secured heavy taxes on rum, molasses, and sugar in order to stop the

illegal trade between the West Indies and the continent. Smuggling and evasion of the British Navigation Acts were common.

Franklin began to sense this commercial rivalry and to develop his idea of the relation of England to the American colonies. Britain and its American colonies were to be one country with only the sea between. The colonies should be extended West. Americans must have first hand in their own government but remain naturally an integral part of the Empire. They already paid high indirect taxes to Britain by having their trade curtailed and manufactures forbidden.

Opportunity to work out a solution was interrupted by war. In Europe in 1756, Prussia began its fight for survival, which brought its monarch, Frederick the Great, and Maria Theresa of Austria into fierce struggle, and soon involved France, Britain, Russia and Spain in a world struggle for empire.

Before war broke out in Europe, fighting began in America. The French moved into the Ohio Valley and fortified it. Young George Washington was sent west but failed to dislodge the French. Then the British sent General Braddock to lead an expedition westward while others attacked Canada. Franklin helped. As postmaster general he took a trip and met Braddock in person. The haughty general ignored Franklin's advice about Indian warfare, but accepted his aid in furnishing transport wagons and horses. Franklin obligated himself personally to a debt of £20,000 and hundreds of pounds of food. Braddock was overwhelmingly defeated and for months Franklin was in danger of bankruptcy. It was three months later that the state of Pennsylvania reimbursed him.

William Pitt now took the helm in England. More British troops were sent and the colonies rallied. The French were attacked successfully in Canada and the Ohio Valley and finally Quebec fell in 1759. In 1763, by the Treaty of Paris, England got Canada and the Mississippi Valley except New Orleans; Spain got Louisiana and the West.

The end of the seven years' war left England mistress of a vast colonial empire but it also left her deeply in debt, and she tried to get funds out of her American colonies. This raised a grave question: What was the political position of English colonists in America? Had they the rights of Englishmen or were they at the mercy of the English Parliament? Franklin argued:

That the colonists have no representatives in Parliament;

That compelling the colonists to pay money without their consent would be more like raising contributions in an enemy's country, than taxing of Englishmen for their own public benefit;

That it would be treating the colonists as a conquered people, and not as true British subjects.

But England was stubborn. George III had begun his long reign and the British Empire was beginning to belt the world. The theory that colonies existed for the benefit of Englishmen was emphasized. It was proposed to regulate the trade of the colonies so as to carry out three principles: first, that England should be the only shop in which colonists could purchase; second, that colonists should not manufacture for themselves articles which England had to sell; third, that the people of different colonies should not trade with each other to the detriment of the trade of either with England.

While this broader problem was pending, Pennsylvania sent Franklin to England to discuss the narrower problem of their right to tax the American property of the proprietors, the Penn family. Franklin sailed in 1757, prepared to stay perhaps for a year or two; but he had to stay five years.

He was, however, well known in England by reputation; he moved among high officials, men of letters, and merchants. He was already a member of the Royal Society. He was given a degree by Oxford University and by the Scottish University of St. Andrews. He was made Burgess of Edinburgh and dined with Adam Smith. Franklin succeeded in securing from the English the right of Pennsylvania to tax the Penn property in the colony. But he was drawn into discussion of the broader aspect of the relation of the colonies to Great Britain. He argued for the retention of Canada rather than its exchange for a small West Indian Island as was proposed. He insisted that the American colonies should be united. Some of his English friends argued that this would lead to a demand for independence of British control. This Franklin denied vehemently, "unless you grossly abuse them."

Finally, in 1762, he was sorry to leave "this happy island and my friends," but glad to reach Philadelphia in November. His family was well and reports of the loss of his friends were false. "My house has been full of a succession of them from morning to night ever since my arrival, congratulating me on my return with the utmost cordiality and affection."

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But England was stubborn. George III had begun his long reign and the British Empire was beginning to belt the world. The theory that colonies existed for the benefit of Englishmen was emphasized. It was proposed to regulate the trade of the colonies so as to carry out three principles: first, that England should be the only shop in which colonists could purchase; second, that colonists should not manufacture for themselves articles which England had to sell; third, that the people of different colonies should not trade with each other to the detriment of the trade of either with England.

While this broader problem was pending, Pennsylvania sent Franklin to England to discuss the narrower problem of their right to tax the American property of the proprietors, the Penn family. Franklin sailed in 1757, prepared to stay perhaps for a year or two; but he had to stay five years.

He was, however, well known in England by reputation; he moved among high officials, men of letters, and merchants. He was already a member of the Royal Society. He was given a degree by Oxford University and by the Scottish University of St. Andrews. He was made Burgess of Edinburgh and dined with Adam Smith. Franklin succeeded in securing from the English the right of Pennsylvania to tax the Penn property in the colony. But he was drawn into discussion of the broader aspect of the relation of the colonies to Great Britain. He argued for the retention of Canada rather than its exchange for a small West Indian Island as was proposed. He insisted that the American colonies should be united. Some of his English friends argued that this would lead to a demand for independence of British control. This Franklin denied vehemently, "unless you grossly abuse them."

Finally, in 1762, he was sorry to leave "this happy island and my friends," but glad to reach Philadelphia in November. His family was well and reports of the loss of his friends were false. "My house has been full of a succession of them from morning to night ever since my arrival, congratulating me on my return with the utmost cordiality and affection."

CHAPTER VIII

BACK TO ENGLAND (1763—1766)

Soon after Franklin arrived at home, he travelled 1,600 miles to regulate postal matters. He then settled a dangerous situation with regard to the Indians and stopped a massacre of Indians by white rowdies. The Indians had attacked settlers. In retaliation the settlers murdered Indian women and children, but not those guilty of the attack. An Indian war was imminent. Franklin organized defense and quelled the mob, but made enemies by this act. In 1763 the Indian chief, Pontiac, revolted against all whites. He had long been a friend of the French; but he refused to retreat with them and formed an Indian Federation against all whites. The British procured his assassination, but his Federation flamed in blood in the Valley of the Mississippi.

This showed that the defense of the colonies must still be pushed. During the Seven Years' War, the public debt of Great Britain had doubled. British landholders were being taxed a fifth of their incomes. British merchants were clamouring anew for enforcement of the colonial navigation laws, which had been neglected, while colonial contraband trade was booming. The government therefore in 1763 proposed more strict enforcement of the former Navigation Acts; a standing British army in America supported in part by American taxes; and new import duties with a stamp tax on newspapers, pamphlets, and legal papers.

The people of Pennsylvania meanwhile were still striving to get rid of the Penn family and secure government directly under the King. They prepared a petition and, after bickering, named Franklin to return to England and present it. Just as Franklin was leaving, the colonies heard of the proposed Stamp Act. He was commissioned to oppose it.

Franklin sought audience with the Prime Minister in February, 1765. He was received "with great civility; and after some questions respecting the present state of affairs in America and discourse thereupon, he said to me: 'You Americans have wrong

ideas of the nature of your constitution; you contend that the king's instructions to his governors are not laws, and think yourselves at liberty to regard or disregard them at your own discretion... They are then, so far as they relate to you, the *law of the land*, for the king is the *legislator of the colonies*.' I told his lordship this was new doctrine to me. I had always understood from our charters that our laws were to be made by our assemblies, to be presented indeed to the king for his royal assent; but that being once given, the king could not repeal or alter them. And as the assemblies could not make permanent laws without his assent, so neither could he make a law for them without theirs. He assured me I was totally mistaken." Thereupon the Stamp Act was passed and signed.

Franklin was disappointed but philosophical about it and when asked recommended a good person as collector. In the colonies, however, there was an outburst of anger, with mobs and arson; king's officers were made to resign; distribution of the stamps was prevented and a Stamp Act Congress called. Agreements were made not to import or use articles of English manufacture.

The colonists turned against Franklin. They believed that their trusted representative had been a traitor. Mobs threatened to destroy his new house in Philadelphia, and it was said that he had "planned" the Stamp Act.

Franklin wrote protesting: "I took every step in my power to prevent the passing of the Stamp Act. Nobody could be more concerned and interested than myself to oppose it sincerely and heartily. But the tide was too strong against us. The nation was provoked by American claims of independence, and all parties joined in resolving by this act to settle the point. We might as well have hindered the sun's setting."

Non-importation agreements were effective. A comprehensive "boycott" against all articles of English manufacture started, and English manufacturers became the real victims of the Stamp Act.

Franklin was disturbed. He saw the tremendous power of Great Britain and wondered how the separate colonies and the infant towns could fight Parliament and the king.

In January, 1766, Pitt said: "The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England. As subjects they are entitled to the common right of representation, and cannot be bound to pay taxes without their consent." The British had to retreat, but only temporarily and in bad temper. They repealed the Stamp Act, but with the declaration that "the King in Parliament has full power to bind the colonies and people of America in all cases whatsoever."

The people of Philadelphia were now persuaded that this repeal was chiefly due to Franklin, were ashamed of their first reaction, and began to praise his devotion. They built a barge, forty feet long, and dragged it in a great procession.

CHAPTER IX

HOME TO AMERICA (1766—1774)

In February, 1766, Franklin and other Americans were summoned to give testimony concerning the colonies at the bar of the House of Commons sitting in committee of the whole. The attitude of Parliament toward Franklin and his fellow Americans was insulting. For nearly an hour, Franklin, now 68 years old, was compelled to stand before a hostile audience and take abuse. There were some of the best trained and most experienced men in England to question Franklin.

The "Gentleman's Magazine" said: "The questions are put with great subtlety and judgment, and they are answered with such deep and familiar knowledge of the subject, such precision and perspicuity, such temper and yet such spirit, as do the greatest honor to Dr. Franklin, and justify the general opinion of his character and abilities."

Franklin now understood the colonial sentiment, and was in accord with it. He was asked whether the colonists would submit to a modified Stamp Act. He replied: "No, they will never submit to it." Could anything less than a military force carry the Stamp Act into execution? Franklin replied: "I do not see how a military force can be applied." Why not? Franklin answered that if a military force were sent to America, they would find nobody in arms. They cannot force a man to take stamps who chooses to do without them. They will not find a rebellion, unless they make one.

Franklin's efforts in behalf of the colonies brought appointment from other colonies to act as their agent, so he became known as unofficial American minister. The government tried to bribe him by offering him office; he could have been an under-secretary of state, if he had been willing to modify his views.

The next year Parliament framed a new tax bill, with duties on wine, oil, glass, paper, lead, and three pence per pound on tea. Colonial governors and chief justices

were hereafter to be paid by the king from his American revenue, and not by the colonial assemblies.

Matters were at an impasse between Britain and the colonies. He, however, took opportunity with his son to slip over to France, where Louis XV was reigning. Franklin went to "Versailles last Sunday and had the honour of being presented to the king; he spoke to both of us very graciously and cheerfully, is a handsome man, has a lively look, and appears younger than he is. In the evening we were at the grand couvert, where the family sup in public."

Thus the colonial saw a bit of French monarchy and was attracted.

In 1768, two regiments were sent to Boston to enforce the law. Franklin pointed out the hazard of this procedure and soon enough in 1770 came three fateful occurrences: the Boston massacre, the accession of Lord North to the premiership of England, and the marriage of the Dauphin, later Louis XVI of France, to Marie Antoinette of Austria. As Daniel Webster said later, the Boston massacre marked "the severance of England and her American colonies." Many other Americans said this was merely a mob led by a Negro, but the people of America celebrated this 5th of March as a national holiday for twenty years, until gradually it was superceded by Independence Day, the Fourth of July.

Lord North proposed a compromise: All the duties would be repealed save those on tea. There was reason for this: the East India Company had seventeen million pounds of tea in storage and its stock on the market had fallen from 380 to 160. Sale of the tea to America would rid it of surplus tea and bring money to the British Treasury. The tax was voted but still the colonists were stubborn. This was still a tax without their consent and they could smuggle all the tea they needed. The boycott continued.

Meantime, Franklin travelled. In Dublin he attended two sessions of the Irish Parliament, and was formally received. Two months later he got to Edinburgh. "Through storms and floods I arrived here on Saturday night, late, and was lodged miserably in an inn," he wrote on October 27. "But that excellent Christian David Hume, agreeable to the precepts of the Gospel, has received the stranger, and I now live with him at his house in the new town most happily."

It may have been at this time or perhaps later that Franklin found himself stopping at the same inn with Gibbon the great historian. He asked leave to call. Gibbon refused to receive a "rebel." Franklin replied that when Gibbon came to write of the decline and fall of the British Empire, Franklin would be happy to furnish him with the ample materials in his possession.

Tea from Britain began arriving in America in 1773. The people of Boston would not allow the tea ships to land their cargo. Other cities induced the ships

to return or to store the cargoes. Noisy meetings were held, and in Boston two thousand men came to the wharf and watched while about fifty men, disguised as Indians, threw the $90,000 worth of tea into the harbor.

Britain immediately took action. The port of Boston was closed, the charter of Massachusetts changed, and the rioters were ordered sent to England for trial. When Franklin returned to London in 1774, "I was called an incendiary, and the papers were filled with invectives against me. Hints were given that there was some thoughts of apprehending me, seizing my papers, and sending me to Newgate."

In 1775, Franklin voiced the resentment at the sending of troops to Boston and the other measures. An English gentleman told him that these steps were taken upon the advice of Americans. Later he produced letters, signed by residents and officeholders in America, to prove this.

The British saw here a chance to get rid of Franklin. The charge was that he had made a public use of private letters. Franklin therefore received notice that he had been dismissed from his office as Deputy Postmaster-General, and he was refused recognition as colonial agent. Members of Parliament contemptuously accused Americans of dishonesty and cowardice. Franklin replied with the two most stinging satires of all his years in England; one was *Rules by Which a Great Empire May Be Reduced to a Small One.*

Disappointed and disgusted, Franklin, in tears and anger, spent his last day in England and read papers from America. If there should be a war, he was sure America would win, but it would take ten years, and he would never live to see the end. Before leaving, he induced a poor discouraged writer, Tom Paine, to migrate to America.

He journeyed to Portsmouth with haste and precaution, and sailed in March, 1775. His departure marked an era in the relations of Great Britain with her American colonies. It showed that hope of agreement, all possibility of reconciliation upon one side or of recession upon the other, were over. Franklin arrived in Philadelphia May 5, 1775. He found his wife dead.

CHAPTER X

FRANKLIN HELPS FORM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (1775—1778)

For the next year and a half after his return to America, Franklin was very busy. He took part in the Second Continental Congress of the colonies. He made a difficult journey to Canada. He organized a new postal system for the colonies. He planned Articles of Permanent Confederation. He was one of the five who drafted the Declaration of Independence. He conferred with Lord Howe on peace with England, and finally went to France to secure her co-operation against England. For a man of seventy, this was hard work.

Benjamin Franklin was aboard ship on the way home when he heard of the Battles of Lexington and Concord and knew that war between the colonies and Great Britain had actually broken out. He was the oldest member of the Continental Congress, but also the most widely known. He was tired and usually sat listening rather than talking. Often he fell asleep in his chair.

On July 21, Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole to "take into consideration the state of America," and Franklin read the *Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union* which he had drawn up for "The United Colonies of North America." This was his Albany Plan of Union, revised to fit the changed conditions. But the colonists still hoped for peace and put the matter off. But after the Declaration of Independance the subject recurred. It was not settled until Franklin had left for France in 1777.

On one matter Franklin was firm, but partially over-ruled. He wanted the colonies to participate in the new government according to population and not as equals. This proposal was lost. The nation still regrets it and lives to see its mistake in letting a state like Nevada with a population of 160,000 have the same representation in the Senate as New York, with 15,000,000.

In the spring of 1776, Congress sent Franklin on a journey to Montreal, to confer concerning affairs in Canada. It was a severe task for a man of seventy; but he accepted the mission, although he suffered from fatigue and exposure.

The feeling in favor of independence grew rapidly. On January 10, Thomas Paine, now a journalist in Philadelphia, published his "Common Sense," which settled the nation's mind.

Franklin was one of the committee of five selected to frame a Declaration of Independence. He modified some of Jefferson's eloquence, and perhaps assented to leaving out that arraignment of King George for encouraging the slave trade. But he agreed to the principle, and when John Hancock asked for unanimity, said: "Yes, we must indeed all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately."

When General Howe came to America to adjust differences, his talks with Franklin were illuminating. Franklin declared that Britain, at the expense of three million pounds, killed one hundred and fifty Yankees, which is twenty thousand pounds a head; and at Bunker's Hill she gained a mile of ground, half of which she lost again. During this time 60,000 children had been born in America. From these facts, he said, Howe might calculate the time and expense necessary to kill all Americans and conquer their territory.

Howe was very polite and said that if America should fall he would lament it "like the loss of a brother." Franklin replied tartly: "My lord, we will use our utmost endeavors to save your lordship that mortification."

When Franklin and a committee went to see Washington and his army in Boston, Franklin agreed with Washington that Negroes, even if free, ought not to be accepted in the Colonial Army. But news of the Proclamation of Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, reached Washington next day. Dunmore had offered freedom to slaves who would desert to his army, and Negroes were pouring into British lines. Washington quickly reversed his decision, and more than five thousand black men eventually fought for the freedom of the colonies. Perhaps this incident and the subsequent conduct of Negro soldiers changed Franklin's attitude toward Negroes.

Meantime, France became interested in the American differences with Great Britain. Louis XVI, grandson of the Louis whom Franklin had met, came to the throne in 1774. He was amiable but dull, and married a beautiful, frivolous woman. Matters were going ill for the colonists and a petition to England had been ignored. At last Franklin was chosen to run the British blockade and see what could be done to secure aid for America from France. He was old and sick, but he left for France in October, 1776.

42/SA/17

CHAPTER XI

AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE (1776—1784)

In October, 1776, Franklin secretly left Philadelphia on a warship, with a cargo of indigo to pay his expenses. It was a long and exhausting voyage, but his welcome in France was enthusiastic. This was no mere ambassador; he was a world philosopher. He was compared with the great men of Greece and Rome. The people thronged the streets to see him and his pictures filled the shop windows. As John Adams said, he enjoyed a reputation "more universal than that of Leibnitz or Newton, Frederick or Voltaire." Particularly, Paris enjoyed his dress, and Franklin indulged them.

"Figure me in your mind," he wrote, "as jolly as formerly, and as strong and hearty, only a few years older, very plainly dressed, wearing my thin grey straight hair that peeps out under my only coiffure, a fine fur cap, which comes down to my forehead almost to my spectacles. Think how this must appear among the powdered heads of Paris."

He arrived at a critical time. Louis XVI, not yet twenty and not too bright, had just ascended the throne. The finances of the Kingdom were desperate. The great statesman Turgot declared this was no time to risk war with England over America. Eventually the colonies were bound to be free and, win or lose, England would be too exhausted to make war with France. But Turgot was dismissed and Vergennes gained the King's ear. He had listened to the dreams of Beaumarchais, the dramatist, who had just returned from England with wild tales of the colonists' success at Lexington and Bunker Hill and the opportunity of France to gain from England's losses. Vergennes connived at furnishing the Americans munitions.

Franklin was encouraged. "All Europe is on our side of the question, as far as applause and good wishes can carry them. Those who live under arbitrary power do nevertheless approve of liberty, and wish for it; they almost despair

of recovering it in Europe; they read the translations of our separate colony constitutions with rapture; and there are such members everywhere who talk of removing to America, with families and fortunes, as soon as peace and our independence shall be established, that it is generally believed that we shall have a prodigious addition of strength, wealth, and arts from the emigration of Europe; and it is thought that to lessen or prevent such emigration, the tyrannies established here must relax, and allow more liberty to their people. Hence it is a common observation here that our cause is the *cause of all mankind*, and that we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own. It is a glorious task assigned us by Providence, which has, I trust, given us spirit and virtue equal to it, and will at last crown it with success."

In America the war varied: Howe had captured New York, but Washington had checked him at Trenton, so that when Howe reached Philadelphia it was as Franklin said: he had not taken that city, "Philadelphia has captured Howe." Then came the great American triumph when the British general, Burgoyne, surrendered his army of 5,000 men at Saratoga. That winter Washington's army nearly starved at Valley Forge, but Burgoyne's disaster led France to give open aid and England to make offers of conciliation.

Franklin's influence increased. Adams reported: "His name was familiar to government and people, to kings, courtiers, nobility, clergy, and philosophers, as well as plebians, to such a degree that there was scarcely a peasant or a scullion in a kitchen who was not familiar with it and who did not consider him a friend to human kind." Voltaire and Franklin met and embraced publicly to the delight of the populace.

Franklin continued hard at work. He managed to furnish Paul Jones with ships and arms to annoy the British Navy, and, despite British spies all about him, a treaty of amity and commerce with France was made and the French fleet sent to help the Americans. The British government secretly offered Franklin almost all he had formerly demanded, but balked at independence. The United States and France exchanged ministers, while Franklin told the British as to independence: "We have never asked it of you; we only tell you that you can have no treaty with us but as an independent state."

The British gradually lost their supremacy at sea. They captured cities in the South, but were repulsed at last. The French sent men and money. Currency troubles harassed the colonists, but in 1781, the British General Cornwallis surrendered his army of 7,000 and the war was over.

Franklin sighed with relief. He wrote to Lafayette: "I must soon quit the scene, but you may live to see our country flourish, as it will amazingly and rapidly after

The signing of the Declaration of Independence on July 4th, 1776.

42/573/18

Franklin presenting his grandson to Voltaire for his blessing. Voltaire holds his hand over the child's head and says: "God and liberty."

Franklin, with his family round him, receives friends at his home in Philadelphia.

42/SA/19

My dear Friend, Passy, Sept. 11. 1783.

Mr. Storer told me, not long since, that you complain'd of my not writing to you. You have reason, for I find among your Letters to me two unanswered, viz. those of May 26, and Dec. 19. 1781. The Truth is, I have had too much Business to do for the Publick, and too little Help allow'd me; so that it became impossible for me to keep up my private Correspondencies. I promis'd myself

But enough of these petty Personalities. I quit them to rejoice with you in the Peace God has blest us with, and in the Prosperity it gives us a Prospect of. The Definitive Treaty was signed the third Instant. We are now Friends with England and with all Mankind. May we never see another War, for in my Opinion there never was a good War, or a bad Peace. Adieu, & believe me ever, my dear Friend

Yours most affectionately

B Franklin

A letter written by Franklin from Passy to a friend on September 11, 1783: "May we never see another war, for in my opinion there never was a good war, or a bad peace."

the war is over: like a field of young Indian corn, which long fair weather and sunshine had enfeebled and discoloured, and which, in that weak state, by a thunder-gust of violent wind, hail, and rain seemed to be threatened with absolute destruction; yet the storm being past, it recovers fresh verdure, shoots up with double vigor, and delights the eye not only of its owner but of every observing traveller."

42/STA/20

Franklin sent his resignation to Congress and planned a tour in Italy and Germany, and to "spend the evening of life more agreeably in philosophic leisure." But Congress refused to relieve him and commissioned him to make peace with Great Britain, "I have never known a peace made," he wrote, "even the most advantageous, that was not censured as inadequate, and the makers condemned as injudicious or corrupt."

He accepted the task. He was ordered to make peace with England only in concert with France. However, England now offered for the first time to acknowledge the independence of the colonies, which hitherto she had stubbornly refused. Franklin therefore hastened to sign a treaty.

The French were technically right at regarding this precipitate signing of the treaty with England as at least discourteous to the King, but there had been so much of secret negotiations on the part of France with Spain and America with England that Franklin succeeded in adjusting and on September 3, 1783, the final treaty of peace was signed. Franklin wrote to a friend: "I join with you most cordially in rejoicing at the return of peace. I hope it will be lasting, and that mankind will at length, as they call themselves reasonable creatures, have reason and sense enough to settle their differences without cutting throats; however in my opinion there never was a good war or bad peace. What vast additions to the conveniences and comforts of living might mankind have acquired, if the money spent in wars had been employed in works of public utility."

Despite the hard work and disappointments, Franklin enjoyed his long stay in France. He wrote that he would not "forget Paris and the nine years' happiness I enjoyed there, in the sweet society of a people whose conversation is instructive, whose manners are highly pleasing, and who, above all the nations of the world, have, in the greatest perfection, the art of making themselves beloved by strangers."

"I should rejoice much," he wrote Priestley in 1782, "if I could once more recover the leisure to search with you into the works of nature; I mean the inanimate not the animate or moral part of them: the more I discovered of the former the more I admired them; the more I know of the latter the more I am disgusted with them."

International honors came to Franklin during 1784-85: his election to membership in the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, to the academies of sciences

and arts at Orleans, and Lyons, to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester. From the Papal Nuncio in July 1784 Franklin heard that the Pope had named John Carroll the Superior of the Catholic Clergy in America because of what Franklin had said about him.

Franklin, despite his work and worries, led a pleasant life in France, at Passy, a suburb. He was often entertained in the Arcadian mode of the old regime. A companion of Marie Antionette remembered when the most beautiful of three hundred women placed a crown of laurel on Franklin's white head and kissed both his cheeks. In 1781 he was the hero of a *fête champêtre* arranged by Rousseau's Sophie. She and her party came on foot half a mile to meet him, and welcomed him with verses she had composed.

42/54/21

CHAPTER XII

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

So in 1785, Franklin returned to America, the most famous private citizen in the world, with King Louis' miniature set with 408 diamonds.

One matter puzzles the reader of Franklin's life and that was his surprise at hearing of the French Revolution which broke out several years after his return. To be sure, he spoke French indifferently and lived apart in a lovely suburb of Paris. He walked little, and probably knew little of the mass of Parisian people and nothing of the rural districts. How far did he realize the misery and oppression of the French? When he stood at court beside the beautiful Marie Antoinette, with her mound of jeweled curls and saw her gambling away the bread of her hungry people, did he hear of her remark: "Why don't they eat cake?"

Franklin must have realized that help for America hastened the bankruptcy of France. Probably he did not know that in the year after he left France a Corsican boy of fifteen, Napoleon Bonaparte, became Corporal in the French Army. Yet could not Franklin have foreseen some clouds of the coming terror? Perhaps not. At any rate, he mused after the fall of the Bastille: "In this world, nothing can be said to be certain except death and taxes. The convulsions in France are attended with some disagreeable circumstances; but if by the struggle she obtains and secures for her nation its future liberty, and a good constitution, a few years' enjoyment of those blessings will amply repair all the damages their acquisition may have occasioned. God grant that not only the love of liberty but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all the nations of the earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say: 'This is my country'."

Franklin was at last settled at home. For a long time he had given little attention to his private affairs. But without him his "estate . . . more than tripled in value since the Revolution by the rise in the price of real property." At that time few

Americans if any owned a million dollars. Franklin was worth about $200,000 and was accounted rich. In his will he left considerable sums for philanthropic purposes, especially loan funds for young tradesmen and for education.

He was well satisfied with conditions in America. "Our husbandmen," he wrote in 1786, "who are the bulk of the nation, have had plentiful crops, their produce sells at high prices and for ready, hard money... Our working-people are all employed and get high wages, are well fed and well clad... Buildings in Philadelphia increase rapidly, besides small towns rising in every quarter of the country." The laws govern. Of course Franklin was not thinking of the 770,000 black slaves and partially free Negroes, then living in the nation, when he wrote this. He did remember them later.

"I seem to have intruded myself into the company of posterity," wrote the aged Benjamin Franklin at the Constitutional Convention of 1787. On Friday, May 25, when at last there was a quorum of states, the Convention was organized. As in the Continental Congress of 1775, Franklin was the oldest man in the Convention. "Dr. Franklin," a Georgian wrote, "is no speaker, nor does he seem to let politics engage his attention. He is, however, a most extraordinary man, and tells a story in a style more engaging than anything I ever heard... He is eighty-two and possesses an activity of mind equal to a youth of twenty-five years of age."

Franklin's legislative ideas — a single legislature, a plural executive, the non-payment of officers — were none of them adopted. His advocacy of legislative power based on population was compromised: state equality in the Senate and representation based on population in the House.

Despite much effort the question of Negro slavery arose in the convention when the matter of representation in the Congress came up, together with trade in goods and slaves and slavery itself. In early life he had owned a few slaves and traded in them; but he disliked to have them in his own house. As far back as 1751, he had pointed out the economic weakness of slavery, and had suggested the establishment of the first school for Negroes in Philadelphia in 1758.

He wrote while in England a reasoned judgment: "There is not, take North America through, perhaps one family in a hundred that has a slave in it. Many thousands abhor the slave trade;... conscientiously avoid being concerned with it, and do everything in their power to abolish it." British traders "bring the slaves to us and tempt us to purchase them. I do not justify our falling into temptation." Franklin then argued that the Scottish colliers, and British soldiers and sailors, were not much better off than American slaves.

The first Abolition society, founded by Quakers in 1775 but inactive during the war, was renewed in 1787 as the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition

of Slavery and the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage. Franklin was president. On November 9, 1789, it appealed for support and funds in an *Address to the Public* which Franklin signed and perhaps himself wrote.

"Slavery is such an atrocious debasement of human nature, that its very extirpation, if not performed with solicitous care, may sometimes open a source of serious evils . . . Attention to emancipated black people, it is therefore to be hoped, will become a branch of our national policy."

Franklin signed also the memorial which the society presented to the first Congress. This memorial was referred to a committee which reported that Congress had no authority to interfere in the internal affairs of the states.

42/57/22

CHAPTER XIII

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN DIES (1790)

In his last years, Franklin suffered cruelly from gout and from stone in the kidney, which the surgery of his day could not relieve. He was old, hurt, and tired, and did not wish to live longer. Yet his wit and sarcasm in defense of justice as he had learned to conceive of it showed itself in the article which he wrote less than a month before his death.

He had read the protest of James Jackson of Georgia against Congressional interference with slavery or the condition of slaves. Franklin wrote: "It puts me in mind of a similar one made about a hundred years since by Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim, a member of the Divan of Algiers... It was against granting the petition of the sect called Erika, or Purists, who prayed for the abolition of piracy and slavery, as being unjust." Jackson's defense of slavery was matched by Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim's defense of the right of the Algerines to have Christian slaves. "The Divan came to this resolution: 'That it is the interest of this state to continue the practice, is clear; therefore let the petition be rejected.' And it was rejected accordingly."

He had never been a dogmatist in religion, and said: "I think all the heretics I have known have been virtuous men. They have the virtue of fortitude, or they would not venture to own their heresy; and they cannot afford to be deficient in any of the other virtues, as that would give advantage to their many enemies." He said that so far as he could see, God never distinguished "unbelievers in his government of the world with any peculiar marks of his displeasure."

"Vicious actions," he added, "are not hurtful because they are forbidden, but forbidden because they are hurtful..."; that it was therefore every one's interest to be virtuous who wished to be happy.

Benjamin Franklin died in 1790. From his deathbed he rose and asked that it be made up freshly for him. His daughter said that she hoped he would live

many years longer. He replied calmly: "I hope not." She asked him to change his position that he might breathe more easily. He said: "A dying man can do nothing easy." So died a great man.

Emmanuel Kant called him the Prometheus of modern times. Turgot said: "He tore the lightning from heaven and the scepter from tyrants." He was probably more widely known than any other man born on this side of the Atlantic.

In Paris, at the Constituent Assembly which started the French Revolution, Mirabeau said that Europe "owes at least a token of remembrance and regret to one of the greatest men who have ever been engaged in the service of philosophy and of liberty. I propose that it be decreed that the National Assembly, during three days, shall wear mourning for Benjamin Franklin."

42/51/23

Franklin disembarking at Market Street Wharf on his return from France in 1785.

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Franklin

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PREFACE

This short life of Benjamin Franklin has been written for the World Council of Peace, which, since its inception at Paris in 1949, I have held in highest esteem, and co-operated with it whenever and wherever I have been given opportunity. The work is based entirely on secondary material and is aimed principally at youthful readers, although I hope older ones may profit by it.

My chief sources of information have been the celebrated Franklin "Autobiography," the monumental work by Carl Van Doren, and the shorter work by Samuel Morse. My own social studies in Philadelphia and New England have given me some personal knowledge of Franklin's environment. All quotations have been taken from Franklin's own works.

THE STORY OF BENJ

BY W. E. B. D

CHAPTER I. THE CHILD. 1706-1718.

On the first of September, 1715, on the waterfront of Boston Harbor in sing waves and was very unhappy. He w tic and all the seven seas. He wante would not let him.

He was born 250 years ago of an E father, Josiah Franklin, had left Engl new land so as to have more freedom t know as he looked east that at that ve period of world history was ending, le while, his father was standing some di was a good father, of middle height an excellent mechanic. But of course he as alluring as his little boy imagined deed about life in general. He had se child, and very smart, an unusual trai a step upward from artisan to the lear this end he had sent Benjamin in his e did very well. But the fees were cost children, and although he worked hard The father began to wonder if it was n so finally he took him out of fitting of general studies with the idea of pr tallow candle maker.

Benjamin did not like this trade.

JAMIN FRANKLIN

Du BOIS

, a little boy, Benjamin Franklin, was standing
n North America. He was looking out on the tea-
wanted to be a sailor and sail the vast Atlan-
ed to see and learn and know and his father

English family of farmers and artisans. His
gland in 1658 and brought his family to this
to believe and work. Little Benjamin did not
very hour in France Louis XIV lay dying and a
leaving a new era of the world to him. Mean-
distance away and watching his little boy. He
and strong. He could sing and draw and was an
e knew that the life of a sailor was not near
ed. He was a bit anxious over this boy and in-
set his heart on giving Benjamin, his tenth
aining so that through him the family might take
arned profession of minister in the church. To
eighth year to a good fitting school where he
stly. Josiah had a large family of seventeen
d and steadily it was not easy to make ends meet.
really best to train this boy above his class;
g school and had sent him last year to a school
preparing for apprenticeship to his own trade of

e. It was dirty and uninteresting and his father

saw his unhappiness. So this morning they took a walk; they visited then and later the shops of carpenters, bricklayers, and metal workers. Finally, when his older son, James, returned from England with a printer's outfit, he saw that Benjamin was interested, especially because of the books in the office which he wanted to read; and then he liked the process of making books. So Benjamin in his twelfth year became a printer.

CHAPTER II. THE BOY. 1719-1722.

From his twelfth through his sixteenth year, Benjamin was a printer in Boston, apprenticed to his older brother, James. He grew quickly to love the work, although he and his brother did not get on so well. First, he could now secure the books he had wanted long to read: John Bunyan, Defoe, Plutarch, and some historical collections. With this reading came the fascinating work of setting words in print and seeing them reproduced on clean white paper. He learned early one of the first truths of the worker, that thought, to be real, must become action, and that daily working is revealed in daily thinking. So he read voraciously about the world and its people and as early as his fourteenth year began to write articles and slip them under the office door, fearing his brother, who was now publishing a weekly newspaper, might not like them. To his delight, his brother read many and actually printed them. Imagine Benjamin's feelings as he put his own words in type! Not only that, but in the next two or three years, people began to read and talk about what he had written. He dabbled on poetry, but his father, becoming aware of his efforts, discouraged poetry and guided him to a careful study of good English essays. Benjamin became more aware of the real world. He wrote letters from an imaginary "Silence Dogood" which were widely read. At sixteen, Franklin stood up sturdily for freedom of printers and writers to say what they wanted to:

> "Without freedom of thought, there can be no such thing as wisdom...and no such thing as public liberty, without freedom of speech, which is the right of every man, as far as by it he does not hurt and control the right of another; and this is the only check it ought to suffer, and the only bounds it ought to have."

This sort of talk published in his brother's paper, and similar thoughts, aimed at religious hypocrisy, got his brother in trouble with the authorities, so that James was put in jail, and substituted Benjamin's name as publisher. This technically broke the boy's indenture and gave him the chance he wanted.

Apprentices in these days were subject to unpleasant treatment. They were often kicked and cuffed about and poorly fed and clothed. Benjamin was no exception. His older brother, partly from bad temper and perhaps a little jealous of this boy's precocity and growing notoriety, was pretty hard on him. Benjamin wanted to get away and be his own man. Legally he was to serve until he was 21; but taking advantage of James' making him nominal editor, he first tried to transfer to another master printer; but James blocked that and Benjamin determined to go to New York. His father would not ~~xxxxxx~~ consent, so the boy, with little baggage and with only a little money which he got by selling some of his books, ran away in 1723.

CHAPTER III. THE YOUTH. 1723-1726.

The boat trip to New York took three days; but when he arrived and applied to the only printer in town for work, there was no opening. He advised Benjamin to go to Philadelphia, which was ninety miles away. He was sure he would find work there. Franklin left his small box of clothes and started on boat across the bay. A squall tore their sail and landed them on Long Island, where one of the passengers was nearly drowned. They were thirty hours adrift without food or water. Finally reaching land, Benjamin walked three days across country and then, finding a passenger boat, reached Philadelphia rather the worse for wear and beginning to wish he had never run away.

But on a Sunday morning he finally stood on the wharf in Philadelphia. "I was in my working dress.... I was dirty from my journey; my pockets were stuffed out with shirts and stockings and I knew no soul; nor where to look for lodging." Also, he had but a shilling in money, left after paying his boat fare. Then, buying some bread, he walked up Market Street with a loaf under each arm, passing the girl whom he later married on the steps of her home. Afterward she told him that he made "a most awkward, ridiculous appearance."

Franklin soon found work with an eccentric and foolish printer, whose shop he immediately started to set in order. Then an astonishing thing happened. He met the governor of the state! It came about in this way: A friend who learned of Benjamin's whereabouts told him of his family's anxiety over him. But Franklin was enjoying his freedom and was making a little money. Moreover, being from Boston, the largest city on the continent, he had soon become quite well known among the young folk. He wrote his friend about his reasons for leaving Boston and of his good chances here. His friend read the letter to the governor and the governor, Sir William Keith, a good-hearted, airy, but irresponsible man, immediately called on young Franklin, to his astonishment and that of his boss. Keith proposed that Franklin set up a new printing shop. If he had not enough capital, why not borrow it from his father? Keith would give him a letter.

So Franklin, in a new suit, with a watch and ~5 cash in his pocket, hurried back home where he was welcomed. But when he laid his plans before his father, the cautious Josiah was unimpressed. He said that Keith seemed to him a man of little sense. He wrote him politely, thanking him, but saying that his son was too young for so important and expensive ~~xxxxxx~~ an adventure. Josiah ~~hxpxd~~ hoped Franklin would remain at home, but Benjamin went back to Philadelphia and told the governor of his failure. Keith airily dismissed the matter by promising himself to raise the capital. He commissioned Franklin to make an inventory of his needs and go to London to buy furniture for his shop.

Franklin was walking on clouds. He prepared for the trip to London even though the governor's letter and money failed to arrive. He even boarded the boat. Still no word. He finally landed in London with no friends and only ~12 in his pocket. But he was a good printer and he soon found work. Here he stayed for a year and a half, in the brilliant capital of the British Empire. ~~xtxxhxxgxxxtxxxx

America and his former idea of a printing shop for writing and publicity was revived. So on July 23, 1726, Franklin sailed for Philadelphia, leaving the temptations of London behind, and bringing some equipment for his printing shop.

CHAPTER IV. THE YOUNG MAN. 1727-1730.

Young Franklin was now of age and ready to settle down for work. He laid down a design of life: "I have never fixed a regular design as to life, by which means it has been a confused variety of different scenes. I am now entering upon a new one; let me therefore make some resolutions, and form some scheme of action, that henceforth I may live in all respects like a rational creature. 1. It is necessary for me to be extremely frugal for some time, till I have paid what I owe. 2. To endeavor to speak truth in every instance, to give nobody expectations that are not likely to be answered, but aim at sincerity in every word and action: the most amiable excellence in a human being. 3. To apply myself industriously to whatever business I take in hand, and not divert my mind from my business by any foolish project of growing suddenly rich; for industry and patience are the surest means of plenty. 4. I resolve to speak ill of no man whatever, not even in a matter of truth; but rather by some means excuse the faults I hear charged upon others, and upon proper occasions speak all the good I know of everybody."

First, after returning from London, Franklin found employment as manager of his old place of work. Then in 1728, he opened a printing shop in partnership with a friend and took over a newspaper, formerly published by a competitor, and shortened its name to the Philadelphia Gazette. He dropped re-publication of British books from its columns, and limited it to actual news of Pennsylvanians; he wrote much for it himself. He increased the advertisements, and printed the paper with skill and taste. He wrote or rewrote the foreign and domestic news. He wrote letters to himself as editor and answered them.

In 1730, he became sole owner of the shop. He began to show some of that smug self-righteousness and eye to public opinion which characterized his whole life. "I began to pay off the debt I was under for the printing-house. In order to secure my credit and character as a tradesman, I took care not only to be in reality industrious and frugal, but to avoid all appearances to the contrary. I dress plainly; I was seen at no places of idle diversion. I never went out a fishing or shooting; a

book, indeed, sometimes debauch'd me from my work, but that was seldom, snug, and gave no scandal; and, to show that I was not above my business, I sometimes brought home the paper I purchas'd at the stores thro' the streets on a wheelbarrow. Thus being esteem'd an industrious, thriving young man, and paying duly for what I bought, the merchants who imported stationery solicited my custom; others proposed supplying me with books, and I went on swimmingly."

Franklin then got married, saying: "... that hard-to-be governed passion of youth hurried me frequently into intrigues with low women that fell in my way, which were attended with some expense and great inconvenience, besides a continual risque to my health by a distemper which of all things I dreaded." He turned toward thought of Deborah Read, the girl who had seen him first enter Philadelphia. During his absence she had married unfortunately, and separated from her good-for-nothing husband. In 1730, Franklin married her with some hesitation, ~~hearing~~ fearing that her husband might return. "She proved a good and faithful helpmate, assisted me much by attending the shop; we throve together, and have ever mutually endeavor'd to make each other happy.... She assisted me cheerfully in my business, folding and stitching pamphlets, tending shop, purchasing old linen rags for the paper-makers, etc., etc. We kept no idle servants, our table was plain and simple, our furniture of the cheapest."

He organized among his friends "a club of mutual improvement, which we called the Junto; we met on Friday evenings. The rules that I drew up required that every member, in his turn, should produce one or more queries on any point of Morals, Politics, or Natural ~~History~~ Philosophy, to be discuss'd by the company; and once in three months produce and read an essay of his own writing, on any subject he pleased. Our debates were to be under the direction of a president, and to be conducted in the sincere spirit of inquiry after truth, without fondness for dispute, or desire of victory."

From this club came a loan library which in time grew into the Philadelphia Public Library. Franklin records his method of debate: "I made it a rule to forbear

all direct contradiction of the sentiments of others, and all positive assertion of my own.... I soon found the advantage of this change in my manner; the conversations I engaged in went on more pleasantly. The modest way in which I proposed my opinions procured them a readier reception and less contradiction; I had less mortification when I was found to be in the wrong; and I more easily prevailed with others to give up their mistakes and join with me when I happened to be in the right."

CHAPTER V. THE MAN. 1731-1755.

From 1731 to 1755, Franklin became a successful printer and publisher and a widely read writer. His business flourished and expanded. In 1732, he issued the first number of an almanac which became the most famous of his writings. He said: "I first publish'd my Almanack, under the name of Richard Saunders; it was continu'd by me about twenty-five years, commonly call'd Poor Richard's Almanack. I endeavor'd to make it both entertaining and useful, and it accordingly came to be in such demand, that I reap'd considerable profit from it, vending annually near ten thousand. And observing that it was generally read, scarce any neighborhood in the province being without it, I consider'd it as a proper vehicle for conveying instruction among the common people, who bought scarcely any other books; I therefore filled all the little spaces that occurr'd between the remarkable days in the calendar with proverbial sentences, chiefly such as inculcated industry and frugality, as a means of procuring wealth, and thereby securing virtue; it being more difficult for a man in want, to act always honestly."

The aphorisms in this Almanac illustrate Franklin's philosophy and his times. He advised thrift for a poor, hard-working people tempted often to waste. "An empty bag cannot stand upright." "Beware of little expenses, a small leak will sink a ship." "A penny saved is a penny earned." "God helps them that help themselves."

This philosophy of thrift has been greatly stressed as typifying Franklin's philosophy. But he just as strongly attacked avarice. "Avarice and happiness never saw each other. How then should they become acquainted?" "Poverty wants some things, luxury many things, avarice all things." "He that is rich need not live sparingly, and he that can live sparingly need not be rich." "Wealth is not his that has it, but his that enjoys it." "He that is of the opinion money will do everything may well be suspected of doing everything for money." "Seven wealthy towns contend for Homer dead, through which

the living Homer begged his bread."

Franklin stressed good health: "Early to bed and early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise." "Eat to live, and not live to eat." "He that can take rest is greater than he that can take cities."

Franklin believed in plain honesty and doing right; in good will and justice. "The rotten apple spoils his companion." "An innocent plowman is more worthy than a vicious prince." "Words may show a man's wit, but actions his meaning." "There was never a good knife made of bad steel." "Caesar did not merit the triumphal car more than he that conquers himself." "Better slip with feet than tongue." "A mob's a monster; heads enough but no brains." "What signifies your patience, if you can't find it when you want it?" "Many foxes grow gray, but few grow good." "All blood is alike ancient." "The noblest question in the world is, 'What good may I do in it?'" "Wish not so much to live long as to live well. Keep conscience clear, then never fear." "A lie stands on one leg, truth on two." "Half the truth is often a great lie." "Trust thyself, and another shall not betray thee." "Great beauty, great strength, and great riches are really and truly of no great use; a right heart exceeds them all." "Wink at small faults -- remember thou hast great ones." "The worst wheel of the cart makes the most noise." "Deny self for self's sake." "None preaches better than the ant, and she says nothing." "Time is an herb that cures all diseases." "Where there's marriage without love there will be love without marriage." "The heart of the fool is in his mouth, but the mouth of the wise man is in his heart." "Approve not of him who commends all you say." "The family of fools is ancient." "What is serving God? 'Tis doing good to man."

CHAPTER VI. FRANKLIN THE MERCHANT. 1736-1744.

During the eight years from his thirtieth to his thirty-eighth birthday, Franklin foreshadowed the new trader and investor who was to typify the last half of the eighteenth century and pave the way for the triumph of commerce and industry in the nineteenth. He expanded his printing and publishing and embarked on trade and commerce; he saved money and invested it and began to accumulate a fortune. His business enterprises grew in New York and Newport; in South Carolina and the West Indies. His usual method was to furnish capital and share profits until his partner took over the business or gave it up. His own store in Philadelphia not only did printing and publishing, but sold stationery, books, pencils, slates, and ink; soap, wax, maps, wine, oil, coffee, chocolate, mustard, scales, patent medicines, cheese, fish, cloth, stockings, tea, linen rags, stoves and horses. Also, he sold both the unexpired work time of indentured white servants and the bodies of black slaves for life. He advertised: "A very good tailor, having one year and ten months to run; fit for either town or country business. And a servant lad for six years, fit for country business." "Also a breeding Negro woman about twenty years of age. Can do any household work." "A likely Negro wench about fifteen years old, has had the smallpox, been in the country above a year and talks English. Inquire of the printer hereof." "A likely young Negro fellow about nineteen or twenty years of age, to be disposed of. He is very fit for labor, being used to plantation work, and has had the smallpox." "Two likely young Negroes, one a lad about nineteen, the other a girl of fifteen."

In such trade, Franklin was following the universal custom of his day and as yet had evidently given no thought to the ethics of slavery. Nor did he consider that trade had any object beside gain for the trader. It was not until many years later that the fundamental right and wrong of commerce began to force itself on his mind and conscience.

In 1734, Franklin became public printer for Pennsylvania and Delaware, and in 1736, clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly. This insured his doing all the public

printing, which was a profitable undertaking. The next year he became deputy postmaster of the city, which helped distribute his publications. Also it brought travel and contact with the widely scattered colonies and a broader knowledge of social conditions and problems. His family increased by his own children, the adoption of his brother James' son, and by another son of his own, who was perhaps not Deborah's child; but she took him into the family without protest.

Franklin was now prosperous and began to grow in thought and breadth of interest; he began to study French, Italian and German until he could read in these languages. He also learned to speak ungrammatical French so as to be understood. Socially he and his family still counted as outsiders -- a printer and shopkeeper whom aristocratic Philadelphia of landholders and professional men never received socially and of course they did not invite his wife to their homes. But they had to recognize this man as efficient and valuable; he certainly did much for the city and state. He organized the first fire company; he helped reorganize the police; he worked with the churches but did not join them; he became a prominent Mason. He got on amicably with the dominant Quakers of his state.

Later, from Franklin's prominence and public spirit, he was brought in contact with certain world movements. There were the new British Methodists, who were protesting against the Church of England and now began to expand to America. When their leader, Wesley, and his helper, Whitefield, came to America, it was Franklin who helped them in Philadelphia, printed their sermons and found them an audience and place to preach, and gave them valuable advice. Out of experiences like this and widening duties as colonial postmaster, Franklin got his first ideas of colonial union; he proposed an inter-colonial philosophical society, which he planned could become a center of continental thought and activities.

CHAPTER VII. FRANKLIN RETIRES FROM BUSINESS. 1745-1753.

Benjamin Franklin was now approaching fifty years of age; his property and investments were enough to support the simple life to which he and his family were accustomed. He began to retire from active business and looked forward to indulging himself in scientific inquiries and the companionship of his friends. He purchased a new home in Philadelphia and a farm in New Jersey. He began to experiment and amuse himself as well as continuing his writing. His skit appeared, defending Polly Baker for her children born out of wedlock but carefully raised. He invented the Franklin stove to save fuel and refused to patent it. He studied the pores of the skin and the laws of motion and gravity. He amused himself with "magic squares," one with sixteen figures vertical and across, which all added to the same sum each way. He learned to play the harp, the guitar and violin, and invented the harmonica. He became interested in studying the weather, looked into geology and experimented in agriculture. As a printer and writer he had observed the disorderly confusion of English spelling. He examined the first principles of phonetic reform.

Then came Franklin's interest in electricity. In Boston in 1746, he met a man from Scotland, who showed him some electrical experiments. At home again, Franklin gave up the whole winter to electricity. "I never was before engaged in any study that so totally engrossed my attention...; for, what with making experiments when I can be alone, and repeating them to my friends and acquaintance who, from the novelty of the thing, come continually in crowds to see them, I have during some months past had little leisure for anything else."

Franklin distinguished between positive and negative electricity, built an electric battery and succeeded in sending an electric spark across a river. Then came his epoch-making idea that lightning was but electricity. To test this possibility he made his world-famous experiment with a kite. He stretched a large silk handkerchief on two cross-sticks and on the first approach of a thunderstorm he took a walk in the fields.

"The kite being raised, a considerable time elapsed before there was any appearance of its being electrified. One very promising cloud had passed over it without any effect; when, at length, just as he was beginning to despair of his contrivance, he observed some loose threads of the hempen string to stand erect, and to avoid one another, just as if they had been suspended on a common conductor. Struck with this promising appearance, he immediately presented his knuckle to the key, and the discovery was complete. He perceived a very evident electric spark."

He said in 1751: "There are no bounds...to the force man may raise and use in the electrical way."

Once Europe heard this epoch-making discovery, Franklin was famous almost before he knew it. In 1753, he received the Copley medal from England, and both Harvard and Yale Colleges gave him honorary degrees -- he who had never attended college a single day.

While these experiments were progressing, various public duties began to encroach on Franklin's time. He helped found a city hospital and to organize a fire insurance company. For the first time he came in close contact with the Indians. He learned about the Indian confederacy called the Six Nations. He was one of the commissioners sent by Pennsylvania to treat with them in 1749 and, if possible, keep them from siding with the French. A treaty was signed and this gave Franklin an idea: If Indians could thus unite and act together, why not the thirteen colonies?

Franklin did not advise the Indians to become civilized. "I should never advise a nation of savages to admit of civilisation; for I assure you that in the possession and enjoyment of the various comforts of life, compared to these people every Indian is a gentleman."/ With rare foresight he added that civilized society seemed to progress only by depressing the masses below the savage state in order that a few might be raised above it.

It had occurred to Franklin earlier that Pennsylvania should have a college. Massachusetts had Harvard and Connecticut Yale. Virginia, New Jersey and Rhode Island

were soon to follow. In 1749, he proposed that since the war of Austrian succession, known in America as King George's War, was finished, an academy be established. He went into the matter of its housing, "not far from a river, having a garden, orchard, meadow, and a field or two;" a library "with maps of all countries, globes, some mathematical instruments, and apparatus for experiments in natural philosophy and for mechanics; prints of all kinds, prospects, buildings, machines, etc." The students should eat together "plainly, temperately, and frugally," and "be frequently exercised in running, leaping, wrestling, and swimming.

"As to their studies, it would be well if they could be taught everything that is useful and everything that is ornamental. But art is long and their time is short."

Louis XVI had left France deeply in debt. The regent ruling for Louis XV had blown up John Law's Mississippi bubble until it burst. Now France was looking toward empire in America and buying furs from the Indians and moving into the valley of the Mississippi in an effort to cut the British colonies off from the West.

Franklin promoted the Albany Congress in 1754 to consider measures to protect the British colonies against the French. He proposed his Albany plan of colonial union, which was not listened to until ten years later. But Franklin continued thinking in continental terms: he anticipated the Malthus theory of population and food by fifty years. "There is, in short," he wrote in 1751, "no bound to the prolific nature of plants or animals but what is made by their crowding and interfering with each other's means of subsistence. Was the face of the earth vacant of other plants, it might be gradually sowed and overspread with one kind only; as, for instance, with fennel. And were it empty of other inhabitants, it might in a few ages be replenished from one nation only; as, for instance, with Englishmen."

He looked on America as a great frontier for the refuge of Britain. Franklin frankly preferred Englishmen and said so. "The number of purely white people in the world is proportionately very small. All Africa is black or tawny; Asia chiefly

tawny; America (exclusive of the newcomers) wholly so. And in Europe the Spaniards, Italians, French, Russians, and Swedes are generally of what we call a swarthy complexion; as are the Germans also, the Saxons only excepted, who with the English make up the principal body of white people on the face of the globe. I could wish their numbers were increased. And while we are, as I may call it, scouring our planet by clearing America of woods and so making this side of our globe reflect a brighter light to the eyes of inhabitants in Mars or Venus, why should we in the sight of superior beings darken its people? Why increase the sons of Africa by planting them in America, where we have so fair an opportunity, by excluding all blacks and tawnys, of increasing the lovely red and white? But perhaps I am partial to the complexion of my country, for such kind of partiality is natural to mankind.

CHAPTER VIII. ENVOY TO ENGLAND. 1754-1762.

In the third quarter of the eighteenth century, when Franklin, between fifty and seventy years of age, was passing from middle age to old age, he became increasingly aware of the relation of the colonies to the British Empire and the world. He realized the truth that in his century, "France ruled the land, England ruled the seas, and Germany ruled the clouds." He knew something of the struggle between Frederick the Great of Prussia with Maria Theresa of Austria, because this seven years in Europe had been echoed in the colonies. The French cultivated the Indians, they intermarried with them, and together the vastly valuable fur trade was increasing. The British and colonists had done little but take the Indians' land. So the French were pressing in on the British colonies in the West and the Indians were largely their allies.

Franklin began to think of the general condition of the colonies in America. The population had increased rapidly from natural growth and immigration. The two hundred thousand souls of 1690 had become a million and a half. Trade between England and its continental colonies now amounted to three million pounds sterling a year, or twice the West Indian trade. But war and a bad colonial policy were interfering with trade. In the seventeenth century, only four of its hundred years had been without some war in Europe. Now the great monarch, "the greatest actor of majesty who ever wore a crown," was dead and his bitter enemy William of Orange was gone and also poor Queen Anne. The long war of Spanish succession called in America Queen Anne's war had given England the slave trade and poured Negroes into America. England was reaching east, now that the great Mohammedan moguls had lost their power, and India fell in 1759 at the battle of Plassey. All this reacted on the continental colonies of America. The The West India lobby in London had secured heavy taxes on rum, molasses, and sugar in order to stop the illegal trade between the West Indies and the mainland continent. Smuggling and evasion of the British Navigation Acts were common.

Franklin began to sense this commercial rivalry and to develop his idea of the relation of England to the American colonies. Britain and its American colonies were

to be one country with only the sea between. The colonies should be extended West. Americans must have first hand in their own government but remain naturally an integral part of the Empire. They already paid high indirect taxes to Britain by having their trade curtailed and manufactures forbidden.

Opportunity to work out a solution was interrupted by war. In Europe in 1756, Prussia began its fight for survival, which brought its monarch, Frederick the Great, and Maria Theresa of Austria into fierce struggle, and soon involved France, Britain, Russia and Spain in a world struggle for empire.

Before war broke out in Europe, fighting began in America. The French moved into the Ohio Valley and fortified it. Young George Washington was sent west but failed to dislodge the French. Then the British sent General Braddock to lead an expedition westward while others attacked Canada. Franklin helped. As postmaster general he took a trip and met Braddock in person. The haughty general ignored Franklin's advice about Indian warfare, but accepted his aid in furnishing transport wagons and horses. Franklin obligated himself personally to a debt of £20,000 and hundreds of pounds of food. Braddock was overwhelmingly defeated and for months Franklin was in danger of bankruptcy. It was three months later that the state of Pennsylvania reimbursed him.

William Pitt now took the helm in England. More British troops were sent and the colonies rallied. The French were attacked successfully in Canada and the Ohio Valley and finally Quebec fell in 1759. In 1763, by the Treaty of Paris, England got Canada and the Mississippi Valley except New Orleans; Spain got Louisiana and the West.

The end of the seven years' war left England mistress of a vast colonial empire but it also left her deeply in debt, and she tried to get funds out of her American colonies. This raised a grave question: What was the political position of English colonists in America? Had they the rights of Englishmen or were they at the mercy of the English Parliament? Franklin argued:

That the colonists have no representatives in Parliament.

That compelling the colonists to pay money without their consent would be more like raising contributions in an enemy's country, than taxing of Englishmen for their own public benefit.

That it would be treating the colonists as a conquered people, and not as true British subjects.

But England was stubborn. George III had begun his long reign and the British Empire was beginning to belt the world. The theory that colonies existed for the benefit of Englishmen was emphasized. It was proposed to regulate the trade of the colonies so as to carry out three principles: first, that England should be the only shop in which colonists could purchase; second, that colonists should not manufacture for themselves articles which England had to sell; third, that the people of different colonies should not trade with each other to the detriment of the trade of either with England.

While this broader problem was pending, Pennsylvania sent Franklin to England to discuss the narrower problem of their right to tax the American property of the proprietors, the Penn family. Franklin sailed in 1757, prepared to stay perhaps for a year or two; but he had to stay five years.

He was, however, well known in England by reputation; he moved among high officials, men of letters, and merchants. He was already a member of the Royal Society. He was given a degree by Oxford University and by the Scottish University of St. Andrews. He was made Burgess of Edinburgh and dined with Adam Smith. Franklin succeeded in securing from the English the right of Pennsylvania to tax the Penn property in the colony. But he was drawn into discussion of the broader aspect of the relation of the colonies to Great Britain. He argued for the retention of Canada rather than its exchange for a small West Indian Island as was proposed. He insisted that the American colonies should be united. Some of his English friends argued that this would lead to a demand for independence of British control. This Franklin denied vehemently, "unless you grossly abuse them."

Finally, in 1762, he was sorry to leave "this happy island and my friends," but

glad to reach Philadelphia in November. His family was well and reports of the loss of his friends were false. "My house has been full of a succession of them from morning to night ever since my arrival, congratulating me on my return with the utmost cordiality and affection.

CHAPTER IX. BACK TO ENGLAND. 1763-1766.

Soon after Franklin arrived at home, he travelled 1,600 miles to regulate postal matters. He then settled a dangerous situation with regard to the Indians and stopped a massacre of Indians by white rowdies. The Indians had attacked settlers. In retaliation the settlers murdered Indian women and children, but not those guilty of the attack. An Indian war was imminent. Franklin organized defense and quelled the mob, but made enemies by this act. In 1763 the Indian chief, Pontiac, revolted against all whites. He had long been a friend of the French; but he refused to retreat with them and formed an Indian Federation against all whites. The British procured his assassination, but his Federation flamed in blood in the Valley of the Mississippi.

This showed that the defense of the colonies must still be pushed. During the Seven Years' War, the public debt of Great Britain had doubled. British landholders were being taxed a fifth of their incomes. British merchants were clamoring anew for enforcement of the colonial navigation laws, which had been neglected, while colonial contraband trade was booming. The government therefore in 1763 proposed more strict enforcement of the former Navigation Acts; a standing British army in America supported in part by American taxes; and new import duties with a stamp tax on newspapers, pamphlets, and legal papers.

The people of Pennsylvania meanwhile were still striving to get rid of the Penn family and secure government directly under the King. They prepared a petition and, after bickering, named Franklin to return to England and present it. Just as Franklin was leaving, the colonies heard of the proposed Stamp Act. He was commissioned to oppose it.

Franklin sought audience with the Prime Minister in February, 1765. He was received "with great civility; and after some questions respecting the present state of affairs in America and discourse thereupon, he said to me: 'You Americans have wrong ideas of the nature of your constitution; you contend that the king's instructions to his governors are not laws, and think yourselves at liberty to regard or disregard them at your own discretion.... They are then, so far as they relate to you, the law

of the land, for the king is the legislator of the colonies.' I told his lordship this was new doctrine to me. I had always understood from our charters that our laws were to be made by our assemblies, to be presented indeed to the king for his royal assent; but that being once given, the king could not repeal or alter them. And as the assemblies could not make permanent laws without his assent, so neither could he make a law for them without theirs. He assured me I was totally mistaken." Thereupon the Stamp Act was passed and signed.

Franklin was disappointed but philosophical about it and When asked recommended a good person as collector. In the colonies, however, there was an outburst of anger, with mobs and arson; kings' officers were made to resign; distribution of the stamps was prevented and a Stamp Act Congress called. Agreements were made not to import or use articles of English manufacture.

The colonists turned against Franklin. They believed that their trusted representative had been a traitor. Mobs threatened to destroy his new house in Philadelphia, and it was said that he had "planned" the Stamp Act.

Franklin wrote protesting: "I took every step in my power to prevent the passing of the Stamp Act. Nobody could be more concerned and interested than myself to oppose it sincerely and heartily. But the tide was too strong against us. The nation was provoked by American claims of independence, and all parties joined in resolving by this act to settle the point. We might as well have hindered the sun's setting."

Non-importation agreements were effective. A comprehensive "boycott" against all articles of English manufacture started, and English manufacturers became the real victims of the Stamp Act.

Franklin was disturbed. He saw the tremendous power of Great Britain and wondered how the separate colonies and the infant towns could fight Parliament and the king.

In January, 1766, Pitt said: "The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England. As subjects they are entitled to the common right of representation, and cannot be bound to pay taxes without their consent." The British had to retreat, but only

temporarily and in bad temper. They repealed the Stamp Act, but ~~it~~ with the declaration that "the King in Parliament has full power to bind the colonies and people of America in all cases whatsoever."

The people of Philadelphia were now persuaded that this repeal was chiefly due to Franklin. They were ashamed of their first reaction, and began to praise his devotion. They built a barge, forty feet long, and dragged it in a great procession.

CHAPTER X. HOME TO AMERICA. 1766-1774.

In February, 1766, Franklin and others Americans were summoned to give testimony concerning the colonies at the bar of the House of Commons sitting in committee of the whole. The attitude of Parliament toward Franklin and his fellow Americans was insulting. For nearly an hour, Franklin, now 68 years old, was compelled to stand before a hostile audience and take abuse. There were some of the best trained and most experienced men in England to question Franklin.

The "Gentleman's Magazine" said: "The questions are put with great subtlety and judgment, and they are answered with such deep and familiar knowledge of the subject, such precision and perspicuity, such temper and yet such spirit, as do the greatest honor to Dr. Franklin, and justify the general opinion of his character and abilities."

Franklin now understood the colonial sentiment, and was in accord with it. He was asked whether the colonists would submit to a modified Stamp Act. He replied: "No, they will never submit to it." Could anything less than a military force carry the Stamp Act into execution? Franklin replied: "I do not see how a military force can be applied." Why not? Franklin answered that if a military force were sent to America, they would find nobody in arms. They cannot force a man to take stamps who chooses to do without them. They will not find a rebellion, unless they make one.

Franklin's efforts in behalf of the colonies brought appointment from other colonies to act as their agent, so he became known as unofficial American minister. The government tried to bribe him by offering him office; he could have been an undersecretary of state, if he had been willing to modify his views.

The next year Parliament framed a new tax bill, with duties on wine, oil, glass, paper, lead, and three pence per pound on tea. Colonial governors and chief justices were hereafter to be paid by the king from his American revenue, and not by the colonial assemblies.

Matters were at an impasse between Britain and the colonies. He, however, took opportunity with his son to slip over to France, where Louis XV was reigning. Franklin

went to "Versailles last Sunday and had the honour of being presented to the king; he spoke to both of us very graciously and cheerfully, is a handsome man, has a lively look, and appears younger than he is. In the evening we were at the grand couvert, where the family sup in public."

Thus the colonial saw a bit of French monarchy and was attracted.

In 1768, two regiments were sent to Boston to enforce the law. Franklin pointed out the hazard of keeping this procedure and soon enough in 1770 came three fateful occurrences: the Boston massacre, the accession of Lord North to the premiership of England, and the marriage of the Dauphin, later Louis XVI of France, to Marie Antoinette of Austria. As Daniel Webster said later, the Boston massacre marked "the severance of England and her American colonies." Many other Americans said this was merely a mob led by a Negro, but the people of America celebrated this 5th of March as a national holiday for twenty years, until gradually it was superceded by Independence Day, the Fourth of July.

Lord North proposed a compromise: All the duties would be repealed save those on tea. There was reason for this: The East India Tea Company had seventeen million pounds of tea in storage and its stock on the market had fallen from 380 to 160. Sale of the tea to America would rid it of surplus tea and bring money to the British Treasury. The tax was voted but still the colonists were stubborn. This was still a tax without their consent and they could smuggle all the tea they needed. The boycott continued.

Meantime, Franklin traveled. In Dublin he attended two sessions of the Irish Parliament, and was formally received. Two months later he got to Edinburgh. "Through storms and floods I arrived here on Saturday night, late, and was lodged miserably in an inn," he wrote on October 27. "But that excellent Christian David Hume, agreeable to the precepts of the Gospel, has received the stranger, and I now live with him at his house in the new town most happily."

It may have been at this time or perhaps later that Franklin found himself stopping

at the same inn with Gibbon the great historian. He asked leave to call. Gibbon refused to receive a "rebel." Franklin replied that when Gibbon came to write of the decline and fall of the British Empire, Franklin would be happy to furnish him with the ample materials in his possession.

Tea from Britain began arriving in America in 1773. The people of Boston would not allow the tea ships to land their cargo. Other cities induced the ships to return or to store the cargoes. Noisy meetings were held, and in Boston two thousand men came to the wharf and watched while about fifty men, disguised as Indians, threw the $90,000 worth of tea into the harbor.

Britain immediately took action. The port of Boston was closed, the charter of Massachusetts changed, and the rioters were ordered sent to England for trial. When Franklin returned to London in 1774, "I was called an incendiary, and the papers were filled with invectives against me. Hints were given that there was some thoughts of apprehending me, seizing my papers, and sending me to Newgate."

In 1775, Franklin voiced the resentment at the sending of troops to Boston and the other measures. An English gentleman told him that these steps were taken upon the advice of Americans. Later he produced letters, signed by residents and office-holders in, America, to prove this.

The British saw here a chance to get rid of Franklin. The charge was that he had made a public use of private letters. Franklin therefore received notice that he had been dismissed from his office as Deputy Postmaster-General, and he was refused recognition as colonial agent. Members of Parliament contemptuously accused Americans of dishonesty and cowardice. Franklin replied with the two most stinging satires of all his years in England; one was Rules by Which a Great Empire May Be Reduced to a Small One.

Disappointed and disgusted, Franklin, in tears and anger, spent his last day in England and read papers from America. If there should be a war, he was sure America would win, but it would take ten years, and he would never live to see the end. Before leaving, he induced a poor discouraged writer, Tom Paine, to migrate to America.

H journeyed to Portsmouth with haste and precaution, and sailed in March, 1775. His departure marked an era in the relations of Great Britain with her American colonies. It showed that hope of agreement, all possibility of reconciliation upon one side or of recession upon the other, were over. Franklin arrived in Philadelphia May 5, 1775. He found his wife dead.

CHAPTER XI. FRANKLIN HELPS FORM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. 1775-1778.

For the next year and a half after his return to America, Franklin was very busy. He took part in the Second Continental Congress of the colonies. He made a difficult journey to Canada. He organized a new postal system for the colonies. He planned Articles of Permanent Confederation. He was one of the five who drafted the Declaration of Independence. He conferred with Lord Howe on peace with England, and finally went to France to secure her co-operation against England. For a man of seventy, this was hard work.

He was aboard ship on the way home when he heard of the Battles of Lexington and Concord and knew that war between the colonies and Great Britain had actually broken out. He was the oldest member of the Continental Congress, but also the most widely known. He was tired and usually sat listening rather than talking. Often he fell asleep in his chair.

On July 21, Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole to "take into consideration the state of America," and Franklin read the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union which he had drawn up for "The United ~~States~~ Colonies of North America." This was his Albany Plan of Union, revised to fit the changed conditions. But the colonists still hoped for peace and put the matter off. But after the Declaration of Independence the subject recurred. It was not settled until Franklin had left for France in 1777.

On one matter Franklin was firm, but partially over-ruled. He wanted the colonies to participate in the new government according to population and not as equals. This proposal was lost. The nation still regrets it and lives to see its mistake in letting a state like Nevada with a population of 160,000 have the same representation in the Senate as New York, with 15,000,000.

In the spring of 1776, Congress sent Franklin on a journey to Montreal, to confer concerning affairs in Canada. It was a severe task for a man of seventy; but he accepted the mission, although he suffered from fatigue and exposure.

The feeling in favor of independence grew rapidly. On January 10, Thomas Paine,

now a journalist in Philadelphia, published his "Common Sense," which settled the nation's mind.

Franklin was one of the committee of five selected to frame a Declaration of Independence. He modified some of Jefferson's eloquence, and perhaps assented to leaving out that arraignment of King George for encouraging the slave trade. But he agreed to the principle, and when John Hancock asked for unanimity, said: "Yes, we must indeed all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately."

When General Howe came to America to adjust differences, his talks with Franklin were illuminating. Franklin declared that Britain, at the expense of three million pounds, killed one hundred and fifty Yankees, which is twenty thousand pounds a head; and at Bunker s Hill she gained a mile of ground, half of which she lost again. During this time 60,000 children had been born in America. From these facts, he said, Howe might calculate the time and expense necessary to kill all Americans and conquer their territory.

Howe was very polite and said that if America should fall he would lament it "like the loss of a brother." Franklin replied tartly: "My lord, we will use our utmost endeavors to save your lordship that mortification."

When Franklin and a committee went to see Washington and his army in Boston, Franklin agreed with Washington that Negroes, even if free, ought not to be accepted in the Colonial Army. But news of the Proclamation of Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, reached Washington next day. Dunmore had offered freedom to slaves who would desert to his army, and Negroes were pouring into British lines. Washington quickly reversed his decision, and more than five thousand black men eventually fought for the freedom of the colonies. Perhaps this incident and the subsequent conduct of Negro soldiers changed Franklin's attitude toward Negroes.

Meantime, France became interested in the American differences with Great Britain. Louis XVI, grandson of the Louis whom Franklin had met, came to the throne in 1774. He was amiable but dull, and married a beautiful, frivolous woman. Matters

were going ill for the colonists and a petition to England had been ignored. At last Franklin was chosen to run the British blockade and see what could be done to secure aid for America from France. He was old and sick, but he left for France in October, 1776.

CHAPTER XII. AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE. 1776-1784.

In October, 1776, Franklin secretly left Philadelphia on a warship, with a cargo of indigo to pay his expenses. It was a long and exhausting voyage, but his welcome in France was enthusiastic. This was no mere ambassador; he was a world philosopher. The people thronged the streets to see him and his pictures filled the shop windows. As John Adams said, he enjoyed a reputation "more universal than that of Leibnits or Newton, Frederick or Voltaire." Particularly, Paris enjoyed his dress, and Franklin indulged them.

"Figure me in your mind," he wrote, "very plainly dressed, wearing my thin grey straight hair that peeps out under my only coiffure, a fine fur cap, which comes down to my forehead almost to my spectacles. Think how this must appear among the powdered heads of Paris."

He arrived at a critical time. Louis XVI, not yet twenty and not too bright, had just ascended the throne. The finances of the Kingdom were desperate. The great statesman Turgot declared this was no time to risk war with England over America. Eventually the colonies were bound to be free and, win or lose, England would be too exhausted to make war with France. But Turgot was dismissed and Vergennes gained the King's ear. He had listened to the dreams of Beaumarchais the dramatist, who had just returned from England with wild tales of the colonists' success at Lexington and Bunker Hill and the opportunity of France to gain from England's losses. Vergennes connived at furnishing the Americans munitions.

Franklin was encouraged. "All Europe is on our side of the question, as far as applause and good wishes can carry them. Those who live under arbitrary power do nevertheless approve of liberty, and wish for it; they almost despair of recovering it in Europe; they read the translations of our separate colony constitutions with rapture; and there are such numbers everywhere who talk of removing to America, with

families and fortunes, as soon as peace and our independence shall be established, that it is generally believed that we shall have a prodigious addition of strength, wealth, and arts from the emigration of Europe; and it is thought that to lessen or prevent such emigration, the tyrannies established here must relax, and allow more liberty to their people. Hence it is a common observation here that our cause is the cause of all mankind, and that we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own. It is a glorious task assigned us by Providence, which has, I trust, given us spirit and virtue equal to it, and will at last crown it with success."

In America, the war varied: Howe had captured New York, but Washington had checked him at Trenton, so that when Howe reached Philadelphia it was as Franklin said: he had not taken that city, "Philadelphia has captured Howe." Then came the great American triumph when the British general, Burgoyne, surrendered his army of 5,000 men at Saratoga. That winter Washington's army nearly starved at Valley Forge, but Burgoyne's disaster led France to give open aid and England to make offers of conciliation.

Franklin's influence increased. Adams reported: "His name was familiar to government and people, to kings, courtiers, nobility, clergy, and philosophers, as well as plebians, to such a degree that there was scarcely a peasant or a scullion in a kitchen who was not familiar with it and who did not consider him a friend to human kind." Voltaire and Franklin met and embraced publicly to the delight of the populace.

Franklin continued hard at work. He managed to furnish Paul Jones with ships and arms to annoy the British Navy, and, despite British spies all about him, a treaty of amity and commerce with France was made and the French fleet sent to help the Americans. The British government secretly offered Franklin almost all he had formerly demanded, but balked at independence. The United States and France exchanged ministers, while Franklin told the British as to independence: "We have never asked it of you; we only tell you that you can have no treaty with us but as an independent state."

The British gradually lost their supremacy at sea. They captured cities in the South, but were repulsed at last. The French sent men and money. Currency troubles

harassed the colonists, but in 1781, the British General Cornwallis surrendered his army of 7,000 and the war was over.

Franklin sighed with relief. He wrote to Lafayette: "I must soon quit the scene, but you may live to see our country flourish, as it will amasingly and rapidly after the war is over: like a field of young Indian corn, which long fair weather and sunshine had enfeebled and discoloured, and which, in that weak state, by a thunder-gust of violent wind, hail, and rain seemed to be threatened with absolute destruction; yet the storm being past, it recovers fresh verdure, shoots up with double vigor, and delights the eye not of its owner but of every observing traveller."

Franklin sent his resignation to Congress and planned a tour in Italy and Germany, and to "spend the evening of life more agreeably in philosophic leisure." But Congress refused to relieve him and commissioned him to make peace with Great Britain. "I have never known a peace made," he wrote, "even the most advantageous, that was not censured as inadequate, and the makers condemned as injudicious or corrupt."

He accepted the task. He was ordered to make peace with England only in concert with France. However, England now offered for the first time to acknowledge the independence of the colonies, which hitherto she had stubbornly refused. Franklin therefore hastened to sign a treaty.

The French were technically right at regarding this precipitate signing of the treaty with England as at least discourteous to the King, but there had been so much of secret negotiations on the part of France with Spain and America with England that Franklin succeeded in adjusting this difference and on September 3, 1783, the final treaty of peace was signed. Franklinwrote to a friend: "I join with you most cordially in rejoicing at the return of peace. I hope it will be lasting, and that mankind will at length, as they call themselves reasonable creatures, have reason and sense enough to settle their differences without cutting throats; however in my opinion there never was a good war or a bad peace. What vast additions to the conveniences and comforts of living might mankind have acquired, if the money spent in wars had been employed in works of public utility."

Despite the hard work and disappointments, Franklin enjoyed his long stay in France. He wrote that he would not "forget Paris and the nine years' happiness I enjoyed there, in the sweet society of a people whose conversation is instructive, whose manners are highly pleasing, and who, above all the nations of the world, have, in the greatest perfection, the art of making themselves beloved by strangers."

"I should rejoice much," he wrote Priestley in 1782, "if I could once more recover the leisure to search with you into the works of nature; I mean the inanimate not the animate or moral part of them: the more I discovered of the former the more I admired them; the more I know of the latter the more I am disgusted with them."

International honors came to Franklin during 1784-85: his election to membership in the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, to the academies of sciences and arts at Orleans and Lyons, to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester. From the Papal Nuncio in July 1784 Franklin heard that the Pope had named John Carroll the Superior ofthe Catholic Clergy in America because of what Franklin had said about him.

Franklin, despite his work and worries, led a pleasant life in France, at Passy, a suburb. He was often entertained in the Arcadian mode of the old regime. A companion of Marie Antoinette remembered when the most beautiful of three hundred women placed a crown of laurel on Franklin's white head and kissed both his cheeks. In 1781 he was the hero of a fete champetre arranged by Rousseau's Sophie. She and her party came on foot half a mile to meet him, and welcomed him with verses she had composed.

CHAPTER XIII. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

So in ~~1782~~ 1785, Franklin returned to America, the most famous private citizen in the world, with King Louis' miniature set with 408 diamonds.

One matter puzzles the reader of Franklin's life and that was his surprise at hearing of the French Revolution which broke out two years after his return. To be sure, he spoke French indifferently and lived apart in a lovely suburb of Paris. He walked little, and probably knew little of the mass of Parisian people and nothing of the rural districts. How far did he realize the misery and oppression of the French? When he stood at court beside the beautiful Marie Antoinette, with her mound of jeweled curls and saw her gambling away the bread of her hungry people, did he hear of her remark: "Why don't they eat cake?"

Franklin must have realized that help for America hastened the bankruptcy of France. Probably he did not know that in the year after he left France a Corsican boy of fifteen, Napoleon Bonaparte, became Corporal in the French Army. Yet could not Franklin have foreseen some clouds of the coming terror? Perhaps not. At any rate, he mused after the fall of the Bastille: "In this world, nothing can be said to be certain except death and taxes. The convulsions in France are attended with some disagreeable circumstances; but if by the struggle she obtains and secures for her nation its future liberty, and a good constitution, a few years' enjoyment of those blessings will amply repair all the damages their acquisition may have occasioned. God grant that not only the love of liberty but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all the nations of the earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say: 'This is my country.'"

Franklin was at last settled at home. For a long time he had given little attention to his private affairs. But without him his "estate...more than tripled in value since the Revolution by the rise in the price of real property." At that time few Americans if any owned a million dollars. Franklin was worth about $200,000 and was accounted rich. In his will he left considerable sums for philanthropic purposes,

especially loan funds for young tradesmen and for education.

He was well satisfied with conditions in America. "Our husbandmen," he wrote in 1786, "who are the bulk of the nation, have had plentiful crops, their produce sells at high prices and for ready, hard money.... Our working-people are all employed and get high wages, are well fed and well clad.... Buildings in Philadelphia increase rapidly, besides small towns rising in every quarter of the country." The laws govern. Of course Franklin was not thinking of the 750,000 black slaves and partially free Negroes, then living in the nation, when he wrote this. He did remember them later.

"I seem to have intruded myself into the company of posterity," wrote xx the aged Benjamin Franklin at the Constitutional Convention of 1787. On Friday, May 25, when at last there was a quorum of states, the Convention was organized. As in the Continental Congress of 1775, Franklin was the oldest man in the Convention. "Dr. Franklin," a Georgian wrote, "is no speaker, nor does he seem to let politics engage his attention. He is, however, a most extraordinary man, and tells a story in a style more engaging than anything I ever heard.... He is eighty-two and possesses an activity of mind equal to a youth of twenty-five years of age."

Franklin's legislative ideas -- a single legislature, a plural executive, the non-payment of officers -- were none of them adopted. His advocacy of legislative power based on population was compromised: state equality in the Senate and representation based on population in the House.

Despite much effort the question of Negro slavery arose in the convention when the matter of representation in the Congress came up, together with trade in goods and slaves and slavery itself. In early life he had owned a few slaves and traded in them; but he disliked to have them in his own house. As far back as 1751, he had pointed out the economic weakness of slavery, and had suggested the establishment of the first school for Negroes in Philadelphia in 1758.

He wrote while in England a reasoned judgment: "There is not, take North America

through, perhaps one family in a hundred that has a slave in it. Many thousands abhor the slave trade;... conscientiously avoid being concerned with it, and do everything in their power to abolish it." British traders "bring the slaves to us and tempt us to purchase them. I do not justify our falling into temptation." Franklin then argued that the Scottish colliers, and British soldiers and sailors, were not much better off than American slaves.

The first Abolition society, founded by Quakers in 1775 but inactive during the war, was renewed in 1787 as the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage. Franklin was president. On November 9, 1789, it appealed for support and funds in an Address to the Public which Franklin signed and perhaps himself wrote.

"Slavery is such an atrocious debasement of human nature, that its very extirpation, if not performed, with solicitous care, may sometimes open a source of serious evils.... Attention to emancipated black people, it is therefore to be hoped, will become a branch of our national policy."

Franklin signed also the memorial which the society presented to the first Congress. This memorial was referred to a committee which reported that Congress had no authority to interfere in the internal affairs of the states.

CHAPTER XIV. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN DIES. 1790.

In his last years, Franklin suffered cruelly from gout and from stone in the kidney, which the surgery of his day could not relieve. He was old, hurt, and tired, and did not wish to live longer. Yet his wit and sarcasm in defense of justice as he had learned to conceive of it showed itself in the article which he wrote less than a month before his death.

He had read the protest of James Jackson of Georgia against Congressional interference with slavery or the condition of slaves. Franklin wrote: "It puts me in mind of a similar one made about a hundred years since by Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim, a member of the Divan of Algiers.... It was against granting the petition of the sect called Erika, or Purists, who prayed for the abolition of piracy and slavery, as being ~~unjustxx~~ unjust." Jackson's defense of slavery was matched by Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim's defense of the right of the Algerines to have Christian slaves. "The Divan came to this resolution: 'That it is the interest of this state to continue the practice, is clear; therefore let the petition be rejected.' And it was rejected accordingly."

He had never been a dogmatist in religion, and said: "I think all the heretics I have known have been virtuous men. They have the virtue of fortitude, or they would not venture to own their heresy; and they cannot afford to be deficient in any of the other virtues, as that would give advantage to their many enemies." He said that so far as he could see, God never distinguished "unbelievers in his government of the world with any peculiar marks of his displeasure."

"Vicious actions," he added, "are not hurtful because they are forbidden, but forbidden because they are hurtful...; that it was therefore every one's interest to be virtuous who wished to be happy.

Benjamin Franklin died in 1790. From his deathbed he rose and asked that it be made up freshly for him. His daughter said that she hoped he would live many years longer. He replied calmly: 'I hope not.' She asked him to change his position that he might breathe more easily. He said: "A dying man can do nothing easy." So died

a great man.

Emmanuel Kant called him the Prometheus of modern times. Turgot said: "He tore the lightning from heaven and the scepter from tyrants." He was probably more widely known than any other man born on this side of the Atlantic.

In Paris, at the Convention which started the French Revolution, Mirabeau said that Europe "owes at least a token of remembrance and regret to one of the greatest men who have ever been engaged in the service of philosophy and of liberty. I propose that it be decreed that the National Assembly, during three days, shall wear mourning for Benjamin Franklin."

A FOREWORD TO

TO LIVE OR TO DIE: THE H-BOMB VERSUS MANKIND
BY ALBERT SCHWEITZER AND OTHERS

New York: New Century Publishers, 1957
Pamphlet

TO LIVE
OR
TO DIE

The H-Bomb Versus Mankind

Public Statements by

ALBERT SCHWEITZER

Albert Einstein
Eleanor Roosevelt
Walter Reuther
Nobusuke Kishi
Linus Pauling
Pope Pius XII
Bertrand Russell
Eugene Dennis
F. Joliot-Curie
Adlai Stevenson

and Others

with a Foreword by
W. E. B. DU BOIS

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A Foreword

By W. E. B. DU BOIS

For now near a half century the world has been in spiritual turmoil amounting often to hysteria. Our emotions have been stirred as seldom in the history of civilization and certainly never on so wide a scale. We have seen war and destruction beyond computation. We have seen death in mounting millions. The suffering, apprehension and stark fear around the world has defied human imagination, so much so that historians have not begun to interpret it nor artists to depict it.

The causes of all this distress have not yet been thoroughly understood, much less cured; but thinking men are beginning to agree with increasing approach to unanimity that no matter how much we still differ as to cause, effect and cure, at least it is ever clearer that the time for Reason has come. That the phase of hysteria is past and that if Civilization is to survive in its present more favorable aspects, we must immediately guide our actions by reason or die.

The struggle between Socialism and Private Capitalism is not finished; indeed it has but begun. The strife between Dictator and majority rule is still in the balance. There is no final judgment yet entered as to the abilities, relations and accomplishments of the various peoples, races and nations of the earth. But all these and other unsettled questions of human life on this planet are now in position to be laid before the considered judgment of mankind for slow, careful moral and scientific decision; and the time is past when any civilized human being can longer for a moment dream that these difficult problems can be settled by force or violence.

It is just at this crisis of modern life that we are confronted, not by this comparatively simple problem of the use of force,

but by the frightening proposal of continuing experiments for still greater physical forces to be applied to destruction and death, and also by the carrying on of experimentation with the real and present danger of killing more human beings today, infecting others with disease tomorrow, and even contaminating our children's children. It is idiotic to pause here and ask how great or how wide or how imminent is this danger; all science agrees that there is danger and as the words of this pamphlet prove, all thinking folk, of all degrees of prominence and in every class of life, tell and beg us to stop further experiment for the further development of forces by which war may be waged, when we all know that further war today is suicide and must cease; and that immediate disarmament is our only and our imperative problem—not experiments with the Hydrogen-bomb.

Listen then to the word of Pope and Labor leader; Chemist and General of the armed forces; medical Missionary and Nuclear Scientist; Technician and Philanthropist; Communist and Capitalist; Ruler and Politician; Philosopher and Sage.

Can anyone afford to ignore these messages?

A DECLARATION OF CONSCIENCE

By Albert Schweitzer

SINCE March 1, 1954 hydrogen bombs have been tested by the United States at the Pacific island of Bikini in the Marshall group and by Soviet Russia in Siberia. We know that testing of atomic weapons is something quite different from testing of non-atomic ones. Earlier, when a new type of giant gun had been tested, the matter ended with the detonation. After the explosion of a hydrogen bomb that is not the case. Something remains in the air, namely, an incalculable number of radioactive particles emitting radioactive rays. This was also the case with the uranium bombs dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima and those which were subsequently tested. However, because these bombs were of smaller size and less effectiveness compared with the hydrogen bombs, not much attention was given to this fact.

Since radioactive rays of sufficient amount and strength have harmful effects on the human body, it must be considered whether the radiation resulting from the hydrogen explosions that have already taken place represents a danger which would increase with new explosions.

In the course of the three-and-a-half years that have passed since then (the test explosions of the early hydrogen bombs) representatives of the physical and medical sciences have been studying the problem. Observations on the distribution, origin, and nature of radiation have been made. The processes through which the human body is harmfully affected have been analyzed. The material collected, although far from complete, allows us to draw the conclusion that radiation resulting from the explosions which have already taken place represents a danger to the human race—a danger not to be

underrated—and that further explosions of atomic bombs will increase this danger to an alarming extent.

This conclusion has repeatedly been expressed, especially during the last few months. However, it has not, strange to say, influenced public opinion to the extent that one might have expected. Individuals and peoples have not been aroused to give to this danger the attention which it unfortunately deserves. It must be demonstrated and made clear to them.

I raise my voice, together with those of others who have lately felt it their duty to act, through speaking and writing, in warning of the danger. My age and the generous understanding so many people have shown of my work permit me to hope that my appeal may contribute to the preparing of the way for the insights so urgently needed.

My thanks go to the radio station in Oslo, the city of the Nobel Peace Prize, for making it possible for that which I feel I have to say to reach far-off places.

What is radioactivity?

Radioactivity consists of rays differing from those of light in being invisible and in being able to pass not only through glass but also through thin metal discs and through layers of cell tissue in the human and animal bodies. Rays of this kind were first discovered in 1895 by the physicist Wilhelm Roentgen of Munich, and were named after him.

In 1896 the French physicist Henry Becquerel demonstrated that rays of this kind occur in nature. They are emitted from uranium, an element known since 1786.

In 1898 Pierre Curie and his wife discovered in the mineral pitchblende, a uranium ore, the strongly radioactive element radium.

The joy caused by the fact that such rays were at the disposal of humanity was at first unmixed. It appeared that they influence the relatively rapidly growing and relatively rapidly decaying cells of malignant tumors and sarcomas. If exposed to these rays repeatedly for a longer period, some of the terrible neoplasms can be destroyed.

After a time it was found, however, that the destruction of cancer cells does not always mean the cure of cancer and also, that the normal cells of the body may be seriously damaged if long exposed to radioactivity.

When Mme. Curie, after having handled uranium ore for four years, finally held the first gram of radium in her hand there appeared abrasions in the skin which no treatment could cure. With the years she grew steadily sicker from a disease caused by radioactive rays which damaged her bone marrow and through this her blood. In 1934 death put an end to her suffering.

Even so, for many years we were not aware of the grave risks involved in X-rays to those constantly exposed to them. Through operating X-ray apparatus thousands of doctors and nurses have incurred incurable diseases.

Radioactive rays are material things. Through them the radioactive element constantly and forcefully emits tiny particles of itself. There are three kinds. They are named after the three first letters of the Greek alphabet, *alpha, beta, gamma*. The gamma rays are the hardest ones and have the strongest effect.

The reason why elements emit radioactive rays is that they are in a continuous state of decaying. The radioactivity is the energy liberated little by little. There are other elements besides uranium and radium which are radioactive. To the radiation from the elements in the earth is added some radiation from space. Fortunately, the air mass 400 kilometers high that surrounds our earth protects us against this radiation. Only a very small fraction of it reaches us.

We are, then, constantly being exposed to radioactive radiation coming from the earth and from space. It is so weak, however, that it does not hurt us. Stronger sources of radiation, as for instance X-ray machines and exposed radium, have, as we know, harmful effects if one is exposed to them for some time.

The radioactive rays are, as I said, invisible. How can we tell that they are there and how strong they are?

Thanks to the German physicist Hans Geiger, who died in 1945 as a victim to X-rays, we have an instrument which makes that possible. This instrument is called the Geiger counter; it consists of a metal tube containing rarified air. In it are two metal electrodes between which there is a high potential. Radioactive rays from the outside affect the tube and release a discharge between the two electrodes. The stronger the radiation the quicker the discharges follow one another. A small device connected to the tube makes the discharge audible. The Geiger counter performs a veritable drum-roll when the discharges are strong.

There are two kinds of atom bomb—uranium bombs and hydrogen bombs. The effect of an uranium bomb is due to a process which liberates energy through the fission of uranium. In the hydrogen bomb the liberation of energy is the result of the transformation of hydrogen into helium.

It is interesting to note that this latter process is similar to that which takes place in the center of the sun, supplying it with the self-renewing energy which it emits in the form of light and heat.

In principle, the effect of both bombs is the same. But according to various estimates the effect of one of the latest hydrogen bombs is 2,000 times stronger than the one which was dropped on Hiroshima.

To these two bombs has recently been added the cobalt bomb, a kind of super atom-bomb. It is a hydrogen bomb surrounded by a layer of cobalt. The effect of this bomb is estimated to be many times stronger than that of hydrogen bombs that have been made so far.

The explosion of an atom bomb creates an unconceivably large number of exceedingly small particles of radioactive elements which decay like uranium or radium. Some of these particles decay very quickly, others more slowly, and some of them extraordinarily slowly. The strongest of these elements cease to exist only ten seconds after the detonation of the bomb. But in this short time they may have killed a great number of people in a circumference of several miles.

What remains are the less powerful elements. In our time it is with these we have to contend. It is of the danger arising from the radioactive rays emitted by these elements that we must be aware.

Of these elements some exist for hours, some for weeks, or months, or years, or millions of years, undergoing continuous decay. They float in the higher strata of air as clouds of radioactive dust. The heavy particles fall down first. The lighter ones will stay in the air for a longer time or come down with rain or snow. How long it will take before everything carried up in the air by the explosions which have taken place till now has disappeared no one can say with any certainty. According to some estimates, this will be the case not earlier than thirty or forty years from now.

When I was a boy I witnessed how dust hurled into the air from the explosion in 1883 of the island Krakatoa in the Sunda group was noticeable for two years afterwards to such an extent that the sunsets were given extraordinary splendor by it.

What we can state with certainty, however, is that the radioactive clouds will constantly be carried by the winds around the globe and that some of the dust, by its own weight, or by being brought down by rain, snow, mist, and dew, little by little, will fall down on the hard surface of the earth, into the rivers, and into the oceans.

Of what nature are these radioactive elements particles of which were carried up in the air by the explosion of atom bombs and which are now falling down again?

They are strange variants of the usual non-radioactive elements. They have the same chemical properties, but a different atomic weight. Their names are always accompanied by their atomic weights. The same element can occur in several radioactive variants. Besides Iodine 131, which lives for sixteen days only, we have Iodine 129, which lives for 200,000,000 years.

Dangerous elements of this kind are: Phosphorus 32, Calcium 45, Iodine 131, Iron 55, Bismuth 210, Plutonium 239,

Cerium 144, Strontium 89, Caesium 137. If the hydrogen bomb is covered by cobalt, Cobalt 60 must be added to the list.

Particularly dangerous are the elements combining long life with a relatively strong efficient radiation. Among them Strontium 90 takes the first place. It is present in very large amounts in the radioactive dust. Cobalt 60 must also be mentioned as particularly dangerous.

The radioactivity in the air, increased through these elements, will not harm us from the outside, not being strong enough to penetrate the skin. It is another matter with respiration, through which radioactive elements can enter our bodies. But the danger which has to be stressed above all the others is the one which arises from our drinking radioactive water and our eating radioactive food as a consequence of the increased radioactivity in the air.

Following the explosions of Bikini and Siberia rain falling over Japan has, from time to time, been so radioactive that the water from it cannot be drunk. Not only that: Reports of radioactive rainfall are coming from all parts of the world where analyses have recently been made. In several places the water has proved to be so radioactive that it was unfit for drinking.

Well-water becomes radioactive to any considerable extent only after longer periods of heavy rainfall.

Wherever radioactive rainwater is found the soil is also radioactive—and in a higher degree. The soil is made radioactive not only by the downpour, but also from radioactive dust falling on it. And with the soil the vegetation will also have become radioactive. The radioactive elements deposited in the soil pass into the plants, where they are stored. This is of importance, for as a result of this process it may be the case that we are threatened by a considerable amount of radioactive elements.

The radioactive elements in grass, when eaten by animals whose meat is used for food, will be absorbed and stored in our bodies.

In the case of cows grazing on contaminated soil, the absorption is effected when we drink their milk. In that way small children run an especially dangerous risk of absorbing radioactive elements.

When we eat contaminated cheese and fruits the radioactive elements stored in them are transferred to us.

What this storing of radioactive material implies is clearly demonstrated by the observations made when, on one occasion, the radioactivity of the Columbia River in North America was analyzed. The radioactivity was caused by the atomic plants at Hanford, which produce plutonium for atomic bombs and which empty their waste water into the river. The radioactivity of the river water was insignificant. But the radioactivity of the river plankton was 2,000 times higher, that of the ducks eating plankton 40,000 times higher, that of the fish 15,000 times higher. In young swallows fed on insects caught by their parents in the river the radioactivity was 500,000 times higher, and in the egg yolks of water birds more than 1,000,000 times higher.

From official and unofficial sources we have been assured, time and time again, that the increase in radioactivity of the air does not exceed the amount which the human body can tolerate without any harmful effects. This is just evading the tissue. Even if we are not directly affected by the radioactive material in the air, we are indirectly affected through that which has fallen down, is falling down, and will fall down. We are absorbing this through radioactive drinking water and through animal and vegetable foodstuffs, to the same extent as radioactive elements are stored in the vegetation of the region in which we live. Unfortunately for us, nature hoards what is falling down from the air.

None of the radioactivity of the air, created by the explosion of atom bombs, is so unimportant that it may not, in the long run, become a danger to us through increasing the amount of radioactivity stored in our bodies.

What we absorb of radioactivity is not spread evenly in all cellular tissue. It is deposited in certain parts of our body,

particularly in the bone tissue and also in the spleen and in the liver. From those sources the organs which are especially sensitive to it are exposed to radiation. What the radiation lacks in strength is compensated for by time. It works day and night without interruption.

How does radiation affect the cells of an organ?

Through being ionized, that is to say, electrically charged. This change means that the chemical processes which make it possible for the cells to do their job in our body no longer function as they should. They are no longer able to perform the tasks which are of vital importance to us. We must also bear in mind that a great number of the cells of an organ may degenerate or die as a result of radiation.

What are the diseases caused by internal radiation? The same diseases that are known to be caused by external radiation.

They are mainly serious blood diseases. The cells of the red bone marrow, where the red and the white blood corpuscles are formed, are very sensitive to radioactive rays. It is these corpuscles, found in great numbers in the blood, which make it possible for it to play such an important part. If the cells in the bone marrow are damaged by radiation they will produce too few or abnormal, degenerating blood corpuscles. Both cases lead to blood diseases and, frequently, to death. These were the diseases that killed the victims of X-rays and radium rays.

It was one of these diseases that attacked the Japanese fishermen who were surprised in their vessel by radioactive ashes falling down 240 miles from Bikini after the explosion of an hydrogen bomb. With one exception, they were all saved, being strong and relatively mildly affected, through continuous blood transfusions.

In the cases cited the radiation came from the outside. It is unfortunately very probable that internal radiation affecting the bone marrow and lasting for years will have the same effect, particularly since the radiation goes from the bone tissue to the bone marrow. As I have said, the radioactive elements are by preference stored in the bone tissue.

Not our own health only is threatened by internal radiation, but also that of our descendants. The fact is that the cells of the reproductive organs are particularly vulnerable to radiation which in this case attacks the nucleus to such an extent that it can be seen in the microscope.

To the profound damage of these cells corresponds a profound damage to our descendants.

It consists in stillbirths and in the births of babies with mental or physical defects.

In this context also, we can point to the effects of radiation coming from the outside.

It is a fact—even if the statistical material being published in the press needs checking—that in Nagasaki, during the years following the dropping of the atom bomb, an exceptionally high occurrence of stillbirths and of deformed children was observed.

In order to establish the effect of radioactive radiation on posterity, comparative studies have been made between the descendants of doctors who have been using X-ray apparatus over a period of years and descendants of doctors who have not. The material of this study comprises about 3,000 doctors in each group. A noticeable difference was found. Among the descendants of radiologists a percentage of stillbirths of 1.403 was found, while the percentage among the non-radiologists were 1.222.

In the first group 6.01 per cent of the children had congenital defects, while only 4.82 per cent in the second.

The number of healthy children in the first group was 80.42 per cent; the number in the other was significantly higher, viz. 83.23 per cent.

It must be remembered that even the weakest of internal radiation can have harmful effects on our descendants.

The total effect of the damage done to descendants of ancestors who have been exposed to radioactive rays will not, in accordance with the laws of genetics, be apparent in the generations coming immediately after us. The full effects will appear only 100 or 200 years later.

As the matter stands we cannot at present cite cases of serious damage done by internal radiation. To the extent that such radiation exists it is not sufficiently strong and has not lasted long enough to have caused the damage in question. We can only conclude from the harmful effects known to be caused by external radiation to those we must expect in the future from internal radiation.

If the effect of the latter is not as strong as that of the former, it may become so, through working little by little and without interruption. The final result will be the same in both cases.

Their effects add up.

We must also remember that internal radiation does not have to, in contrast to that coming from the outside, penetrate layers of skin, tissues, and muscles to hit the organs. It works at close range and without any weakening of its force.

When we realize under what conditions the internal radiation is working, we cease to underrate it. Even if it is true that, when speaking of the dangers of internal radiation, we can point to no actual case, only express our fear, that fear is so solidly founded on facts that it attains the weight of reality in determining our attitude. We are forced to regard every increase in the existing danger through further creation of radioactive elements by atom bomb explosions as a catastrophe for the human race, a catastrophe that must be prevented.

There can be no question of doing anything else, if only for the reason that we cannot take the responsibility for the consequences it might have for our descendants.

They are threatened by the greatest and most terrible danger.

That radioactive elements created by us are found in nature is an astounding event in the history of the earth and of the human race. To fail to consider its importance and its consequences would be a folly for which humanity would have to pay a terrible price. We are committing a folly in thoughtlessness. It must not happen that we do not pull our-

selves together before it is too late. We must muster the insight, the seriousness, and the courage to leave folly and to face reality.

This is at bottom what the statesmen of the nations producing atomic bombs are thinking, too. Through the reports they are receiving they are sufficiently informed to form their own judgments, and we must also assume that they are alive to their responsibility.

At any rate, America and Soviet Russia and Britain are telling one another again and again that they want nothing more than to reach an agreement to end the testing of atomic weapons. At the same time, however, they declare that they cannot stop the tests as long as there is no such agreement.

Why do they not come to an agreement? The real reason is that in their own countries there is no public opinion asking for it. Nor is there any such public opinion in other countries with the exception of Japan. This opinion has been forced upon the Japanese people because, little by little, they will be hit in a most terrible way by the evil consequences of all the tests.

An agreement of this kind presupposes reliability and trust. There must be guarantees preventing the agreement from being signed by anyone intending to win important tactical advantages foreseen only by him.

Public opinion in all nations concerned must inspire and accept the agreement.

When public opinion has been created in the countries concerned and among all nations, an opinion informed of the dangers involved in going on with the tests and led by the reason which this information imposes, then the statesmen may reach an agreement to stop the experiments.

A public opinion of this kind stands in no need of plebiscites or of forming of committees to express itself. It works through just being there.

The end of further experiments with atom bombs would be like the early sunrays of hope which suffering humanity is longing for.

To Live or To Die

Pope Pius XII

"The growing mastery of man over terrifying natural forces has caused new and insistent reasons for anxiety. In fact, the destructive power of nuclear weapons has become unlimited. . . .

". . . If a catastrophe were to occur by a man's perverse will for domination—with all the reprisals implied in it—(the) ultimate biological, especially hereditary, effects on living species, in addition to its immense immediate damages, nobody can predict with certainty . . . instead of the exhausting and costly race toward death, the scientists of all nations and all faiths must feel grave moral obligation to pursue the noble aim of harnessing these energies for the service of man. . . ."

Walter Reuther

"None of the things we win at the bargaining table can defend us against the tragic destruction of the H-bomb.

"Each bigger bomb is followed by a still bigger bomb.

"Megaton H-bombs are followed by even greater megaton H-bombs until finally mankind has achieved the capacity of total self-destruction. . . .

"There is no defense against the H-bomb. I say the only adequate defense against the H-bomb is peace, unconditional peace in the world. There is no other defense.

"Have we arrived at that place in human civilization where mankind now wants to crawl back into new holes? Is that the kind of life we want for our children?

"I say the answer must be no. We do not want to live our lives in the tunnels and in dugouts; we want to live in the bright sunshine of a free world of peace so that all people can have a fuller measure of freedom and social justice."

Eleanor Roosevelt

". . . The question is whether we could not accept the offer which, if I remember rightly, already has been made by the Soviet Union to abandon these tests.

"So far we have known whenever the Soviet has set off hydrogen bomb explosions. They are like an earthquake; they register all over the world. . . . I would be willing to take the small risk involved in not having an inspection system.

". . . It requires the experience the Japanese have had to make people feel strongly about doing something—and doing it now—to end nuclear bomb tests, which may be harming us far more than we know."

Dr. Linus Pauling
Nobel Prize Winner

"An international agreement to stop the tests would stop the spread of these weapons and would be a first step toward general disarmament. Inspection is simple. No large bomb can be detonated without detection. . . .

"The bomb tests that have been made so far will ultimately have caused the deaths of about one million persons in the world. These one million persons will have died 10 or 20 or 30 years earlier than their life span because the radiation has produced bone cancer, leukemia or some other disease.

"These bomb tests will also cause the birth of 200,000 seriously defective children in the next generation of human beings, children with serious mental deficiency or serious physical defects.

"If the Christmas Island tests are carried out and one superbomb, with five megatons equivalent of fission, is exploded, it will cause the deaths from cancer and other diseases of 100,000 persons now in the world and will increase by 20,000 the number of seriously defective children born in the next generation.

". . . in an absolute sense, the estimated effect (of bomb tests) is no small matter, no negligible effect.

"It is, indeed, a crime, a crime against the human race. It is immoral, a violation of the principles of humanity.

". . . if another 10 super-bombs are exploded in the next few years, the damage will be doubled. The bomb tests must be stopped."

Lt. Gen. James Gavin

(Chief of the U.S. Army Research and Development, testifying before a U.S. Senate subcommittee on what would happen in a full-scale nuclear assault on the Soviet Union):

"Current planning estimates run on the order of several hundred million deaths; that would be either way, depending on which way the wind blew. If the wind blew to the southeast, they would be most likely in the USSR, although they would extend into Japan and perhaps down into the Philippines area. If the wind blew the other way, they would extend well back into Western Europe."

Statement of 18 Leading Nuclear Scientists of the German Federal Republic

"Tactical atomic weapons have the same destructive power as normal atomic bombs. They are described as tactical in order to express the idea that they are to be used not only against human settlements but against ground troops. Every single tactical atom or shell has an effect similar to that of the first atom bomb, which destroyed Hiroshima. Because the tactical atom bombs are available today in great numbers, their total destructive effect would be much greater. These bombs are called 'small' only in comparison with the 'strategic' bombs developed since, above all the hydrogen bomb.

"No physical limits are known to the possibility of increasing the destructive effects of strategic atomic weapons. Today one tactical atom bomb can destroy a small city. But one hydrogen bomb can render a region as big as the Ruhr uninhabitable for some time. Through the diffusion of radioactivity, one could today with hydrogen bombs in all likelihood destroy the population of the West German Republic. We know no possible technique for protecting large masses of population from this peril. . . .

"Our profession, which is devoted to pure science and its development, and through which we influence many younger men, imposes upon us responsibility for the possible consequences. . . .

"None of the undersigned are ready to take any part in any way in the manufacture, testing or use of atomic weapons. . . ."

SIGNED:

Prof. Fritz Bopp
Max Born (1954 Nobel Prize)
Rudolf Fleischmann
Walter Gerlach
Prof. Otto Hahn (1945 Nobel Prize)
Otto Haxel
Werner Heisenberg (1932 Nobel Prize)
Hans Kopfermann
Max von Laue (1914 Nobel Prize)
Heins Maier-Leibnitz
Josef Mattauch
Friedrich-Adolf Paneth
Wolfgang Paul
Wolfgang Reizler
Prof. Fritz Strassman
Wilhelm Walcher
Carl von Weizsaecker
Karl Wirtz

Eugene Dennis

(*Speech at Carnegie Hall, Jan.* 20, 1956)

". . . Just look at what has happened to a few of the ideas that were supposedly locked away in prison with us Communist leaders in the summer of 1951.

"One was the very tenacious idea—embodied in the Stockholm peace pledge—that all nations should renounce atomic warfare, that all testing of nuclear weapons should be halted,

and that all nuclear instruments of war should be prohibited and destroyed.

"This idea has now become transformed into a mighty world-wide movement embracing the vast majority of mankind, and scores of governments, East and West. To the growing roster of its great advocates, who range from Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung, to Nehru, Nasser, and the late Einstein—has now been added the influential voice of Pope Pius XII.

"Surely America's Catholics, especially those in the ranks of labor, will give prayerful thought to the Pope's Christmas message, and will help popularize his plea to save mankind from the horror of atomic warfare.

"Surely, too, most of America's Protestants and Jews, no less than we Communists, will also support this noble plea. If we peace-loving Americans, of different faiths and beliefs, concert our efforts, we can yet compel Washington to help the universal popular demand to quarantine the A- and H-bomb!"

". . . Is it not high time to curb the powers of monopoly, especially of those ultra-rapacious and bloodthirsty trusts that now have their clutches on atomic energy, and seek to divert this great potential force for promoting the general welfare to amassing super-profits and gambling with the peace of the world?

"Is it not high time to demand that the ownership, production, and control of all nuclear energy, resources, and know-how be nationalized—with full safeguards for labor's right to organize, strike and bargain collectively?"

Nobusuke Kishi

Premier of Japan

"We demand the prohibition of all (nuclear weapons) experiments solely and purely from the standpoint of humanity."

Dr. Charles Price

Retiring President of the Federation of Atomic Scientists

"Most scientists agree that these tests are harmful. There is plenty of data that suggest that the hydrogen bomb we exploded in 1954 harmed at least 10,000 people. Actually, between 10,000 and 1,000,000 is the closest we can get on the basis of our present knowledge, to the number that are harmed by the radio active fall-out of a bomb of that magnitude."

Adlai Stevenson

"It is like adding a little arsenic to your neighbor's coffee each day, but assuring him that it isn't enough to kill him."

Harold E. Talbot

Former U.S. Air Force Secretary

"(Atomic weapons) can lay waste an entire continent—men, women, children, even the beasts and the vegetation. They can abolish in a single night, not only a nation, but a whole civilization."

Bertrand Russell

"Neither side can hope for victory in such a (nuclear) war and there is a very real danger of the extermination of the human race by dust and rain from radioactive clouds. . . . The only hope for mankind is the avoidance of war."

Albert Einstein

"We cannot cease warning, again and again; we cannot relax our efforts to make all peoples of the world and particularly their governments aware of the unimaginable dis-

aster they are sure to call forth if they do not change their attitude towards each other and their conception of the organization of the future."

Professor Frederick Joliot-Curie

Nobel Prize Winner

"If the experiments are not stopped, radio-strontium will certainly reach a sufficient strength in men, and above all in young growing children, to provoke numerous cancers of the bone and leukemia . . . and constitutes a threat for future generations. . . . A great danger threatens each one of us and our descendants if a stop is not put immediately to test explosions of nuclear weapons"

Ralph E. Lapp and Jack Schubert

(*Radiation: What It is and How It Affects You.* Viking, N. Y.)

"If we define the maximum permissible concentration . . . as that which will produce only 1 per cent of radiation injury, we must recognize that extrapolation of such reasoning, even dividing the occupational MPC by ten, to a large population leaves one with 0.1 per cent incidence of injury. Such a risk is quite acceptable for small groups, but 0.1 per cent of the earth's population is 2.5 million people! . . .

"Evaluation of the global risk of continuing tests is a most perplexing enigma. Who makes the evaluation? What is the 'acceptable' risk? Quite obviously, an agency like the Atomic Energy Commission, which is charged with responsibility for testing nuclear weapons, should not be asked to assume the onus of appraising their risks to humanity. Such an action puts the plaintiff and judge on the same bench. . . .

". . . We should insist that the calculation of the risk be made in the open, in the light of all available physical and biological data. The authors venture the estimate that annual

additions to the stratosphere of approximately three megatons constitute a reasonable risk. This value is so small that a single Bravo (uranium-hydrogen-uranium) bomb exceeds it, and we propose that the nations of the world should focus their efforts on a cooperative plan to cease rather than to limit nuclear tests."

Warren Weaver

Vice-President of the Rockefeller Foundation

". . . In terms of inducing luekemia, in terms of the possible inducing of other forms of cancer such as bone cancer, this is a serious problem, of course. . . .

"When strontium-90 falls on the earth, the cycle through which it gets into human beings is largely a matter of going through the grasses, being eaten by cows, going into dairy products, and then going into man. And when this material goes into man, strontium, since it is chemically very like calcium, gets built into the skeleton.

"Now, this is a very unhappy fact, because it gets more or less permanently built into the skeleton and it is a long-lived isotope. So, unfortunately, that means that we are in the process of building into people, permanently inside of them, a source of radiation. . . ."

Pare Lorentz

"Radioactivity is poisoning our children. . . . It is not a question of whether we have polluted the earth; it is a question of how much we have polluted it. . . . If any disagreements arise, they are over the degree of our danger—how much of this stuff has already been absorbed by plants, ingested by animals, and given to human beings in food and milk? How much have we inhaled?"

THE TRUTH ABOUT HUNGARY

By HERBERT APTHEKER

This book, by a leading American scholar, deals with one of the most stirring and significant events of the twentieth century—the Hungarian uprising of the Fall of 1956.

After a careful examination of the historical and social background of Hungary, the volume probes deeply into the sources of popular discontent within the New Hungary. It examines at length the efforts at change that were being made, particularly after 1952, by the Party and the Government. The question of Hungarian-Soviet relations is weighed critically.

The author's own point of view is stated clearly and is argued for persuasively; but the volume brings forth in full and documentary form evidence that must be known and weighed by all, no matter what final value judgments may be reached.

The treatment of the subject is basically analytical, and the work is documented with care, with the source of every significant fact or quotation given. This book represents a conscientious effort to get a clear and truthful picture of Hungarian developments. The whole question of the meaning of Hungary for world socialism, and the lessons the uprising holds for Marxists, socialists, and democrats of all persuasions are dealt with at length.

This book is an exciting, thoughtful and challenging study of one of the most controversial and important occurrences of modern history.

Paper $2.00; *Cloth* $3.00

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A PATH FOR NIGERIA

1961
Draft manuscript

TWO PROPOSED PAMPHLETS FOR NIGERIA

by W.E.B. Du BOIS

I. A PATH FOR NIGERIA

FEED & CLOTHE YOURSELVES; do not import large quantities of food & drink; tax imported luxuries

DO NOT NEGLCT YOUR FARMER; he must be educated; he must receive a livin income; he must have a healthy, comfortable home

READJUST CITY, SUBURBS, RURAL DISTRICTS; do not emphasize city at expense of country; country must have schools, scien skill & machines. It must have Art and literature; entertainment

INDUSTRIES FOR NIGERIA, but not for profit of foreigners, but foruse, convenience and comfort of Nigerians .

save your own CAPITAL, import only as much as is necessary for you best develment. Do not let capitalists foreign or domestic control what is made; your need and not private profit is the criterion.

curb corporations and demands reports of business and profperty and profits regularly. This is a right not more curiosity. Learn skills and welcome skilled worke workers from abroad, but only if they come as equals and ask no privileges

COMMERCE & TRADE. Fair exchange of goods and services is the great conserver of Time and Effort and way to conserv civilization. But it must be fair. Foreign Trade tod especially between rich and poor countries; betwee home countries and colonies is to often theft based on force. Watch the absentee investor, the local business man who is stooge of foreiners. Remember that what you import from abroad must be paid for with what you sell a road; if imports exceed exports your are borowing and

must pay sometime, somehow

WAGES & INCOME. Ultimately a person must earn what he receives by his work or sacrifice. Income which is a gift, or gambling or theft will not in the end support a people. The ideal is from each worker the best he can do; ~~xrxxxxxxxx~~ to each person what he needs for life and health. to accomplish this we need Science and professions; knowledge of modern discovery; memory of the real past which is history. not lies and fairy tales which often masquerade as truth. We need law for Justice not simply for force

40-74-7

THESE ARE SOME OF THE PATTERNS WHICH THE WORLD ABOUT YOU IS STUDYING AND TRYING OUT. THIS YOU MUST DO. YOU CANNOT IGNORE THIS WORLD. YOU MUST BE APART OF IT AND FOR THIS ITHERS MUST BE PEACE ON EARTH

A PATH FOR NIGERIA

by W. E. B. Du BOIS, Ph. D. (Harvard), Li.D. (Fisk), Hist. Sci. D. (Charles, Prague), Hist. Sci. D. (Moscow), Hist. Sci. D. (Humboldt, Berlin), International Lenin Peace Prize, 1959, Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, Honorary Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; Associate Member of the German Academy of Sciences, Berlin

38-11-120

ABOUT MYSELF

My mother's great-grandfather was born in West Africa, kidnapped as a boy and sold by the Dutch into slavery in New York. As a young man he fought with the Americans in their revolution against the British and won his freedom. His grandchildren became small landholders in western Massachusetts and the daughter of one of them, Othelia, married the descendant of a French Huguenot who had migrated from Flanders to New York and thence his descendant, Dr. James Du Bois, settled in the Bahamas, where he had two mulatto sons, Alexander and John. Alexander was brought to the United States and his son, Alfred, married my mother, Mary Burghardt.

MY EDUCATION

I went to primary and secondary schools in my home town, Great Barrington, then to a college for freed Negroes, Fisk University, in Nashville, Tennessee; then to Harvard College in Massachusetts, where I stayed for two years and two more years in the University graduate school receiving my A. B., Cum Laude; A. M., and Ph. D. Then, for two years, I attended the Friedrich

Wilhelm (now Humboldt) University at Berlin, Germany.

MY WORK
AND TRAVEL

I began my work as a teacher in the United States in 1894, instructing in history and sociology until 1910. From 1910 to 1934, I became a founder and official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and editor of its monthly magazine advocating full citizenship rights for Americans of Negro descent.

In 1934 I returned to teaching and research. I travelled widely, visiting all states of the United States and making sixteen trips to Europe, Africa, and Asia, and once circumnavigating the globe. Also, I wrote fifteen books and many articles. Especially, I became interested in Africa, the land of my fathers. I wrote three books on Africa: In 1915 a book called "The Negro" (Home University Library, No. 91), "Black Folk, Then and Now", 1930; "The World and Africa", 1946. Also, I planned an Encyclopaedia Africana and got distinguished promises of assistance. However, I was never able to raise the funds actually to realise the project.

38-11-121

During the armistice which followed the First World War, I called the First Pan-African Congress, in Paris, 1919. In 1921 I assembled a Second Pan-African Congress meeting in London, Paris and Brussells in 1921 and largely attended. A Third Congress was held in London and Lisbon in 1923; a Fourth in New York in 1927, and a Fifth in Manchester, England, in 1945. The All-African Conference which met in Accra in 1958 was, in fact, the Sixth Pan-African Congress. Many other meetings and organisations followed the lead of these congresses and got inspiration from them, like the Congress of West Africa in 1920, and the various African organisations of South and East Africa.

MY VISITS
TO AFRICA

In 1925, I visited Liberia as Special Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, bringing a message from President Coolidge to President King. In 1958, I visited Ghana when Dr. Nkrumah became Prime Minister and President of independent Ghana. I attended the opening of parliament and the inauguration of the President; I visited the cities and ports and paid my respects to the Asantehene of Ashanti at Kumasi. In 1960, I visited Nigeria when Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe became the first native governor of this nation. I visited Lagos, Ibadan and Onitsa, where I sailed the Niger. In Ibadan I visited the University College. I had an interview with the Governor and suggested sending him a memorandum of advice to Nigeria, based on my knowledge of Africa, and on my recent visits to England, France, Germany, Italy, the Soviet Union and its allied states; China, and my long residence and study in the United States. This is the pamphlet.

221-11-83

FOOD, CLOTHES
AND SHELTER

Normally, the first duty of a people is to feed, clothe and shelter themselves. Nigeria is a well-situated state, with rich soil, great rivers, lakes and forests, a wealth of materials, vegetable and mineral, and a generous seaboard. It has a large but not crowded population which it can support from its own soil, with its own sowing, and reaping; spinning and weaving; planning and building. Its people are not homogenous, but not too different to preclude working together as one unified state with reconcilable aims and ideals.

For many centuries peoples living in what is now called Nigeria,

were not hungry, had sufficient clothing and shelter, and were content. Widows were cared for, there were no orphans nor prostitutes; artists and artisans made beautiful things and poets sang and recorded history. Now and then intertribal wars brought disaster, but there were long spaces of peace and plenty. Then came strangers from abroad to explore and trade; but in time this trade degenerated into slave trading and tribal wars became slave raids. When the slave trade declined, Britain appeared as ruler, seeking to displace native rule. Poverty appeared in the colonies. More and more of what the natives raised and made was seized as taxes and used not so much for native needs, as for cheap exports. Nigeria, an agricultural country, feeding, clothing and sheltering itself by the toil of its educated farmers, will need manufactures and skilled industries run by modern technical and scientific methods. The current method of bringing industry to farming countries is by borrowing wealth from Europe; buying machines and tools with this wealth and then importing skilled technicians from abroad to migrate here and set up factories. With these factory hands and engineers come merchants to buy the manufactured products for sale abroad; and bringing with them goods made abroad to sell to the natives. This system which once seemed quite natural and good for all was soon seen to be but little different from colonialism. The interest on borrowed capital was so high and the terms so onerous, that the lending capitalists soon owned the country. It was thus that Algeria, Tunis and Egypt came under the complete control of Britain and France. It was this that would soon have happened to Ghana had not Nkrumah checkmated the trend; it was this that would have been the fate of Nigeria had it not been for the sacrifice and persistence of Macauley and Azikiwe. Moreover, their work is not finished; it has just begun.

It is, of course, possible for a state to buy food and materials from abroad and thus trade can be a part of its interests. But foreign trade as

38-11-123

compared with domestic production always entails certain considerations: goods bought abroad must always eventually be paid for by goods sold to foreigners, and the ratio of exchange must therefore be carefully calculated. If the traders of goods or services are equal individuals or tribes of essentially equal status, the ratio of exchange, that is, the prices, will be reached by haggling in the market and will, in the long run, be fair to all. But under the colonial system, it was the practice for the mother country to set the prices and as white Europe despised black Africa and did not believe in the ability nor desert of of black folk it soon became customary for whites to pay the lowest possible wages for African labor and the cheapest prices for materials. Thus, the mother country grew rich and kept her home labor satisfied by paying them higher wages out of their profits on colonial trade. They also granted home labor some education and political rights, provided labour supported government policies and fought as soldiers to gain and keep colonial territory. The expenses of colonial government, pensions for colonial officials and special wages and privileges for white workers who came to the colonies greatly increased. In time, privileges for whites included segregated and comfortable homes and the right to vote and hold office, even when the natives were disfranchised and housed in ghettoes. As the native peoples realised their plight; and as by efforts of missionaries, some began to acquire education, there arose a demand for reform, which, today, in every part of Africa is resulting in colonial freedom.

38-11-124

FREE
NIGERIA

When now a nation like Nigeria becomes "free" just what does that mean? Under the laws of nature; with universal need for food, clothes and shelter,

there can manifestly be no complete freedom for man anywhere, nor at any time. Men must always plant and reap; search and dig and carry; spin and weave; cook, build and store; they must plan marriage, home and children. They must provide government: that is for order, cooperation and respect for others, so that all may live a good life and none be completely subordinate to the will of a few. Moreover, above and apart from this work to sustain life, there must remain leisure to make life worth living: for rest and play; for dance and song; for creative activity and any pursuit or game that men may choose and which does not hurt them, nor limit nor prevent similar activities among others.

From primitive times the work of a tribe or nation will include foreign trade, and that will call for increasing activity and thought as men come into contact with men. No people can live to themselves. Ever by accident or design, peoples meet with each other, and while there are times when such contact means trouble and war, in the long run, it is the contact of strange folk with others that leads to civilisation; that brings new goods and methods; new thoughts and ideals. Thus, foreign trade has ever been the beginning of progress. The West Coast early traded gold for salt with its northern neighbors. Spice for metals followed, and laborers for tools. This last exchange between Portuguese and Africans led to difficulties, at first unnoticed, but, in the end, of world wide significance. Intertribal wars were common in the early centuries: quarrels over hunting grounds, over succession to power, over trade. They often resulted in prisoners who became slaves of the visitors, and despised slaves if they differed in religion and culture.

38-11-125

THE FOREIGN
SLAVE TRADE

In the Fourteenth Century, as Holland, France and Britain were growing

rich on the loot of India, Portugal started to India down the coast of Africa, and began a trade in slaves which she sent back to Portugal. Portugal had been impoverished by war and class exploitation. Labor was sorely needed on the farms. Negroes were imported and this trade in human beings gave a new incentive to African intertribal wars. In the next century Spain sent an Italian west over the Atlantic to find a shorter way to India. Thus, Columbus discovered America. Here a new market for African labor arose among the British, French and Spanish.

Thus, in the Fifteenth Century the African slave raids became an industry that spread over the continent and after the Seven Years War, the British became attracted by the possibilities of gain by sending African slaves to America. From their Assiento Treaty with Spain in 1703, for 100 years, Britain built up the trade in African slaves to be the most profitable trade on earth, and the most disastrous to the African race. It is estimated that black Africa lost 100,000,000 souls in slave raids, the middle passage and captivity in America. Britain, by theft in India and the profit on the slave trade, accumulated an amount of capital that made its owners the most powerful people in the world; and America, despite its visions of democracy, freedom of religion and conquest of poverty, became the center of a new modern slavery.

38-11-126

AFRICAN
HISTORY

What now was this Africa, which came into fatal contact with the European world in the Fifteenth and following Centuries? Most men have forgotten the role of Africa from the beginning of time. Because of the slave trade they have come to despise black Africa and to say that Africa has no history. They excused African slavery by pretending that its purpose was conversion of

Africans to Christianity. This was the excuse invented after slavery became profitable. Then, when African slavery became the most prosperous industry on earth, Europeans claimed that Negroes were naturally inferior and their slavery to whites their natural condition. But, now, at last, the history of Africa is beginning to be made known. Bushmen and Pygmies seem to be the modern survivors of the first African peoples. About 5,000 years before Christ, Negroes appeared, pushing up from the Great Lakes regions, and coming down the Nile, founded Egypt. They mingled with Asiatic peoples, and this blend of races moved across North Africa, then a fertile region with no Sahara. Some of them went southwest, through the Congo Valley, and others marched northwest "toward the setting sun". They began to found cultures and states. Ghana appears about 300 years after Christ. It grew for 5 centuries into a notable dominion. Then the new Mohammedan religion spread from Arabia across North Africa and into Spain, converting thousands of Negroes. There, Arabs and Africans built a notable culture in Spain, influencing the European Renaissance and attacking Europe at Tours in 732. Also, they spread slowly southward and began to expand into imperial rule.

38-11-127

Under the black Mandingoes, the great empire of Malle (Melle, the Mellestine), with the cities of Timbucktu and Djenna (Guinea)arose. The Mellestine reached its zenith under the Sultan Kankan Musa. His pilgrimage to Mecca took place in 1324, and in his caravan were 60,000 persons and five million dollars worth of gold dust: the peoples of the East still talk of this magnificent journey -- and his state in the 14th century was one of the greatest states of the world.

ANCIENT
NIGERIA

We come now to the territory long known as Nigeria, and its extensions northward and eastward. Here developed one of the most interesting phases of

modern history, which has been almost forgotten. Here developed the Ashanti, and the people of Dahomey and Benin. Here were the Mandingoes, the Yorubas, the Mossi, Nube and Borgu, and Kanem. Here, along the Gulf of Guinea, was a civilization that reached back 5,000 years before Christ. Its peoples may have come from the East, or possibly, from out of the West and the fabulous Atlantis. The Yoruba-Benin-Dahomey appeared with remarkable art and industry, abreast, in many respects, with the modern world. The African slave trade in America centered in Guinea and devastated the Coast morally, socially and physically. European gin and firearms were traded for human beings from the 16th to the 19th centuries.

On the other hand, further north, the Songhay Empire, centering at the great bend of the Niger, lasted a thousand years from 700. The greatest ruler was Mohammed Abou Bakr, known as Mohammed Askia. He controlled an empire as large as all of Europe. "He was obeyed with as much docility in the farthest limits of his empire as he was in his own palace, and there reigned everywhere great plenty and absolute peace." The University of Sankore became a center of learning for the Mediterranean folk. Askia the Great reigned for 36 years. His successors were overthrown by the Moors who with the new gunpowder defeated the Songhay power at the Battle of Tondidibou in 1591. After the Songhay rule the Hausa appeared with their seven cities, of which Kano was the greatest, and Katsena the most famous. They brought industry and trade. Then came the kings of Kanem and lords of Bornu, whose power extended down through the valley of the Congo. A new people, the Fula, entered Nigeria in the 19th century, and, in time, became masters of the Central Sudan.

38-11-128

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

At the very time that the Sudan was spreading its mighty empires; which

had pushed the Bantu on their thousand-year march south; and as the artisans of Atlantis came pressing east, Europe was developing the capitalistic system. Capital is wealth saved; not consumed, but used to make more wealth for future consumption. Africans saved and used wealth for capital, but on a small scale, since production was limited; and owned by the family and clan, not by individuals. The same was true in Europe until, suddenly, in the Sixteenth Century, European traders got hold of fabulous treasure from two sources: and its control fell into private hands. Europeans found vast wealth by plundering India, and by stealing peasants in West Africa and enslaving them in America. Americans raised tobacco, sugar and cotton, and sold them over all the earth. Tribal wars of Africa, feeding the foreign slave raids, robbed the continent of 100,000,000 human beings, distorted African lives and customs, uprooted its political structure, its art, and clouded its ideals. The world was transformed. Conquest by Europe overthrew the civilization of Asia: Europe began to gain rule over most of the world, by stealing gold and silver, using slave labor, and selling the goods which slaves made for profits so huge as to enable it to manufacture goods and trade these for the raw materials of the whole world. The skill of American and European labor increased the ability to manufacture, and science and invention gave miraculous power to this new technique.

38-11-129

From 1800 Europe ruled the world. Africa and Asia and the islands of the Seven Seas bowed or were bent before it. It even partially deceived itself; and, under the spell of a new religion borrowed from Asia, justified theft and slavery, conquest and force, as the one way in which superior White folk, could lead colored folk to civilization, if, indeed, they could be led. But the world did not stand still. The Christian church split in disagreement, the black slaves in the West Indies arose in continuous and increasing revolt from the 15th to the 18th century, and the white peasants of Europe sought freedom from serfdom in the

growing towns where the new capitalists hired them as servants, laborers, artisans, and soldiers. The artisans in turn, fought wars to gain more capital for the town dwellers.

AMERICAN
DEMOCRACY

38-11-130

America is a curious tale of selfish greed and lofty hope. Spain, seeing in the Fifteenth Century, how much gold and other treasure Portugal, Holland, Britain and France were making in Africa and Asia by sailing south around Africa on the Atlantic Ocean; and what riches Italy had garnered in Asia by traversing the Mediterranean, was sold the idea of reaching the east more quickly by sailing west. On the way, the Italian, Columbus, and his one black and two white pilots, discovered the West Indies. Europeans flocked there to find gold and jewels, but found mainly only fertile soil, which, if cultivated, would yield rich crops. European laborers were sent overseas by bargain, force and fraud; then they obtained African slaves which were bought from the Spanish, Dutch and French. The British built a vast world trade on African slaves and the Americans found profitable use for them. Black slaves raised tobacco and cotton in the Southern United States and sugar in the West Indies: white labor distilled rum in the Northern states and sold it in Africa for slaves; they sold the slaves in the West Indies for sugar, and took the sugar to the Northern United States to make rum. Everybody was prosperous. Sugar began to be cheap in Europe, tobacco began to make Virginians rich, and cotton became king. Only the black slaves writhed.

However, some Europeans began to see in America a place where free land would make all citizens well-to-do, able to move freely, do what they wanted to, and believe what they thought was true. Here, political democracy would grow,

and religious freedom. But greed interfered. American traders grew rich on their commerce. Monopoly of the American colonial trade would make Britain the greatest empire of the world if the British limited their colonies to trade with Britain alone. The Americans refused to restrict trade or let the British rule them completely; they stopped the most profitable British monopoly, the African slave trade. Britain and America flew to war, both using black slaves as soldiers. France, allied with the red Indians, helped America, and America won. A new democracy was formed, founded on the dictum that "all men are created equal".

38-11-131

America hesitated: it refused to continue the prohibition of the African slave trade, because so much slave labor had been lost in the war. Britain, however, itself, tried to stop the trade, which had ceased to pay because of continuous revolt of slaves in the West Indies. America finally followed, but did not enforce her own laws, and the illicit African slave trade continued until 1860. The slave system, meantime, became so powerful that slave-raised cotton was furnishing the world with cheap clothing. The Northern United States, France and Britain competed for the cotton crop, and the slave South sought the highest price for its product. The North sought to monopolise the cotton crop by tariff restrictions on imports. However, the white laborers of the nation feared the competition of slave labor; and to their opposition to slavery was added the moral repulsion to slavery which arose from the Abolitionists and the protest of Free Negroes. When this alliance succeeded in restricting the further spread of slave territory in the United States, the South tried to secede from the Union and form a slave empire in the West Indies and South America. The North tried to hold them in the Union by force. The non-slave-holding Southern whites began to refuse to fight for the slaveholders and deserted by the thousands; the Northern white laborers,

especially, the foreigners, refused to enlist and mobbed the Negroes on the streets. But the Negroes, free and slave, offered their services, and, in the end, 500,000 were used as soldiers, stevedores, servants and spies. Other millions stood ready to enlist. The slave barons became frightened, and even tried to enlist slaves on their side. But it was too late, and they surrendered to the North. Thus, the Civil War became a war which abolished Negro slavery in the United States.

The United States is regarded as the richest country in the world, and this is credited to its development of private initiative and development of private capital. This is not the complete truth. The United States is rich because of its vast store of natural materials like coal, iron, oil and other minerals; its almost unlimited amount of rich land, with forests and water power. This wealth we have wasted, and are wasting. We have allowed it to be monopolized by private individuals until now their corporations rule the land. Socialism in the New Deal fought this, and even today, the capitalist system is being bolstered by money from public taxation assigned as a gift to private individuals. This nation is still rich, but in grave danger unless real socialism prevails.

38-11-132

COLONIAL
IMPERIALISM

Britain, unable to make further profit out of the slave trade, gradually adopted Colonial Imperialism -- that is, instead of transporting labor from Africa to America, she sought to seize control of territory and people in Africa and Asia, and, raising raw material there with cheap labor, carry it to Europe and process it into valuable goods which sold at huge profit. European workers increased their demand for wages and rights; after organising trade unions the workers won, but only by helping capital to gain and hold more colonial territory.

Thus, Britain gained control of countries like Nigeria. The British appeared there first as traders. Then, helped by natives like Samuel Crowther, they explored more land and materials; finally, they attempted political control, but met resistance from native rulers. They tried methods learned in Asia. Bringing in highwaymen and freebooters like Lugard and Chinese Gordon, they gained new colonial territory for the empire. Thus in Uganda, Lugard used his machine guns on Catholics, Protestants and Mohammedans fighting to conquer each other and subdue the native tribes. At last Lugard made Uganda a part of the British Empire. Then, although still legally an outlaw, he came to Nigeria and showed the British how to annex Nigeria by his "indirect rule": that is, by bribing, cajoling and befriending rulers, and paying the salaries of chiefs until they acknowledged Britain as overlord, not by conquest, but by consent.

28-11-132a

However, the Nigerians were not content. Increasingly, they protested against the loss of their ancient liberties. Many used their ancient lore and customs; some secured education. The grandson of Samuel Crowther, the first black Anglican Bishop in West Africa, secured a place in the civil service and through his newspaper, Macauley started the battle for freedom. He was later joined by a young Nigerian student, Nnamdi Azikiwe, now Governor-General of Nigeria, who for 25 years fought a desperate battle for freedom until freedom came, November 1, 1960.

I witnessed with pride and hope the inauguration of the first black Governor-General and Commander-In-Chief of a Dominion of the British Commonwealth of nations. I hail Nigeria as the largest black nation of the world, and as a worthy successor of the African imperial rule which began with the Songhay seven hundred years after Christ and became, under Mohammed Askia, in the sixteenth

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century, an empire as large as all Europe today, and as cultured as the Europe of that day, with its great University of Sankore, and with "peace and plenty for all".

Then succeeded the rule of the Hausa with their seven industrial cities led by Kano and accompanied in development to the East by the kings of Kanem and the lords of Bornu. Westward then marched the Fulani, and there rolled up from the Gulf of Guinea, the Yoruba, the Ibo and the people of Benin. With these came industry, art and architecture which has taught the whole modern world. But all this marvelous development was distorted and overthrown by the British slave trade to America, and followed in the nineteenth century by colonial imperialism which reduced this part of Africa to subjection to capitalist West Europe and North America.

38-11-33

THE PROBLEM
OF CAPITAL

What does independence and freedom mean? Nigeria, an agricultural country, feeding, clothing and sheltering itself by the toil of its farmers, will need manufactures and skilled industries run by modern technical and scientific methods. For this Nigeria will need capital. All nations need capital. Capital accumulation is a great modern idea. This means simply that a nation must produce more than enough for its immediate needs so as to use the surplus for better and increased production in the future. How now can capital best be raised? The simplest way is that a worker refrains from consuming all he makes and saves the surplus. He thus deserves a profit for his sacrifice, and, of course, retains ownership of his original property. This is the original and simple concept of capital. But the concept and practice has greatly changed in modern days: first, the original capital is often not owned wholly by an individual,

but is the gift of the state, and yet the profit goes into private hands. For instance, the state builds a harbor with public taxes and yet private persons or corporations reap the profit without adequate payment. Or a private corporation builds a railroad, sells it to the state for a price fixed by the corporation and much higher than it is worth. The state tries to run the railroad, but must first pay the inflated price or "bonded indebtedness" with high interest. State conduct of the railroad results in a deficit which the public pays with high fares and freight charges. Or, again, the state gives a private corporation a monopoly in the use of public streets, and the corporation makes a large profit which it calls its own, with no payment or very inadequate payment to the public. So that a new state like Nigeria must, from the beginning, be sure that the capital they borrow really belongs to the person or corporation which claims profit for its use.

The current method of bringing industry to farming countries is by borrowing wealth from Europe; buying machines and tools with this wealth and then importing skilled technicians from abroad to migrate here and set up factories. With these factory hands and engineers come merchants to buy manufactured products for sale abroad; and bringing with them goods made abroad to sell to the native. This system which once seemed quite natural and good for all was soon seen to be but little different from colonialism. The interest on borrowed capital was so high and the terms so onerous, that the lending capitalists soon owned the country. It was thus that Algeria, Tunis and Egypt came under the complete control of Britain and France. It was this that would soon have happened to Ghana had not Nkrumah checkmated the trend; it was this that would have been the fate of Nigeria, had it not been for the sacrifice and persistence of Macauley and Azikiwe. Moreover, their work is not finished: it has just begun.

38-11-134

Nigeria is a rich land in both senses of the word: it is rich because it has abundance of rich soil, variety of tree and vine; a wealth of minerals, buried beneath, and bright sun and floods of water above. It can, if properly used, feed and clothe and shelter thirty-six million Nigerians and other millions abroad. Then, too, Nigeria is rich in the sense that, if its soil is raped and its workers starved and its materials stolen and taken abroad, the white folk of Britain, France and the United States may live, not simply in comfort, but in extravagant luxury, while Nigerians starve. In this sense much of the world would regard Nigeria as rich because its masses of people would be poor.

Nigeria needs industry; and for industry Nigeria needs capital; and to use capital Nigeria needs skill, engineers, science. Capital must be saved. Each Nigerian, above what he eats, wears, and uses, must sacrifice and save. Every nation must save wealth for use as capital -- to make more goods for future use.

28-11-135

Considering the need; looking the present world crisis and threat straight in the face; considering how advantageous it would be if more capital was available now, some capital can and should be borrowed, if that can be done on favorable terms. It has long been the custom for western capitalists to gang up on poor countries in Asia and Africa and charge them exorbitant interest. Today they charge from five to ten percent, with other requirements which raise the charge to fifteen or twenty-five percent. But the Soviet Union and China often lend for two percent, and sometimes for nothing. Nigeria should examine all terms offered, and if they are clear and honest, with no strings attached, borrow at the best rates, the smallest sums sufficient for its needs.

Again, in the past, the nations which loan, usually sent their own nationals to direct colonial industry and furnish the direction and skill. For

these they demanded special pay, preferred status, the right to govern, even when the natives were disfranchised; and preferred places to live. All this privilege must go. If white folk cannot come to Nigeria and live on Nigerian wages, alongside Nigerian people, with the rights, and no more rights, than Nigerians enjoy, then White folk must stay out of Nigeria. Differences in custom, current ignorance of sanitation, and dire poverty, may make it difficult at present to carry out this equality of treatment; but that only indicates how quickly and thoroughly Nigeria must rid itself of poverty, ignorance and disease, and what whites must sacrifice if they come here.

38-11-136

However, there is offered another way. Nigeria will find that the British and French, and, especially, the North Americans, suggest a quick by-path for Nigeria to become rich and happy. And that is for intelligent and well-to-do Nigerians to join the British and Americans and other white capitalists in exploiting the country, and using cheap black labor and cheap land and its products, in making themselves and the white folk rich, and keeping most Nigerians, expecially the farmers and peasants, ignorant, poor and sick.

They say this should be done because it is the best and quickest way to help Nigeria upward. They point out that when men say that such a country is rich, they mean that their upper classes are rich, but that the masses are poor, because the wealth they earn is used to support the rich in comfort and even luxury. They suggest that, just as in the past, white Europe lived on black Africa, so in the future, the more prosperous black Nigerians and rich colored Americans become junior partners with white Europeans and live on the poverty, ignorance and sicknesses of the mass of Nigerians living in the country districts and the slums of the towns.

SOCIALISM

There are other folk in Nigeria, and increasingly in Europe and Asia, who say no, there is another answer. It has become customary in the 19th century in Europe and North America to build Progress on Poverty; to make a few cultured classes rich by letting them feed on a mass of the poor and ignorant workers. This is not necessary and was not done in the past. In primitive Nigeria, no member of a tribe was hungry so long as the tribe had food. There were no homeless and unmarried women, no uncared-for widows, nor helpless orphans. The tribe and clan fed the hungry and protected the helpless. The clan saved capital and invested it. The profits naturally belonged, not to the individual who handled the transaction, but to the tribe which owned the wealth. The individual was paid for his work but for no more. To be sure, this system was not perfect. Tribes were broken up by wars, and wars became slave raids which further disrupted clans. Clans and nations moved to avoid disaster or gain new land or power. Disrupted members of tribes took refuge in towns without tribal protection, and the ancient care failed often or disappeared. But it was an effective way of preventing poverty and spreading wisdom where and when it worked. Men remembered it, chiefs practiced it, and medicine men told about it. When now it is suggested that this common effort of the state be revived in some form, British and Americans scream "Socialism!" or "Communism!" but wise Nigerians are not frightened.

I have only to impress upon you that here there should be on your part little hesitancy. Socialism and Communism, under the teaching of Karl Marx and Lenin, are beginning to triumph all over the world; and you should not hesitate to study these doctrines, and the results of the reign of private capital, under Western Europe during the nineteenth century. Your logical development should stem directly from the communalism of your fathers, where capital or wealth used

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to produce wealth was controlled by the chiefs who represented the tribe as real owner, just as, today, land and water are owned in a similar way; and the profit made in early days through this capitalism belonged to all and not to any individual. Can and should socialism be restored in the great independent Dominion of Nigeria? Northern Nigeria, with its ruling sultans and emirs, with its Mohammedan and primitive religions, with its chiefs and medicine men, is still the stronghold of the ancient communalism. As such, it is a most valuable counterweight to Eastern and Western Nigeria, which are centers of the new commercialism, where a new Bourgeoisie are seeking to exploit land and labor as is customary in the western world. The industrial and commercial Nigeria has embraced education and science, while the North has lagged in schools, and defended primitive customs and dogma which hinder progress. The star of hope is that the North is now beginning to encourage education and the commercial south is studying Socialism and Communism, and what they may hold for future Nigeria.

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Nigeria must build a welfare state and move toward a state where all men work to the best of their ability and receive as wage not everything that they want, but everything that they need for the greatest development of all the people. This will involve sacrifice. This will mean, not the rule of the rich and the smart, but the uplift of the great mass of people, out of which will come power and genius, and ideals which will restore Africa to the place it once occupied in the forefront of the world.

In the hard and bitter strife toward this end you will find allies. Some few in Western Europe and North America. But not many, for they want, not so much your progress, as profit from your free land and cheap labor. They are willing to share this loot with those of you who can be bought. But, in nations like the Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China; in Czechoslovakia,

Poland, East Germany, and Hungary, you will find allies and friends who will help you toward freedom and peace. These people are not as they are often painted, either fools or conspirators, but struggling and oppressed folk like you, who are striving for a decent life. You should visit them, and get to know them. Britain and Scandinavia accept a partial socialism, but refuse, as yet, to accept the aims and methods of Communism. That is their right. If the United States fears Communism, that is their business, if they do not suppress the truth. If Cuba chooses Communism, it has the right so to choose. Whatever Nigeria accepts is not a name but a fact. Nigeria must prevent poverty; it must educate its children; it must heal its sick. Whatever path leads to these ends, Nigeria must follow, no matter what it is called. Nigerian students should study and travellers should visit and examine the way in which the nations of the West and East are settling the pressing problems of income and expense; of work and wage; of property, of crime; of education and employment. Deeds, not mere words, settle these problems, and it matters not a jot whether the system which proves effective is called Capitalism, Socialism, or Communism. Nigeria must adopt those measures which solve her problems and ignore that which suits others, but does not apply to her.

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AMERICAN
NEGROES

In seeking these answers, the attitude and words of American Negroes greatly puzzle Nigerians today. They know that millions of black Africans for 400 years were stolen from their homes and enslaved in America when not murdered or drowned at sea. In America they suffered every cruelty and degradation, while digging from the soil stolen from the Red Indians, wealth which made Europe rich and powerful, and long masters of mankind. At length, these black slaves gained

partial freedom by their own revolt, and by the help of white folk who grew ashamed of their own sin, and pitied their victims' sufferings. They sued and sacrificed as black Americans and their white friends hoped that free black Americans might lead black Africa to freedom. But, before black America was really free, Black Africa arose to its feet and asserted a freedom and independence which is astonishing the world.

When, now, after some efforts at returning to their motherland; after a series of Pan-African Congresses and two world wars, there begins a new visiting of Africa by American Negroes. ~~Most~~ many of these Negroes seem to insist that they are really quite well off in America; that racial segregation and color discrimination has almost disappeared, and that American Negroes are ready to join white folk as investors in African industry, and as guides in American skills and methods.

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Then comes some contradiction. Some other black Americans arrive, many of whom have suffered persecution in the United States and been refused passports to travel. They deny this rosy picture; they aver that, despite great progress, oppression, color discrimination and segregation still persist in the United States, even despite the law; and that most of the black Americans who spread these pleasant stories are paid to do so by the State Department of the Government of the United States; Or by Big Business enterprise which wants to prevent Africans from learning of Socialism or seeing Communism in action. Under these circumstances, the path of Nigeria is straight. Learn the facts. Listen to the truth. Believe what is Right and follow the good.

Freedom and independence do not involve isolation. Do not withdraw from the world: join it more closely than before, but join as equals. Educate your youth at home; but send some of your bright and eager youth abroad for study and living in the chief nations of the world. Send students to Britain, to the

United States, to Scandinavia, and Germany; also to the Soviet Union and its allies; and, especially, to China, because the Yellow Race has suffered even more than the Black Race from the cruelty and exploitation of the white race. Use education to rebind and heal the rifts of mankind, and never forget that trade and commerce can be aids to human progress.

THE AFRICAN WOMAN

Africans are born traders. From the birth of Time, the African market has set patterns for the world from the Nile to the Niger, from the Senegal to the Congo, from the Zambesi to the sea. The freedom of women began in the African market-place, and still can be seen on the streets of Cairo, Accra, Lagos, Ibadan and Leopoldville.

Guard your women. The white man has for two centuries been the threat of Negro womanhood. White men have raped and degraded colored women from Casablanca to Capetown, from Thailand to Calcutta. Americans are planning to send a "Peace Corps" to Africa. This, which seems like unselfish help to many, may prove veritable disaster. Some of these young people may be honestly desirous to help; but most of them have been trained from childhood with prejudice against Negroes and to regard them as inferiors. Most of them will have been taught to regard Communism as a crime and Socialism as dangerous, and will have learned distrust of the Soviet Union and contempt for China. They will believe Americans must prepare for a third world war and will be apt to assume, as Eisenhower once said, that Americans "can lick the world". Also, there will be among these Americans a number who will come to Africa to carouse, gamble and whore, and to leave their bastards in Nigeria, as Americans did in Germany, Japan, the Phillipines and Korea. Without much work they will receive an income far higher than Africans, and for a fifth column for their foes. Watch this Corps and treat their members as they deserve.

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You are facing a desperately divided world, full of suspicion and hate. In this world, Americans, especially, assume that Negroes believe in them and will eagerly follow wherever they beckon. They believe that colored folk are quickly flattered by their notice. They will, therefore, hasten to give Negroes advice. They will not go to Africa to learn, but only to teach. Among such visitors will be sent some Americans of African descent, who, also, will assume that they will be received gladly, and will be able to teach Africans before they know them. Disabuse all these visitors. Disabuse their ignorance. Make them either learn or go home. After they learn what they must do before Africa receives them, then be willing to learn from them whatever they can teach.

Against women African traders, and their market-place, is rising a terrible menace in the form of the European corporation, like unilevers of Britain, and other giant corporations of Belgium, France and Switzerland, with the best and highest paid skill of the world, backed by the airplanes, armies and navies of most of the world's most powerful nations. This duel goes on today along the streets of every African town. The mass of retail traders, selling

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directly to consumers who are themselves either artisans or workers, are the basis of the national economy. They correspond to the artisans and retail traders of the world, and, like them, are being attacked by the Corporation which, eventually, unless the State steps in, will drive them out of business, as it is driving out the retail merchants of the western world.

THE CORPORATION

What is the Corporation? It began in Western Europe in the Middle Ages, when a Group of persons secured the right to be legally regarded as a person with limited responsibilities, so that it could keep its gains made in trade and work for private use, but could shift a part of its losses on the State. It could thus afford to risk chances which would have ruined the lone trader. This artificial Body or Corporation entered into trade, and, if it lost, lost only what it risked; if it gained, it made fortunes. The state soon saw these advantages and took part in the Corporations. If the State was an absolute monarchy, the King then shared the gains of the Corporation and taxed the people for its losses. But soon the other members of the corporations secured some of the gain or threatened withdrawal. Thus they shared some of the monarch's power and turned the State into an aristocracy.

Later, the common folk forced themselves into corporations and aristocracies became democracies. When the wage contract became common -- that is, when the laborer was forced to sell the results of his labor to the capitalist, he had to form a defensive alliance, the Trade Union, to protect his rights. He changed the medieval guild which comprised both employer and worker, and made a new group

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of laborers, after bitter opposition from the property owners. In the early 18th century the South Sea Bubble ruined thousands and revealed the possibilities of fraud. But in the late Nineteenth Century the labor union gained recognition and legal status with political power and education for workers. Then, in the Twentieth Century, the corporations of capitalists began to move in to control the labor unions by law, curtailing their activities; and by bribing their officials; until, today, many of the most powerful unions represent capital as much, or more so, than labor. Nigeria must watch her unions; see that the workers control them by democratic process, and that the power of their officials is not secretly increased by bribery from capitalists. It was the revolt of the workers at Paris, in 1945, against capitalist-controlled unions, which made the Fifth Pan-African Congress possible, and started Nkrumah toward freeing Ghana.

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This growth and change of corporations can be seen in Western Europe. Elisabeth of England incorporated the African slave trade. Her nobility forced themselves into power; the great merchant groups succeeded to power under the Stuarts, and with Cromwell the power of merchants decreased. Then democracy entered, reaching its zenith with 1776. Democracy fell before the oligarchy of the Slave Power, but triumphed in Civil War and abolition.

Since 1876, however, a new set of corporations appeared in America, due to disfranchising Negroes and Poor Whites; to hoarding gold and monopolising land and natural resources. The Corporation killed democracy in the United States, and now rules supreme, buying the presidency, owning most high offices, cowing Congress, and controlling Public Opinion through the monopoly of news-gathering, of the press, radio and television, and the limiting of the publication of books. Capital and invention now made the corporate form of enterprise invincible, and it swept the world. Great Britain and France drove Germany out of competition

in colonial power; and the United States pressed Britain to the wall, and made a million a day profit out of the First World War. But the greed of the United States drove the world into bankruptcy; and Germany and Italy and Japan tried to seize the cheap colonial labor of the world in 1939, and, thus, rule industry.

A new element appeared, the Socialist Union of Russia and neighboring peoples. They, under the stern Stalin, beat back the Germans, and freed Europe and America, at the sacrifice of 20,000,000 lives, and a large part of their hard-earned savings. Stalin and Roosevelt, therefore, proposed an alliance between the Socialist East and Capitalist West, based on disarming Germany and making her pay a part of the cost of the war. But Churchill, (flattering and) cajoling Truman, Byrnes, and his rotten Boroughs, the American corporations and Trade Unions, guided by Meany; and Clay, with the armed forces, forced a settlement which refused the Soviet Union help, furnished West Germany with arms and capital, and gave her corporations immense new power. The United States ringed the Soviet Union with threatening bases, armed with modern weapons. These weapons now included atomic and nuclear power, and, for a time, the United States believed that it could make the world do its will. But America failed. The Soviets invented their own bomb. India freed itself from Britain, so far as her own capitalists allowed. China threw off America's stooge, and, with American arms, drove Chiang-Kai-Chek off the mainland. She erected an independent Socialist Republic. Britain saw the handwriting on the wall. She yielded independence to Ghana, and provincial status to Nigeria. France gave most of her colonial world partial independence.

Moreover, corporations in America and the West have, lately, increased their power and privilege. Formerly, the corporation belonged to those furnishing its capital. Now, only a part of those buying stock are real owners, with a voice in controlling the policies and funds of the corporations. The rest are merely shareholders, receiving, when the real owners decree, dividends of such

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amount as the owners decide, or none at all. Yet Big Businesses advertise how large a share of industry the public owns! Beyond this, through corporations buying stock in other corporations, such "holding companies" can arrange to control whole industries through ownership of as little as a fifth of the invested capital. Thus democracy gradually disappears from industry and oligarchy or dictatorship takes control of work and wage, property and income. All this is made possible through elaborate secrecy. The ownership of property; the amount of individual or corporate income; the business transactions, the profits or losses, are guarded by law, and, thus, the basic facts of industry, knowledge of which is indispensable to intelligent judgment, can be known only in part.

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THE FUNCTION
OF LAWYERS

This legal basis of work and wage is laid by lawyers. Lawyers make the law in legislatures, interpret it as judges; and guide individuals, and, especially, corporations, in methods of breaking it. Physicians heal, preachers guide, engineers calculate; but by growing agreement and common understanding, lawyers not only make the law but break it, not only defend the innocent but set the guilty free, and this is regarded as right and justifiable.

Of course, other professions are not all unselfish: physicians often forget their duty to heal disease and prevent disease, and act like trade unions to prevent competition, raise fees, and monopolise medicine. Civil servants often try to make money, rather than carry on the business of the State honestly. Preachers seek place and salary, rather than moral conduct. In fact, human beings are not naturally good, but are tempted to be selfish and forgetful of their neighbors. Especially since this awful era of world wars, many have come to think

that the world belongs to the smart, and that murder, gambling, and theft, are the quickest way to success. The history of mankind proves that this is not true. That is the reason that all peoples have adopted religions to teach morals and to emphasize the public value of right conduct.

FOREIGN
CORPORATIONS

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How, now, shall Nigeria protect her retail trade and curb corporations, both native and foreign, of Britain, France, Switzerland and America, which are already doing large business within her borders, and which restrain her own bourgeoisie from becoming junior partners in this foreign enterprise? Remember that, for the most part, these corporations are too large, powerful and widespread for Nigerians to think of gaining control of them. They are, today, a sort of super-government of the world. Unilevers is a combination of British and German companies with capital of a billion dollars, and profits of 250,000,000 dollars a year. Its 25,000 managers cover the earth, and are ruled by an oligarchy, and backed by the armies and ships of the British Commonwealth. There is the Imperial Chemical Industries, which has spent since the second World War, a billion and a half dollars on new plants, and is ruled by a tight family group of 12 men. There is the Union Miniere du Haut Katanga, which mines 60% of the world's cobalt, and 11% of the world's copper. It is owned by Belgian, British and American investors, and is responsible for holding up the black Congo Republic, and for murdering its Prime Minister. Here is the fight of the futures Corporation against democracy.

A few black employees may share corporation profits and have some weak voice in policy. Meantime, that policy will seek to kill the African markets, and the host of small women traders, reducing them to poverty and unemployment. The state of Nigeria has, of course, the power to eject these corporations and confiscate their local capital. But that would be a fatal mistake at present. These

corporations now perform a great function. They dominate world trade. Without their consent Nigerian enterprise cannot function abroad. They have the power to hurt Nigeria in many ways: not only in trade and credit, but also in acquiring skill and technique; in finding foreign markets for African goods; in getting credit and getting fair prices.

Nevertheless, they are not all-powerful. The small retailers can undersell them, locally unless they keep their prices reasonable and treat their black customers courteously. Also, Nigeria has much power. She can tax all corporations doing business within her borders on their property and privileges. In most western nations, corporations escape taxation by various devices, but, especially, because the people do not know the income of, or privileges enjoyed by, corporations. In the United States, a teacher may pay 40 percent of his income in taxes, while the Standard Oil Company escapes with payment of one percent. Nigeria, tax your corporations, fairly but fully! Also, control your retail traders; enforce sanitary rules of maufacture and display; require steadily higher education of those buying and selling; allow no cheating nor deception. For both corporations and individuals enforce fair prices. In turn, give both the market-place and the sidewalk vendor, clean and accessible places for trade. Do not clutter the sidewalks, or fill the streets with waste and refuse. In short, so lift the standards of the street vendors, and so curb the profit and privileges of the corporations that they gradually approach substantial equality of opportunity to serve the folk.

And there lies the great truth which this people must seek: Service, not gain, not the spread of profit, but the increase of contentment and happiness. This is not utopian; it is not impossible. For five centuries Europe has taught the world that only the few can be rich, educated and live decently; and that this can happen only at the expense of keeping most people poor, ignorant and sick.

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Prophets and sages, working people, and poets, today are pointing out a better way: if all work hard at that which they can do best; if materials, goods and services are given to all men, not in proportion to what they can take, but in proportion to what they need to make them healthy persons, and effective citizens.

EDUCATION

To know the truth requires intelligence; not only native ability to think, but also information acquired from others; from words of the wise, from books and papers in which wisdom and events are recorded. Not only must such knowledge be had for work and trade, but also, even more, for knowledge of the natural laws which rule this intricate and puzzling world in which we live. This is a world of regular law, and not of haphazardness chance as the ignorant think. Sages have, from the beginning of Time, tried to know Truth, and, gradually, over thousands of years of search and thought, mankind has in the last few centuries, come to understand a great deal about the laws of nature -- not all to be sure; there is still much that remains mystery -- but in 1960 we know vastly more about the laws of the universe than we did in 1860, when Bishop Crowther explored the Niger, and Lagos was seized by the British, or when the black empires of the Sudan were rising to power. This information the mass of men must know; not simply the children, not simply the men, but the women. All their lives people must be learning about themselves and the world about them.

This process must begin with the Young; but it must not end there. With the Young a large part of their time must be set aside for School, where they learn to Read, Write, and Count in primary school; and in secondary grades how to make use of words to convey meanings; and where men live and how. Children do not simply study; they also learn by doing, by helping their elders to work.

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Then, such youth as have the aptitude should go to college where they study the Universe as a whole, its Past and Present, its Laws and Probabilities, its Future, so far as it may be guessed. They then become, through study or practice, co-workers for carrying on life; laborers, artisans, scientists, lawyers, physicians, writers, artists; parents of children, makers of goods, processors of materials.

Curiously enough, it has happened in the past and is true largely today, that the very persons who do the fundamental work of raising food and fibre, get so little of the food they raise and the fibre they grow, that these farmers are poor, ignorant and ragged.

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There is developing in Nigeria what is called a Bourgeoisie; that is, a group of professional men, civil servants, merchants and white collar workers, who are accumulating wealth, furnishing comfortable homes with servants, motor cars, and many luxuries. This is copying after the white West, and is normal, and, in many respects, desirable. But it skirts fatal dangers unless watched, guided and curbed. In all history, civilization has developed in cities. That is what the name means. It is natural that where men congregate in groups and come to know each other and learn from each other, here knowledge develops, inventions grow, and men become builders of culture. But, here too, lurk dangers: the city group easily learns to use the peasant for the city's life and comfort, without returning to the rural districts any of the human culture which its toil sustains. Almost invariably the country grows poor and ignorant as the city grows rich and sophisticated. Then the inevitable happens: the peasant tries to leave the farm and the city dweller tries to drive him back.

This is beginning to happen in Nigeria, and it will increase in the future; and many will tell you that it is inevitable. Do not believe them. Educate your peasants; give them beauty and recreation. Make a life and career in the country as good as one in the city. Watch city and suburb, and do not let

them kill nor oppress each other; do not pamper the city and starve the country. Protect the forest and keep it replanted. Protect wild life, both beast and bird; know the great world of insects and regulate it for the good of man, and not for attack and disease. Watch and record the weather, guide the rivers, and harness power so that nature as well as man furnish work. Give thought to the making of homes, so that they become centers of protection, education and pleasure, and not airless, dirty dens of drudgery, dirt and pain. Let most of mankind live in a contented, happy world.

The gathering of news from the world; the free expression of opinion; the unhampered creation of forms of art, are prime needs of a nation. Remember that most nations, today, have difficulty in getting true reports of current events; are not allowed to hear what men think, and are limited in knowing forms of art and literature which their governments do not like. Let this never occur in Nigeria. Watch the press. Insist on hearing the "other side". Resent the gagging of opinion or taste. Watch the beginning of this tendency, before it is too late and you find yourselves bound with monopoly.

It is not war that made Europe great; rather war has nearly ruined what men have done to make a decent world. Cry Peace, then, Peace and plenty for all.

RELIGION

Nigeria has many religions. This is fortunate, for it teaches tolerance. Had Nigerians been born in Spain, they would have been taught to hate Protestants; had they been born in Sweden, they would have feared Catholics; had they been born in the United States, they would have been contemptuous of Moslems. But there are in Nigeria millions of Africans who still believe in the ancient faith of their forefathers, who saw God in mountain, tree and river, who believed in

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witchcraft and chance. The followers of Mohammed know no color line; Christians know modern European cultures; all Nigerian religions respect the faith of others, and grant them the right to follow it. They know that a religion is an attempt to know the truth, and a belief in such truth as is beyond proof. This dogma may go so far as to deny Truth, even when it is proven; but if it does, in time, it must give up dogma and recognize Science; just as Science admits freely that it does not know all, and perhaps never will.

The treatment of religion -- of all religion, whether it be that which you believe, or that which you deem false, is ever a delicate and holy task. From dawn of consciousness all men are trained to believe in what their group and their age calls Truth. It may be wrong, in part, but it is believed by hundreds or millions. That belief must be treated with respect. Carefully, thoughtfully, must the real truth be taught, and this task in Nigeria must be paramount. The good of religions, not alone their mistakes, must be taught. Conference and understanding must be sought. Cooperation must be paramount. Witchcraft must not be derided. It is ancient as the hills; it holds stores of wisdom; it is the source of literature and art; indeed, it gave birth to science and still has much to teach. Meantime, the object of religion is to induce men to act right so that none will hurt another, and all can find happiness. Let no religion, Catholic, Protestant or Mohammedan, interfere with the functions of the paramount State. The State alone controls Government and the Education of children. Let Science, not witchcraft nor pretended miracles, preserve the health of the masses.

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What is happiness? It is primarily the gratification of the senses: seeing, hearing, touch, taste, smell. But here, manifestly, this is true: moderation must be the rule; temperance; you cannot see everything on earth; you cannot hear all the music of the spheres; you cannot feel every pleasure at once. So, the wise man eats moderately, drinks sparingly, does not go on sprees. Especially, man must never seek happiness at the cost of pain and unhappiness to others. In a land like Nigeria, so long deprived of ordinary decencies, much more of happiness can be had, than is usual today. Many are apt to think that the

Western world has enjoyed every happiness and should be imitated: that drunkenness, drug-taking, loud noise and hysteria, are signs of culture. No, after all, eyes only see; ears only hear; the old dancing of your fathers is as lovely as the new steps, and lovelier than Rock and Roll. Man is just man. His capacities are limited and are loveliest when enjoyed in reasoned limit.

In many ways the West, in the matter of pleasure, particularly Britain and France, have seriously misled the world. Perhaps the worst is in gambling. The primitive world thought chance ruled life; and, for that reason, they cast lots and threw dice. But now we know that natural laws, and human effort, make history; and that dependence on luck and chance is misleading, especially, for the mass of workers. Yet gambling has been made fashionable in London, Paris, and Rome, by the rich and high-born, through horse-racing, card-playing, and so-called "sports". This is bad enough, but beyond games of real chance, comes systematic cheating, which enables professional gamblers to use marked cards and other deceptions. Foremost today is the so-called "Stock-Market" where, under the pretext of distributing capital, whole nations are plunged into daily gambling with rigged results. Beyond that is the custom of establishing centers of gambling, prostitution and drug taking. Under the Colonial system, Britain did this at Singapore, after she had forced opium from India on helpless China. France made Hanoi and Saigon such centers. All three of these nations made Shanghai and its Bund a sink of iniquity until China arose and redeemed a nation. Hong Kong is still a cess-pool under the British. "Chinatowns" all over the World used to be encouraged to prove Chinese hopelessly debauched.

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Nigeria must, from the first, strive to treat the problems of sex with commonsense and not mess them up as Europe has. You cannot worship virginity in women, when the natural function of women is to give birth to babies. You cannot regard the human body and sex relations as essentially nasty, and still induce girls to reproduce healthy human beings. Sex is a healthy, natural

appetite, but promiscuity defeats its aim of pleasure and healthy children. While women are designed to bear children, they cannot in civilised life be regarded as simply brood mares or toys for the pleasure of men. They have as much right to careers as men, and, after the normal child-bearing age, they should join in the world's work; they should even have the right, if it suits their health or ambition, to surrender motherhood for work they can do better. In fine, from the year of about sixteen to twenty-six, the natural sex appetite is strong and should be indulged, legally and normally. These years are best for parenthood and make possible a normal companionship of children and parents which can build the normal family. Marriage should make public this procreation of children. But the marriage should be made terminable at will of either partner when it ceases to be satisfactory, provided the rights of husband, wife, and children, are fully assured. All this can be feasible, if treated by law and decency, and not hidden in secrecy, cheating and false shame.

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One problem has resulted in paradox in modern civilization. That is what is called "menial service". It is arising in Nigeria. What shall be the status and wage of those who do the intimate services which every man requires more or less from infancy through age: the care of infants, the bathing of bodies, getting rid of dirt and excrement, the cooking and serving of food, the washing of clothes, the cleaning of living quarters, attending the sick, adorning the body, entertaining guests, and like matters? These services are, on the one hand, matters of love and trained knowledge; on the other, they are often the lowest work of mankind, fit only for slaves, or the lowest and worst treated of workers. Yet both these things cannot be. What is holier and dirtier than a mother's care? What is more despised than menial service? This paradox must be reconciled. Nigerians of wealth and position are hiring many servants and paying them low wage. Nigerians of education and ambition refuse to become

servants. What must be the end of this? Service needs education and skill, and such folk can be had only for good pay and public respect. In all civilised lands the "servant" problem is unsolved, and often seemingly unsoluble. Nigeria must help solve it. She must rate menial service high in esteem, and pay it well; and in turn, the servant must be educated, trained and so capable as to deserve respect. This will take time and thought, but it is none the less pressing and pressing now. Here and there in the world one sees the beginnings of a solution: in New York garbage collectors are paid more than most teachers; in Britain old and trusted servants are part of the family; in the Soviet Union, servants are equal in status to any worker.

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What Nigeria should seek is right conduct; simple comfort without senseless luxury and show; work and wage, not stealing and gambling; walking and running gymnastics and games, rather than elaborate "sports"; music, not noise and hysteria; mothers, homes and children, not abortions, dens and prostitutes; refrigerators to preserve food, rather than automobiles to crowd the streets, kill the pedestrians, and carry hundreds whither they have no need to go. Think, listen, read, and do the right which you well know: This is the Will of all your gods; this is Peace on earth and Plenty.

Nations must defend themselves: from foes from without, from inner crime and turmoil. Increased civilization lessens the fear of outer attack, and yet, even today, some armed defense is called for. Always inner police must be at call. But the cost of defense decreases as War ceases; as men become educated and moral, and as crime decreases because of education and cure of disease. For Nigeria, friendliness with neighbors is called for; intertribal quarrels must be lessened and wider union of nations rather than division into small and smaller parts. The Pan-African movement must someday unite all Africa into one great federation, playing a leading roll in a perfect United Nations. Meantime, so

long as South Africa breaks every law of human decency; so long as the Rhodesias fight democracy; so long as Portugal continues to lie about her murder and theft in Africa; so long Nigeria must be strong enough to boycott and refuse political ties with them. And, if Britain, France or Israel prepare nuclear force against Algeria or other helpess nations, Nigeria is justified in demanding atomic weapons of the Soviet Union and China.

If Nigeria is asked by anybody -- white or black, Jew or Gentile, -- to take sides in a power struggle between Britain and Slav, French or German, American or Latin, it should say No. But, if the Soviet Union, China or any other land has a good idea or sound advice, Nigeria should accept it, even if Britain and the United States protest. The history of the Anglo-Saxon World gives it no right to advise black folk.

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One peculiar development in the West and particularly in the United States is the dominance of advertising over production and distribution of goods. Advertising is letting the consumer know what the producer has to sell. Or, at another step, shows what the trader has bought from the producer and offers to sell the producer. But, today, in America, the advertiser dominates the market; he decides what shall be sold and at what price; the consumer is compelled to buy what the advertiser offers at the advertiser's price. The insidious methods by which the advertiser has acquired this power are intricate and hard to understand, but they involve large capital for useless display, highly paid skill in picture, word, and the government-backed monopoly of advertising media like newspapers and magazines, radio and television, and other methods which the government uses to put public profit into private hands. Nigeria should watch all approaches to this subtle transfer of power.

Another method of public aid to private gain is through what is called

"Fashions". This is inducing the consumers, especially women, to wear what certain persons who monopolise publicity tell them is "fashionable". After a time respectable women are actually afraid to wear what is not "fashionable" whether it suits them or not. Now the people of Africa have for centuries become used to wearing clothes of a weight and texture, and color, peculiarly suited to their life and climate: the men's toga which Rome copied, the brilliant ~~robes~~ colors worn by women, the children with a minimum of clothes, were excellently adapted to Africa. Today, Africans are being tempted to dress as Europeans do, regardless of whether these clothes are suitable or not. This is wrong. Resist "fashions" and insist on what is suitable. Instead of holding back a nation's whole industry until some fashion dictator decides whether a skirt should be long or short, wide or narrow, let individuals decide what suits them; instead of sending their designs and colors abroad for fabrication, let them be done at home in Lagos or Ibadan, and thus keep Nigerians at work.

38-11-157

The African loves drama; his sense of theatre is inborn. Nigeria should encourage and lead this desire and as soon as possible escape from the present compulsion to see only foreign plays and films. Especially, the present dependence of the world on the decadence of Hollywood is deplorable and must, as soon as possible, be terminated. Nigeria must eventually make its own films and meantime seek decent films from those who have them.

Each Nigerian village and city should build its own little theatre where its own life is depicted, its own history told; and the theatre of other times and nations brought to teach and guide and inspire the people.

Finally, what Nigeria and all Africa needs is knowledge of their past history and culture. Europe has grown powerful largely because its children for generations have been taught to believe in themselves. They have read the

story of their past, seen pictures of the deeds of their fathers, and heard legends of their people. Africans also heard of their past, but only in the dry regions like the Nile valley was the record kept in imperishable stone or written on papyrus. In the valleys of the Niger, Senegal and Congo, and on the West Coast, history lived in the minds of men, and was handed down over the centuries from father to son. It has made a remarkable folk-lore and a fine literature, ~~when written down.~~ The West, however, interpreted this as fairy tale and not truth; also, when the West wanted an excuse for oppressing and exploiting black folk, they said that Africans had no history and that this proved their inferiority. On the other hand, the West was tempted to exaggerate their own past, and, especially, after the slave trade, to forget or embroider the sordid story of colonialism. Thus, the young African today, and the descendants of Africans in America, know little or nothing of their history or of the cultural inventions of their fathers. As a matter of fact, the transmitted lore of Africa is one of the finest cultural heritages of all time; it has often borne the tests of science and the highest standards of literature and art.

38-11-158

To change this fatal ignorance of the present world I have undertaken to plan an Encyclopaedia Africana, in which scholars will set down in the light of the latest results of social science the history of mankind on the African continent. The Ghana Academy of Learning, under the patronage of President Kwame Nkrumah initiated this project, and asked my help, since I had planned such an encyclopaedia early in the century. The Governor-General of Nigeria has expressed his interest in this project and the cooperation of other African rulers will be asked. In order that this project shall be written from the African point of view, and not from that of the colonial masters, we shall seek African scholars, so far as we can find well-trained scientists of African descent.

For this I have already consulted Dr. Diké of the Nigerian University College at Ibadan. He is, perhaps, the best known African scholar in African history. He and his scholars have given cheerful promise of cooperation. Other African Universities and Colleges have promised cooperation. But scientific truth is our aim and not mere racial propaganda; when, then, no African scholars are found who measure up to modern scientific standards, we will draw no color line, and seek the best scholars, without regard to color, race or religion.

Nigeria must, finally, say to the world: Africa is for the Africans, for the black folk who for centuries have inhabited this continent. But we are a hospitable and friendly people, and we welcome to our shores all men of good will. We do not want again slave traders or thieves. We do not want whore-mongers nor gamblers. Those who come to us as friends, who wish to live beside us as equals, sharing our poverty and our conditions of life will be welcomed. Others will be sent home.

38-11-159

We wish to judge the white folk who have come to Africa with fairness. The British have enslaved and exploited us in the past; but, also, they have given us education and advice. In the future we will treat them as they deserve, but, not, necessarily, as they demand. One matter we must consider, delicate as it is: how long can Nigeria permit her citizens to receive rewards and titles from Great Britain? True it is that these honors may be bestowed fairly and with sound judgment; but often they may be given for political purposes and to influence our policy. This is a matter gravely to be considered.

Americans have sent us missionaries, who have done us both good and evil. We do not want missionaries who thoughtlessly antagonize our religion and try, without consultation, to change our ancient customs; we would be glad to learn the thrift and skill of America insofar as the United States does not make color prejudice a central part of its policy.

We know that the French have done much for Africa; but that, also, there are things that they have not done, and evils to which they cling. So far as France frees her colonies, and stands by her fine ideal of liberty, equality and brotherhood, people from France are welcome to Nigeria.

We see in the Soviet Union and its allied states friends and helpers for peoples who have suffered as we have suffered from the oppression of their rulers. We hail the emancipation and struggles of their peoples. In China and India we recognize our colored brethen: peoples who have suffered from color caste in the past, and who, since, have gained freedom and independence.

Hail Peace and Plenty, for the World and for Africa.

38-11-160

A PATH FOR NIGERIA

1961
Draft fragments

A PATH FOR NIGERIA

by W. E. B. Du BOIS, Ph.D. (Harvard), LL.D. (Fisk) Hist. Sci. D. (Charles) / Prague Hist. Sci.D. (Moscow), Hist. Sci. D. (Humboldt, Berlin), International Lenin Peace Prize, 1959, Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, Honorary Member of Hungarian Academy of Sciences; Associate Member, German Academy of Sciences, Berlin

02-2-04

ABOUT MYSELF

My mother's great-grandfather was born in West Africa, kidnapped as a boy and sold by the Dutch into slavery in New York. As a young man he fought with the Americans in their revolution against the British and won his freedom. His grandchildren became small landholders in western Massachusetts and the daughter of one of them, Othello, married the descendant of a French Huguenot who had migrated from Flanders to New York and thence his descendant, Dr. James Du Bois, settled in the Bahamas, where he had two mulatto sons, Alexander and John. Alexander was brought to the United States and his son Alfred married my mother Mary Burghardt.

MY EDUCATION

I went to primary and secondary schools in my home town, Great Barrington, then to a college for freed Negroes, Fisk University, in Nashville, Tennessee; then to Harvard College in Massachusetts where I staid two years and two more years in the University graduate school receiving my A.B. (CUM LAUDE), A.M., and Ph.D. Then for two years I attended the Friedrich Wilhelm(now Humboldt) University at Berlin, Germany.

MY WORK AND TRAVEL

I began my work as a teacher in the United States in 1894, instructing in history and sociology until 1910. From 1910 to 1934, I became a lecturer and editor of a monthly magazine advocating full citizenship rights for Americans of Negro descent.

In 1934 I returned to teaching and research. I travelled widely, visiting all states of the United States and making sixteen trips to Europe, Africa and Asia and once circumnavigating the globe. Also I wrote fifteen books and many articles. Especially I became interested in Africa, the land of my fathers. I attended a Pan-African Conference in London in 1900 and acted as secretary. Also I planned an Encyclopaedia Africana and got distinguished promises of assistance. However, I was never able to raise the funds to actually realize the project.

During the armistice which followed the First World War, I called the First Pan-African Congress, in Paris, 1919. In 1921 I assembled a Second Pan-African Congress meeting in London, Paris and Brussells in 1921 and largely attended. A Third Congress was held in London and Lisbon in 1923; a Fourth in New York in 1927, and a Fifth in Manchester, England, in 1945. The All-African Conference which met in Accra in 1958 was, in fact, the Sixth Pan-African Congress. Many other meetings and organizations followed the lead of these congresses and got inspiration from them, like the Congress of West Africa in 1920, and the various African organizations of South and East Africa.

40-2-23

MY VISITS
TO AFRICA

In 1923, I visited Liberia as Special Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, bringing a message from President Coolidge to President King. In 1958, I visited Ghana when Dr. Nkwami Nkruma became Prime Minister and President of independent Ghana. I attended the opening of parliament and inauguration of the President; I visited the cities and ports and paid my respects to the Asantehene of Ashanti at Kumasi. In 1960, I visited Nigeria when Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe became the first native governor of this nation. I visited Lagos, Ibadan and Onitsa, where I sailed the Niger; Ibadan [redacted] I visited the University College. [redacted] I had an interview with the Governor and suggested sending him a memorandum of advice to Nigeria, based on my recent visits to England, France, Germany, Italy, the Soviet Union and its allied states, China, and my long residence and study in the United States. This is

the pamphlet

For this I have already consulted Dr. Dike of the Nigerian University College at Ibadan. He is, perhaps, the best known African scholar in African history. He and his scholars have given cheerful promise of cooperation. Other African Universities and Colleges have promised cooperation. But scientific truth is our aim and not mere racial propaganda; when, then, no African scholars are found who measure up to modern scientific standards, we shall draw no color line, and shall seek the best scholar, without regard to color, race or religion.

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The treatment of religion -- of all religion, whether it be that which you believe, or that which you deem false, is ever a delicate and holy task. From dawn of consciousness all men are trained to believe in what their group and their age calls Truth. It may be wrong, in part, but it is believed by hundreds or millions. That belief must be treated with respect. Carefully, thoughtfully, must the real truth be taught, and this task in Nigeria must be paramount. The good of religions, not alone their mistakes, must be taught. Conference and understanding must be sought. Cooperation must be paramount. Witchcraft must not be derided. It is ancient as the hills; it holds stores of wisdom; it is the source of literature and art; indeed, it gave birth to science and still has much to teach. Meantime, the object of religion is to induce men to act right so that none will hurt another, and all can find happiness.

What is happiness? It is primarily the gratification of the senses: seeing, hearing, touch, taste, smell. But here, manifestly, this is true: moderation must be the rule; temperance; you cannot see everything on earth; you cannot hear all the music of the spheres; you cannot feel every pleasure at once. So, the wise man eats moderately, drinks sparingly, does not go on sprees. Especially, man must never seek happiness at the cost of pain and unhappiness to others. In a land like Nigeria, so long deprived of ordinary decencies, much more of happiness can be had, than is usual today. Many are apt to think that the

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United States, to Scandinavia, and Germany; also to the Soviet Union and its allies, and, especially, to China, because the Yellow Race has suffered even more than the Black Race from the cruelty and exploitation of the white race. Use education to rebind and heal the rifts of mankind, and never forget that trade and commerce can be aids to human progress.

THE AFRICAN WOMAN

Africans are born traders. From the birth of Time, the African market has set patterns for the world from the Nile to the Niger, from the Senegal to the Congo, from the Zambesi to the sea. The freedom of women began in the African market-place, and still can be seen on the streets of Cairo, Accra, Lagos, Ibadan and Leopoldville.

Guard your women. The white man has for two centuries been the threat of Negro womanhood. White men have raped and degraded colored women from Casablanca to Capetown, from Thailand to Calcutta. Americans are planning to send scouts to West Africa. Some will be honest friends, hoping to learn and help. Most will be curiosity-seekers. Teach them if you can. But many will be men seeking colored concubines; put these in jail or deport them. Show them no mercy.

Against women African traders, and their market-place, is rising a terrible menace in the form of the European corporations: unilevers of Britain, with a capital of a million dollars and an annual income of three hundred millions of dollars; other giant corporations of Belgium, France, and Switzerland, with the best and highest paid skill of the world, backed by the airplanes, armies and navies of most of the world's most powerful nations. This duel goes on today along the streets of every African town. The mass of retail traders, selling

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40A.2.30

This legal basis of work and wage is laid by lawyers. Lawyers make the law in legislatures; interpret it as judges, and guide individuals, and, especially, corporations, in methods of breaking it. Physicians heal, preachers, guide, engineers calculate; but by growing agreement and common understanding, lawyers not only make the law, but break it; not only defend the innocent, but set the guilty free; and this is regarded as right and justifiable.

THE FUNCTION OF LAWYERS

Of course, other professions are not all unselfish; physicians often forget their duty to heal disease and prevent disease and act like trade unions to prevent competition, raise fees and monopolise medicine. Civil servants often try to make money rather than carry on the business of the State honestly; preachers seek place and salary rather than moral conduct. In fact, human beings are not naturally good but are tempted to be selfish and forgetful of their neighbors. Especially since this awful era of world war, many have to come to think that the world belongs to the smart and that murder, gambling and theft are the quickest way to success. The history of mankind proves that this is not true. That is the reason that all peoples have adopted religions to teach morals and emphasise the public value of right conduct.

How now shall Nigeria protect her retail trade and curb corporations, native and foreign, of Britain, France, Switzerland and America, already doing large business within her borders, and restrain her own bourgeoisie from becoming junior partners in this foreign enterprise? Remeber that for the most part, these corporations are too large, powerful and widespread for Nigerians to think of gaining control of them. They are today a sort of super-government of the World. The utmost that now can be envisaged is that a few black employees may share their profits and have some weak voice in policy. Meantime, that policy will gradually kill the African markets and the host of small women traders, reducing them to poverty and unemployment. The State of Nigeria has, of course, the power to eject these corporations and confiscate their local capital. But that would be a fatal mistake at present. These corporations now perform a great function. They funnell world trade to Nigeria on a scale that no Nigerian enter-

CORPORATIONS

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prise is able to do. They have the power to hurt Nigeria in many ways: not only in trade and credit, but also in acquiring skill and technique; in finding foreign markets for African goods; in getting credit and setting fair prices.

Nevertheless, they are not all-powerful. The small retailers can undersell them unless they keep their prices reasonable and treat their black customers courteously. Also, Nigeria has much power. She can tax all corporations doing business within her borders on their property and privileges. In most western nations, corporations escape taxation by various devices, but especially because the people do not know the income of, or privileges enjoyed by, corporations. In the United States a teacher may pay 40 percent of his income in taxes, while the Standard Oil Company escapes with payment of one percent. Nigeria, tax your corporations, fairly but fully! Also, control your retail traders; enforce sanitary rules of manufacture and display; require steadily higher education of those buying and selling; allow no cheating nor deception. For both corporations and individuals enforce fair prices. In turn, give both the market-place and the sidewalk vendor, clean and accessible places for trade. Do not clutter the sidewalks, or fill the streets with waste and refuse. In short, so lift the standards of the street vendors, and so curb the profit and privileges of the corporations that they gradually approach substantial equality of opportunity to serve the folk.

And their lies the great truth which this people must seek: Service, not gain; not the spread of profit, but the increase of content and happiness. This is not utopian; it is not impossible. For five centuries Europe has taught the world that only the few can be rich, educated and live decently; and that this can happen only at the expense of keeping most people poor, ignorant and sick. Prophets and sages, working people, and poets, today are pointing out a better way: if all work hard at that which they can do best; if materials, goods and services are given all men, not in proportion to what they can take, but in proportion to what they need to make them healthy persons,

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40A.2.10

appetite, but promiscuity defeats its aim of pleasure and healthy children. While women are designed to bear children, they cannot in civilised life be regarded as simply breed mares or toys for the pleasure of men. They have as much right to careers as men, and, after the normal child-bearing age, they should join in the world's work; they should even have the right if it suits their health or ambition, to surrender motherhood for work they can do better. In fine, from the year of about sixteen to twenty-six, the natural sex appetite is strong and should be indulged, legally and normally. These years are best for parenthood and make possible a normal companionship of children and parents which can build the normal family. Marriage should make public this procreation of children. But the marriage should be made terminable at will of either partner when it ceases to be satisfactory, provided the rights of husband, wife, and children, are fully assured. All this can be feasible by law and custom, if treated by law and decency and not hidden in secrecy, cheating and false shame.

One problem has resulted in paradox in modern civilisation. That is what is called "menial service". It is arising in Nigeria. What shall be the status and wage of those who do the intimate services which every man requires more or less from infancy through age: the care of infants, the bathing of bodies, the cooking and serving of food, the washing of clothes, the cleaning of living quarters, attending the sick, adorning the body, entertaining guest, and the like matters. These services are, on the one hand, matters of love and trained knowledge; on the other, the removal of dirt, manure, they are often regarded as the lowest work of mankind, fit only for slaves, or the lowest and worst treated of workers. Yet both these things they cannot be. What is holier and dirtier than a mother's care? What is more despised than menial service? This paradox must be reconciled. Nigerians of wealth and position are hiring many servants and paying them low wage. Nigerians of education and ambition refuse to become

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A PATH FOR NIGERIA

by W. E. B. Du BOIS, Ph.D. (Harvard), LL.D. (Fisk) Hist. Sci. D. (Charles) / Prague Hist. Sci.D. (Moscow), Hist. Sci. D. (Humboldt, Berlin), International Lenin Peace Prize, 1959, Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences, Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Honorary member of Hungarian Academy of Sciences; Associate Member, German Academy of Sciences, Berlin

ABOUT MYSELF

My mother's great-grandfather was born in West Africa, kidnapped as a boy and sold by the Dutch into slavery in New York. As a young man he fought with the Americans in their revolution against the British and won his freedom. His grandchildren became small landholders in western Massachusetts and the daughter of one of them, Othello, married the descendant of a French Huguenot who had migrated from Flanders to New York and thence his descendant, Dr. James Du Bois, settled in the Bahamas, where he had two mulatto sons, Alexander and John. Alexander was brought to the United States and his son Alfred married my mother Mary Burghardt.

MY EDUCATION

I went to primary and secondary schools in my home town, Great Harrington, then to a college for freed Negroes, Fisk University, in Nashville, Tennessee; then to Harvard College in Massachusetts where I staid two years and two more years in the University graduate school receiving my A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. Then for two years I attended the Friedrich Wilhelm(now Humboldt) University at Berlin, Germany.

MY WORK AND TRAVEL

I began my work as a teacher in the United States in 1894, instructing in history and sociology until 1910. From 1910 to 1934, I became a lecturer and editor of a monthly magazine advocating full citizenship rights for Americans of Negro descent.

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homes and the right to vote and hold office even when the natives were disfranchised and housed in ghettoes. As the native peoples realized their plight; and as by efforts of missionaries some began to acquire education, there arose a demand for reform, which today in every part of Africa is resulting in colonial freedom.

FREE
NIGERIA

When now a nation like Nigeria becomes "free" just what does that mean? Under the [redacted] laws of nature; with universal need for food, clothes and shelter, there can manifestly be no complete freedom for man anywhere nor at any time. Men must always plant and reap; search and dig and carry; spin and weave; cook, build and store; they must plan marriage, home and children. They must provide government: that is for order, cooperation and respect for others, so that all may live a good life and none be completely subordinate to the will of a few. Moreover, above and apart from this work to sustain life, there must remain leisure to make life worth living: for rest and play; for dance and song; for creative activity and any pursuit or game that men may choose and which does not hurt or kill them, nor limit nor prevent similar activities among others.

From primitive times the work of a tribe or nation will include foreign trade and that will call for increasing activity and thought as men come into contact with men. No people can live to themselves. Ever by accident or design peoples meet with each other, and while there are times when such contact means trouble and war, in the long run it is the contact of strange folk with others that leads to civilization; that brings new goods and methods; new thoughts and ideals. Thus foreign trade has ever been the beginning of progress. The west Coast early traded gold for salt with its northern neighbors. Spice for metals followed, and laborers for tools. This last exchange between Portuguese and Africans led to difficulties, at first unnoticed, but in the end of world wide significance. Intertribal wars were common in the early centuries. Quarrels over hunting grounds, over succession to power, over trade. They

40A.2.16

sold the idea of reaching the east more quickly by sailing west. On the way the Italian, Columbus, and his black pilot and later whaler helpers discovered the West Indies. Europeans flocked there to find gold and jewels, but found only fertile soil, which, if cultivated, would yield rich crops. European laborers were sent overseas by bargain, force and fraud; then they obtained African slaves were bought from the Spanish and then the Dutch and French. The British built a vast world trade on African slaves and the Americans found profitable use for them in raising tobacco which Europe bought eagerly. Black slaves raised tobacco and Cotton in the Southern United States; white labor distilled rum and began to use Sugar in the West Indies, and sold it in Africa for slaves; they sold the slaves in the West Indies for sugar and took the sugar to the northern United States to make rum. Everybody was prosperous. Sugar began to be cheap in Europe, tobacco began to make Virginians rich, and Cotton began to make only the black slaves writhed. However, some Europeans began to see in America a place where free land would make all everybody well-to-do, able to move freely, do what they wanted to and believe what they thought was true. Here real democracy could grow and religious freedom. But greed interfered. American traders grew rich on their commerce. Monopoly of the colonial trade made Britain the greatest empire of the world and the British refused to limit their colonies to trade with Britain alone. The Americans, therefore, stopped the most profitable British monopoly, the African slave trade. Britain and America flew to war, both using black slaves as soldiers. France allied with the real Indians, helped America and America won. A new democracy was formed, founded on the dictum that "all men are created equal". But America hesitated; they refused to stop the African slave trade immediately because they had lost much slave labor in the war. Britain, however, stopped the trade which had ceased to pay because of revolt of slaves in the West Indies and America condemns followed, but did not enforce her laws and the illicit slave trade continued. The slave system became so powerful that cotton began to furnish the world with cheap clothing. The Northern United States, France and Britain competed and the slave South sought the highest price for its product. The North sought to control the cotton crop by tariff restrictions on imports and also by encouraging the white laborers who feared the competition of slave labor. To these opposition was added the moral repulsion of

40-2-12

Or Let the Product Raise Them Completely; and

This which seems to many like unselfish help, may prove veritable disast to Africa. Some of these young people may be honestly desirous to help But most of them have been trained from childgood to despise Negroes and to regard them as inferiors. Most of them will be briefed by the State department or by leaders of industry to regard Socialism as a crime and to spread hate and distrust of the Soviet Union and contempt for China. Theyh will betold that a third world war is inevitable and that xxxxri we xxx must prepare for it at any cost, since as Eisenhauer once said Americans "can lick the world". Also there will be among these American s scouts a number who will come to Africa to carouse, gamble and whore and leave their bastards in Nigeria as Americans did in Germany, Japan the Phillipines and Korea.. Watch these scouts and treat them as they d deserve.

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Such of them as can and as soon as they can to to the towns where they seek work of various kinds, acting as servants or helpers, buying and selling of goods, or even in some cases subsisting by begging, or crime. The reason for this neglect and oppression of the peasant in the past has usually been War and war has generally been started by hunger or natural catastrpphe. War led to conquest and the conquered laborers became slaves and did the lowest, hardest work. Work then, especially farming with its digging, carrying and hard toil became despised. Then peasants were given little education, and the city lived on the low-paid toil of the country.

40-2-14

This has been true in Asia, Europe and Africa, and became true in America, both in ancient and modern times. But today in Nigeria it need not continue to be. The rural districts with their trees, vines and flowers; their fruits and orchards; with their winds and flowing waters, their animals, birds and insects, is naturally beautiful and healthy; here is sky and space and is plenty to eat and wear, and shelter, and food may be raised. All that is needed is intelligent workers, laboring under scientific guidance with the right tools and practices as good neighbors. Schools, information by radio and television can be furnished, and recreation for young and old be made available. In neighboring and easily accessible towns, factories can be built where raw materials can be turned into marketable goods with native power for massed and skilled labor; where markets can be laid out and schools can flourish, and universities can be set up. Families can be formed, children raised in town and country, artists can work, with space and beauty all around, with neighborly cooperation and good cheer. The problem of transport can be solved on simple lines at low cost.

This will call for skill and technique; it will require machines and tools unknown to most Nigerians and even unheard of by their thaters: engines of all kinds to transmit and transform power from water and steam, to make electricity out of heat, and light and heat out of electricity. Such machines and techniques have been developed by Europeans and Americans since 1500

production was limited; and owned by the family and clan, not by individuals. The same was true in Europe until suddenly in the Sixteenth century, European traders got hold of fabulous treasure from two sources: and it fell into private hands: Europeans found vast wealth by plundering India, and by stealing peasants in West Africa and enslaving them in America. Americans raised tobacco, sugar and cotton and sold them over all the earth. The world was transformed. Incidental tribal wars of Africa became profitable slave raids which robbed the continent of 100,000,000 human beings, distorted their lives and customs, severely uprooted their political structure, their art, and clouded their ideals. Conquest by Europe overthrew the civilization of Asia: Europe began to gain rule over most of the world, by stealing gold and silver of usurers, slave labor, and selling the goods which slaves made, for profits so huge as to enable it to manufacture goods for sale, and trade these goods for the raw materials of the wole world. The skill of American and European labor increased the ability to manufacture and science and invention gave miraculous power to this new technique.

40-2-15

From 1800 Europe ruled the world. Africa and Asia and the islands of the Seven Seas bowed or were bent before it. It even partially deceived itself and under the spell of a new religion borrowed from Asia, justified theft and slavery, conquest and force as the one way in which superior White folk, could lead colored folk to civilization, if indeed they could be led. But the world did not stand still. The Christian church split in disagreement, the black slaves in the West Indies arose in continuous and increasing revolt, and the white peasants of Europe sought freedom from serfdom in the growing towns where the new capitalists hired them as servants, laborers, artisans and soldiers. The ~~artisans~~ soldiers in turn fought wars to gain more capital for the town dwellers.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

America is a curious tale of selfish greed and lofty hope. Spain, seeing in the fifteenth Century how much gold and other treasure Portugal, Holland, Britain, and France were making in Africa and Asia by ~~way of~~ sailing south on the Atlantic Ocean; and what riches Italy had garnered ~~in~~ from Asia by traversing the Mediterranean, was

sold the idea of reaching the east quickly by sailing west. On the way the Italian, Columbus, and his black pilot discovered the West Indies. Europeans flocked there to find gold and jewels, but found only fertile soil, which, if cultivated, would yield rich crops. European laborers were sent overseas by bargain, force and fraud; then they obtained African slaves from the Spanish and then the Dutch and French. The British built a vast world trade on African slaves and the Americans found profitable use for them in raising tobacco which Europe bought eagerly. ~~The Black~~ slaves raised tobacco in the Southern United States; white labor distilled rum in the northern states and sold it in Africa for slaves; they sold the slaves in the West Indies for sugar and took the sugar to the northern United States to make rum. Everybody was prosperous. Sugar began to be cheap in Europe, tobacco began to make Virginians rich, and only the black slaves writhed. Yet Some Europeans began to see in America a place where free land would make everybody well-to-do, able to move freely, do what he wanted to and believe what he thought was true. Here real democracy could grow and religious freedom. But greed interfered. American traders grew rich on their commerce. Monopoly of the colonial trade would make Britain the greatest empire of the world and the British tried to limit their colonies to trade with Britain alone. The Americans, therefore, stopped the most profitable British monopoly, the African slave trade. Britain and America flew to war, both using slaves as soldiers. France allied with ~~all India~~ red Indians, helped America and America won. A new democracy was formed, founded on the dictum that "all men are equal". But America hesitated: they refused to stop the African slave trade immediately because they had lost much slave labor in the war. Britain, however, now stopped the trade which had ceased to pay because of revolt of slaves in the West Indies; and America followed, but did not enforce her laws and the illicit slave trade continued. The slave system became so powerful that cotton began to furnish the world with cheap clothing. The Northern United States, France and Britain competed and the slave South sought the highest price for its product. The North sought to control the cotton crop by tariff restrictions on imports and also by encouraging the white laborers who feared the competition of slave labor. To this opposition was added the moral repulsion of

40-2-16

the slave system which arose from the protest of Free Negroes. When this alliance succeeded in restricting the further spread of slave territory in the United States, the South tried to secede from the Union and form a slave empire in the West Indies and South America. The North tried to hold them in the Union by force, but in order to accomplish this they had to seek the aid of Negro slaves and promise them freedom in return. Thus the Civil War (with the help of 500,000 black soldiers and laborers) became a war which abolished Negro slavery in the United States.

40-2-17

COLONIAL IMPERIALISM

Britain, unable to make further profit out of the slave trade, gradually adopted Colonial Imperialism -- that is, instead of transporting labor from Africa to America, she sought to seize control of territory and people in Africa and Asia, and, raising raw material there with cheap labor, carried it to Europe and processed it to valuable goods which sold at huge profit. European workers increased their demand for wages and rights; after organizing trade unions the workers won, but only by helping capital to gain and hold more colonial territory. Thus Britain gained control of countries like Nigeria. The British appeared first as traders. Then helped by natives like Samuel ~~Bishop~~ Crowther, they explored more land and materials; finally they attempted political control, but met resistance from native rulers. They tried methods learned in Asia. Bringing in highwaymen and freebooters like Frederick Lugard and Chinese Gordan, they gained new colonial territory for the empire. Thus in Uganda, Lugard used his machine guns on Catholics, Protestants and Mohammedans fighting to conquer each other and subdue the native tribes. At last Lugard made Uganda a part of the British Empire. Then although still legally an outlaw he came to Nigeria and showed the British how to annex Nigeria by his "indirect rule": that is, by bribing, cajoling and befriending rulers, and paying the salaries of chiefs until they acknowledged Britain as overlord, not by conquest, but by consent.

However, the Nigerians were not content. Increasingly they protested against the loss of their ancient liberties. Many used their ancient lore and customs, some secured education. The grandson of Samuel Crowther, who had become the first black Anglican Bishop in West Africa, secured a place in the civil service and through his newspaper, Lemander

Macauley started the battle for freedom. He was later joined by a young Nigerian student, Nnamdi Azikiwe, now Governor General of Independent Nigeria, who for 25 years fought a desperate battle for freedom until freedom came, November 1, 1960.

I witnessed with pride and hope the inauguration of the first black Governor-General and Commander-In-Chief of a Dominion of the British Commonwealth of nations. I hail Nigeria as the largest black nation of the world and as a worthy successor of the African imperial rule which began with the Songhay seven hundred years after Christ and became under Mohammed Askia, in the sixteenth century, an empire as large as all Europe today and as cultured as the Europe of that day, with its great University of Sankore and with "peace and plenty for all."

Then succeeded the rule of the Hausa with their seven industrial cities led by Kano and accompanied in development to the East by the kings of Kanem and the lords of Bornu. Westward then marched the Fulani, and there rolled up from the Gulf of Guinea, the Yoruba, the Ibo and the people of Benin. With these came industry, art and architecture which has taught the whole modern world. But all this marvelous development was distorted and overthrown by the British slave trade to America and followed in the nineteenth century by colonial imperialism which reduced this part of Africa to subjection to capitalist West Europe and North America.

What does independence and freedom mean? Nigeria, an agricultural country,
THE PROBLEM
OF CAPITAL feeding, clothing and sheltering itself by the toil of its farmers, will need manufactures and skilled industries run by modern technical and scientific methods. For this Nigeria will need capital. All nations need capital. Capital accumulation is a great modern idea. This means simply that a nation must produce more than enough for its immediate needs so as to use the surplus for better and increased production in the future. How now can apital best be raised? The simplest way is that a worker refrains from consuming all he makes and saves the surplus. He thus deserves a profit

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40-2-19

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But the tide has turned from the effort of a British adventurer raised to the perrage governing as Lord Lugard who tried to make Africa subdue itself under indirect rule. At last through the efforts of Nmandi Azikiwe, Kwame Nkrumah and others, independence and self-rule are being restored and this day marks a great step in this direction.

What does independence and freedom mean? Nigeria, an agricultural country, feeding, clothing and sheltering itself by the toil of its ~~educated~~ farmers, will need manufactures and skilled industries run by modern technical and scientific methods.

[redacted]

[The Problem of Capital]

40-2-22

I wrote three books on Africa: in 1915 a book called "The Negro" (Home University Library, No. 91) "Black Folk, Then and Now" 1930; "The World and Africa " 1946.

In 1934 I returned to teaching and research. I travelled widely, visiting all states of the United States and making sixteen trips to Europe, Africa and Asia and once circumnavigating the globe. Also I wrote fifteen books and many articles. Especially I became interested in Africa, the land of my fathers. I attended a Pan-African Conference in London in 1900 and acted as secretary. Also I planned an Encyclopaedia Africana and got distinguished promises of assistance. However, I was never able to raise the funds to actually realize the project.

During the armistice which followed, I called the First Pan-African Congress, in Paris, 1919. In 1921 I assembled a Second Pan-African Congress meeting in London, Paris and Brussells in 1921 and largely attended. A Third Congress was held in London and Lisbon in 1923; a Fourth in New York in 1927, and a Fifth in Manchester, England, in 1945. The All-African Conference which met in Accra in 1958 was, in fact, the Sixth Pan-African Congress. Many other meetings and organizations followed the lead of these congresses and got inspiration from them, like the Congress of West Africa in 1920, and the various African organizations of South and East Africa.

42-2-04

MY VISITS
TO AFRICA

In 1923, I visited Liberia as Special Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, bringing a message from President Coolidge to President King. In 1958, I visited Ghana when Dr. Nkwami Nkruma became Prime Minister and President of independent Ghana. I attended the opening of parliament and inauguration of the President; I visited the cities and ports and paid my respects to the Asantehene of Ashanti at Kumasi. In 1960, I visited Nigeria when Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe became the first native governor of this nation. I visited Lagos, Ibadan, Onitsa, where I sailed the Niger; Ibadan where I visited the University College. On that occasion I had an interview with the Governor and suggested sending him a memorandum of advice to Nigeria, based on my recent visits to England, France, Germany, Italy, the Soviet Union and its allied states, China, and my long residence and study in the United States. This is

AFRICAN HISTORY

What now was this Africa, which came into fatal contact with the European world in the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? Most men have forgotten the role of Africa from the beginning of time. Because of the slave trade they have come to despise black Africa and to say that Africa had no history. They excused African slavery by pretending that its purpose was conversion to Christianity. Then when African slavery became the most prosperous industry on earth, Europeans claimed that Negroes were naturally inferior and their slavery to whites their natural condition. But now, at last, the history of Africa is beginning to be made known. Bushmen and Pygmies seem to be the modern survivors of the first African peoples. About 5,000 years before Christ, Negroes appeared, pushing up from the Great Lakes regions, and coming down the Nile, founded Egypt. They mingled with Asiatic peoples, and this blend of races moved across North Africa, then a fertile region with no Sahara. Some of them went southwest through Central Africa and others marched northwest "toward the setting sun". They began to found cultures and states. Ghana appears about 300 years after Christ. It grew for 5 centuries into a notable dominion. Then the new Mohammedan religion spread across North Africa and into Spain, converting thousands of Negroes. There Arabs and Africans built a notable culture in Spain, influencing the European Renaissance and attacking Europe at Tours in 732. Then they spread slowly southward and began to expand into imperial rule. Converted Negroes, known as Mandingoes

Under the Mandingoes the great empire of Malle,(Melle, the Mellestine role), with the cities of Timbucktu and Djenna(Guinea) The Mellestines reached its zenith under the Sultan Kankan Musa -- When pilgrimage to Mecca took place in 1324, and in his caravan were 60,000 persons and five million dollars worth of gold dust: the peoples of the East still talk of this magnificent journey -- and his state in the 14th century was at one of the greatest states of the world.

40-2-25

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What now was this Africa, which came into fatal contact with the European world in the fifteenth, ~~sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth~~ and following centuries? Most men have forgotten the role of Africa from the beginning of time. Because of the slave trade they have come to despise black Africa and to say that Africa has no history. They excused African slavery by pretending that its purpose was conversion of Africans to Christianity. Then when African slavery became the most prosperous industry on earth, Europeans claimed that Negroes were naturally inferior and their slavery to whites their natural condition. But now, at last, the history of Africa is beginning to be made known. Bushmen and Pygmies seem to be the modern survivors of the first African peoples. About 5,000 years before Christ, Negroes appeared, pushing up from the Great Lakes regions, and coming down the Nile, founded Egypt. They mingled with Asiatic peoples, and this blend of races moved across North Africa, then a fertile region with no Sahara. Some of them went southwest through the Congo Valley and others marched northwest "toward the setting sun". They began to found cultures and states. Ghana appears about 500 years after Christ. It grew for 5 centuries into a notable dominion. Then the new Mohammedan religion spread from Arabia across North Africa and into Spain, converting thousands of Negroes. There Arabs and Africans built a notable culture in Spain, influencing the European Renaissance and attacking Europe at Tours in 732. Then they also spread slowly southward and began to expand into imperial rule.

Under the black Mandingoes the great empire of Malle, (Melle, the Mellestines), with the cities of Timbuktu and Djenna (Guinea), arose. The Mellestines reached its zenith under the Sultan Kankan Musa. The pilgrimage of Kankan Musa to Mecca took place in 1324 and in his caravan were 60,000 persons and five million dollars worth of gold dust; the peoples of the East still talk of this magnificent journey — and his state in the 14th century and was at that time one of the greatest states of the world.

This was the period when Negro slavery became intolerable

92-2-04

We come now to the territory long known as Nigeria and its extensions north and eastward. Here developed one of the most interesting phases of

ANCIENT NIGERIA

modern history which has been almost forgotten widely suppressed. Here developed ~~the Songhay~~, the Ashanti, and the people of Dahomey and Benin. Here were the Mandingoes, the Yorubas, the Mossi, Nube and Borgu, and Kanem. Here, along the Gulf of Guinea, was a civilization that reached back 5,000 years before Christ. Its peoples may have come from the East or possibly, from out of the West and the fabulous Atlantis. The Yoruba-Benin-Dahomey appeared with remarkable art and industry, abreast, in many respects, with the modern world. The African slave trade, centered in Guinea and devastated the Coast morally, socially, and physically. European gin and firearms were traded for human beings from the 15th to the 19th centuries. On the other hand, further north, the Songhay Empire, centering at the great bend of the Niger lasted a thousand years from 700 ~~A.D.~~. The greatest ruler was Mohammed Abou Beku known as Mohammed Askia. He controlled an empire ~~2,000 miles long and 1,000 miles wide. A territory~~ as large as all of europe. "He was obeyed with as much docility in the farthest limits of his empire as he was in his own palace, and there reigned everywhere great plenty and absolute peace." The University of Sankore' became a center of learning for the Mediterranean folk. Askia the Great reigned for 36 years. His successors were overthrown by the Moors who defeated the Songhay power at the Battle of Tenkaibibou in 1591. After the Songhay rule the Hausa appeared with ~~its~~ their seven cities of which Kano was the greatest and Katsena the most famous. Then came the kings of Kanem and ~~the~~ lords of Bornu, whose power extended down through the valley of the Congo. A new people, the Fula, entered Nigeria in the 19th century and in time became masters of the Central Sudan.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

At the very time that the Sudan was spreading its mighty empires; which had pushed the Bantu on their thousand year march south; and as the artisans of Atlantis came pressing east, Europe was discovering the capitalistic system. Capital is wealth saved; not consumed but used to make more wealth for future consumption. Africans saved and used wealth for capital, but on a small scale, since

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→ The Bantu

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THE BANTU

The spread of the mighty empires in the Sudan brought them into contact with the peoples of West Africa; with the people who followe the Nok culture, can be traced back to 3500 years before Christ; to the Yoruba and Beni and the peoples of Ife, the Mossi and Nupe. It is not yet possible to separate these peoples or to say whence came the first use of iron which appeared in the great culture of Meroe, and ruled the world from five hundred years before Christ until Kush fell 200 A.D.

At any rate, a horde of West African peoples, traders and artisans moved east against Sudanese imperialism, disrupted north Africa and drove masses of Africans south. These folk different in origin and culture started on a pilgrimage which lasted z thousand years and five thousand miles until they saw the southern seas from the Cape of Evil Omen called Good Hope. On their journey these people acquired a common tongue the singularly beautiful Bantu. They established centers of cultures and overthrew or overthrew older states. They founded, overthrew cities like Zymbabwe and Mapungubwe; and they overthrew or founded great states like the Monopotapa; they sent a king of Congo to Portugal for education; . They gave birth to Chaka the military genius and they killed the French prince imperial. Their history is yet to be written

40-2-29

the pamphlet.

40-2-30

FOOD, CLOTHES
AND SHELTER

Normally, the first duty of a people is to feed, clothe and shelter themselves. Nigeria is a well-situated state, with rich soil, great rivers, lakes and forests, a wealth of materials, vegetable and mineral and a generous seaboard. It has a large but not crowded population which it can support from its own soil, with its own sowing, and reaping; spinning and weaving; planning and building. Its people are not homogeneous, but not too different to preclude working together as one unified state with reconcilable aims and ideals.

Wilhelm (now Humboldt) University at Berlin, Germany.

MY WORK
AND TRAVEL

I began my work as a teacher in the United States in 1894, instructing in history and sociology until 1910. From 1910 to 1934, I became a founder and official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and editor of its monthly magazine advocating full citizenship rights for Americans of Negro descent.

In 1934 I returned to teaching and research. I travelled widely, visiting all states of the United States and making sixteen trips to Europe, Africa, and Asia, and once circumnavigating the globe. Also, I wrote fifteen books and many articles. Especially, I became interested in Africa, the land of my fathers. I wrote three books on Africa: In 1915 a book called "The Negro" (Home University Library, No. 91), "Black Folk, Then and Now", 1930; "The World and Africa", 1946. Also, I planned an Encyclopaedia Africana and got distinguished promises of assistance. However, I was never able to raise the funds actually to realize the project.

40-2-21

During the armistice which followed the First World War, I called the First Pan-African Congress, in Paris, 1919. In 1921 I assembled a Second Pan-African Congress meeting in London, Paris and Brussells in 1921 and largely attended. A Third Congress was held in London and Lisbon in 1923; a Fourth in New York in 1927, and a Fifth in Manchester, England, in 1945. The All-African Conference which met in Accra in 1958 was, in fact, the Sixth Pan-African Congress. Many other meetings and organizations followed the lead of these congresses and got inspiration from them, like the Congress of West Africa in 1920, and the various African organizations of South and East Africa.

40-3-8

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THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

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40-3-10

had pushed the Bantu on their thousand-year march south; and as the artisans of Atlantis came pressing east, Europe was developing the capitalistic system. Capital is wealth saved; not consumed, but used to make more wealth for future consumption. Africans saved and used wealth for capital, but on a small scale, since production was limited; and owned by the family and clan, not by individuals. The same was true in Europe until, suddenly, in the Sixteenth Century, European traders got hold of fabulous treasure from two sources: and its control fell into private hands. Europeans found vast wealth by plundering India, and by stealing peasants in West Africa and enslaving them in America. Americans raised tobacco, sugar and cotton, and sold them over all the earth. ~~Incidental~~ tribal wars of Africa ~~became profitable~~ leading to the Europe slave raids ~~which~~ robbed the continent of 100,000,000 human beings, distorted ~~their~~ Africa lives and customs, ~~utterly~~ uprooted ~~their~~ its political structure, ~~their~~ its art, and clouded ~~their~~ its ideals. The world was transformed. Conquest by Europe overthrew the civilization of Asia: Europe began to gain rule over most of the world, by stealing gold and silver, using slave labor, and selling the goods which slaves made for profits so huge as to enable it to manufacture goods and trade these goods for the raw materials of the whole world. The skill of American and European labor increased the ability to manufacture, and science and invention gave miraculous power to this new technique.

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40-3-13

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40-3-15

SOCIALISM

There are other folk in Nigeria, and increasingly in Europe and Asia, who say no, there is another answer. It has become customary in the 19th century in Europe and North America to build Progress on Poverty; to make a few cultured classes rich by letting them feed on a mass of the poor and ignorant workers. This is not necessary and was not done in the past. In primitive Nigeria, no member of a tribe was hungry so long as the tribe had food. There were no homeless widows, nor helpless orphans. The tribe and clan fed the hungry and protected the helpless. The clan saved capital and invested it. The profits naturally belonged, not to the individual who handled the transaction, but to the tribe which owned the wealth. The individual was paid for his work but for no more. To be sure, this system was not perfect. Tribes were broken up by wars and wars became slave raids which further disrupted clans. Clans and nations moved to avoid disaster or gain new land or power. Disrupted members of tribes took refuge in towns without tribal protection, and the ancient communal care failed often or disappeared. But it was an effective way of preventing poverty and spreading wisdom where and when it worked. Men remembered it, chiefs practiced it, and medicine men told about it. When now it is suggested that this common effort of the state be revived in some form, British and Americans scream "Socialism!" or "Communism!" but wise Nigerians are not frightened.

I have only to impress upon you that here there should be on your part little hesitancy. Socialism and Communism, under the teaching of Karl Marx and Lenin, are beginning to triumph all over the world; and you should not hesitate to study these doctrines, and the results of the reign of private capital, under Western Europe during the nineteenth century. Your logical development should stem directly from the communalism of your fathers, where capital or wealth used

40-3-16

Poland, East Germany, and Hungary, you will find allies and friends who will help you toward freedom and peace. These people are not as they are often painted, either fools or conspirators, but struggling and oppressed folk like you, who are striving for a decent life. You should visit them, and get to know them. Britain and Scandinavia accept a partial socialism, but refuse, as yet, to accept the aims and methods of Communism. That is their right. If the United States fears Communism, that is their business, if they do not bother us. If Cuba chooses Communism, it has the right so to choose. Whatever Nigeria accepts is not a name but a fact. Nigeria must prevent poverty; it must educate its children; it must heal its sick. Whatever path leads to these ends, Nigeria must follow, no matter what it is called. Nigerian students should study and travellers should visit and examine the way in which the nations of the West and East are settling the pressing problems of income and expense; of work and wage; of property, of crime; of education and employment. Deeds, not mere words, settle these problems, and it matters not a jot whether the system which proves effective is called Capitalism, Socialism, or Communism. Nigeria must adopt those measures which solve her problems and ignore that which suits others, but does not apply to her.

AMERICAN
NEGROES

In seeking these answers, the attitude and words of American Negroes greatly puzzle Nigerians today. They know that millions of black Africans for 400 years were stolen from their homes and enslaved in America when not murdered or drownded at sea. In America they suffered every cruelty and degradation, while digging from the soil stolen from the Red Indians, wealth which made Europe rich and powerful, and long masters of mankind. At length, these black slaves gained

40-3-17

United States, to Scandinavia, and Germany; also to the Soviet Union and its allies, and, especially, to China, because the Yellow Race has suffered even more than the Black Race from the cruelty and exploitation of the white race. Use education to rebind and heal the rifts of mankind, and never forget that trade and commerce can be aids to human progress.

THE AFRICAN
WOMAN

Africans are born traders. From the birth of Time, the African market has set patterns for the world from the Nile to the Niger, from the Senegal to the Congo, from the Zambesi to the sea. The freedom of women began in the African market-place, and still can be seen on the streets of Cairo, Accra, Lagos, Ibadan and Leopoldville.

Guard your women. The white man has for two centuries been the threat of Negro womanhood. White men have raped and degraded colored women from Casablanca to Capetown, from Thailand to Calcutta. Americans are planning to send scouts to ~~West~~ Africa. ~~Some will be honest friends, hoping to learn and help.~~

This which seems to many like unselfish help, may prove veritable disast~~to Africa.~~ Some of these young people may be honestly desirous to help! But most of them have been trained from childhood ~~to despise~~ Negroes and to regard them as inferiors. Most of them will ~~be briefed by the State department~~ or by leaders of industry to regard ~~Socialism~~ as a crime and to spread ~~hate and~~ distrust of the Soviet Union and contempt for China. They will ~~betold that a third world war is inevitable and that~~ we must prepare ~~for it at any cost, since~~ as Eisenhauer once said that Americans "can lick the world". Also there will be among these Americans a number who will come to Africa to carouse, gamble and whore and leave their bastards in Nigeria as Americans did in Germany, Japan the Phillipines and Korea. Watch these scouts and treat them as they deserve.

40-3-18

You are facing a desperately divided world, full of suspicion and hate. In this world, Americans especially assume that Negroes believe in them and will eagerly follow whereever they beckon. They believe that colored folk are quickly flattwered by their notice. They will therefor hasten to give Negroes advice. They will not go to Africa to learn, but only to teach. Among such visitors will be sent some Americans of African descent, who also will assume that they will be received gladly and will be able to teach Africans before they know them. Disabuse all these visitors. Disabuse their ignorance. Make them either learn or go home. After they learn what they must do before Africa receives them, then be willing to learn from them whatever they can teach

Against women African traders, and their market-place, is rising a terrible menace in the form of the European corporations like Unilevers of Britain, ~~with a capital of a billion dollars and an annual income of three hundred millions of dollars;~~ and other giant corporations of Belgium, France, and Switzerland, with the best and highest paid skill of the world, backed by the airplanes, armies and navies of most of the world's most powerful nations. This duel goes on today along the streets of every African town. The mass of retail traders, selling

40-3-04

witchcraft and chance. The followers of Mohammed know no color line; Christians know modern European culture; all Nigerian religions respect the faith of others, and grant them the right to follow it. They know that a religion is an attempt to know the truth, and a belief in such truth as is beyond proof. This dogma may go so far as to deny Truth, even when it is proven; but if it does, in time, it must give up dogma and recognize Science; just as Science admits freely that it does not know all, and perhaps never will.

The treatment of religion -- of all religion, whether it be that which you believe, or that which you deem false, is ever a delicate and holy task. From dawn of consciousness all men are trained to believe in what their group and their age calls Truth. It may be wrong, in part, but it is believed by hundreds or millions. That belief must be treated with respect. Carefully, thoughtfully, must the real truth be taught, and this task in Nigeria must be paramount. The good of religions, not alone their mistakes, must be taught. Conference and understanding must be sought. Cooperation must be paramount. Witchcraft must not be derided. It is ancient as the hills; it holds stores of wisdom; it is the source of literature and art; indeed, it gave birth to science and still has much to teach. Meantime, the object of religion is to induce men to act right so that none will hurt another, and all can find happiness. Let no religion, Catholic, Protestant or Mohammedan interfere with the functions of the paramount State. The State alone controls Government and the Education of children. Let Science not witchcraft nbor pretenced miracles preserve the health of the masses.

What is happiness? It is primarily the gratification of the senses: seeing, hearing, touch, taste, smell. But here, manifestly, this is true: moderation must be the rule; temperance; you cannot see everything on earth; you cannot hear all the music of the spheres; you cannot feel every pleasure at once. So, the wise man eats moderately, drinks sparingly, does not go on sprees. Especially, man must never seek happiness at the cost of pain and unhappiness to others. In a land like Nigeria, so long deprived of ordinary decencies, much more of happiness can be had, than is usual today. Many are apt to think that the

40-3-20

appetite, but promiscuity defeats its aim of pleasure and healthy children. While women are designed to bear children, they cannot in civilized life be regarded as simply brood mares or toys for the pleasure of men. They have as much right to careers as men, and, after the normal child-bearing age, they should join in the world's work; they should even have the right if it suits their health or ambition, to surrender motherhood for work they can do better. In fine, from the year of about sixteen to twenty-six, the natural sex appetite is strong and should be indulged, legally and normally. These years are best for parenthood and make possible a normal companionship of children and parents which can build the normal family. Marriage should make public this procreation of children. But the marriage should be made terminable at will of either partner when it ceases to be satisfactory, provided the rights of husband, wife, and children, are fully assured. All this can be feasible ~~by law and custom~~, if treated by law and decency and not hidden in secrecy, cheating and false shame.

One problem has resulted in paradox in modern civilization. That is what is called "menial service". It is arising in Nigeria. What shall be the status and wage of those who do the intimate services which every man requires more or less from infancy through age: the care of infants, the bathing of bodies, (getting rid of dirt and excrement) (the cooking and serving of food, the washing of clothes, the cleaning of living quarters, attending the sick, adorning the body, entertaining guests, and ~~the~~ like matters. These services are, on the one hand, matters of love and trained knowledge; on the other, they ~~removal of dirt, manure~~, they are often ~~regarded~~ as the lowest work of mankind, fit only for slaves, or the lowest and worst treated of workers. Yet both these things they cannot be. What is holier and dirtier than a mother's care? What is more despised than menial service? This paradox must be reconciled. Nigerians of wealth and position are hiring many servants and paying them low wage. Nigerians of education and ambition refuse to become

40-3-21

For this I have already consulted Dr. Dike of the Nigerian University College at Ibadan. He is, perhaps, the best known African scholar in African history. He and his scholars have given cheerful promise of cooperation. Other African Universities and Colleges have promised cooperation. But scientific truth is our aim and not mere racial propaganda; when, then, no African scholars are found who measure up to modern scientific standards, we ~~shall~~ will draw no color line, and ~~shall~~ seek the best scholars, without regard to color, race or religion.

Nigeria must, finally, say to the world: Africa is for the Africans, for the black folk who for centuries have inhabited this continent. But we are a hospitable, and friendly people, and we welcome to our shores all men of good will. We do not want again slave traders nor thieves. We do not want whore-mongers nor gamblers. Those who come to us as friends, who wish to live beside us as equals, sharing our poverty and our conditions of life will be welcomed. Others will be sent home.

We wish to judge the white folk who have come to Africa with fairness. The British have enslaved and exploited us in the past; but, also, they have given us education and advice. In the future we will treat them as they deserve, but, not, necessarily, as they demand.

Americans have sent us missionaries, who have done us both good and evil. We do not want missionaries who thoughtlessly antagonize our religion and try, without consideration arbitrarily, to change our customs; but we would be glad to learn the thrift and skill of America insofar as the United States ~~and the people of South Africa~~ do not make color prejudice a central part of their ~~lives.~~ policy

We know that the French have done much for Africa; but that, also, there are things that they have not done, and evils to which they cling. So far as France, even in her colonies, stands by her fine ideal of liberty, equality and brotherhood, people from France are welcome to Nigeria.

One matter we must consider, ~~or~~ delicate as it si: how long can Nigeria ~~ns~~ permit her citizens to receive rrwards and titles from Great Britain? True it is that these honors may be bestowed fairly and with sound judgment; but often they may be given for political purposes and to influence our policy. This is a ~~mm~~ matter gravely to be considered.

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We know that the French have done much for Africa; but that, also, there are things that they have not done, and evils to which they cling. So far as France frees her colonies, and stands by her fine ideal of liberty, equality and brotherhood, people from France are welcome to Nigeria.

We see in the Soviet Union and its allied states friends and helpers for peoples who have suffered as we have suffered from the oppression of their rulers. We hail the emancipation and struggles of their peoples. In China and India we recognize our colored brethen: peoples who have suffered from color caste in the past, and who, since, have gained freedom and independence.

Hail Peace and Plenty, for the World and for Africa.

The gathering of news from the world; the free expression of opinion; the unhampered creation of forms of art are prime needs of a nation. Remember that most nations today have difficulty in getting true reports of current events; are not allowed to hear what men think and are limited in knowing forms of art and literature which their governments do not like. Let this never occur in America. Watch the press. Insist on hearing the "other side". Resent the gagging of opinion or taste. Watch the beginnings of this tendency, before it is too late and you find yourselves [redacted] bound with monopoly.

January 22

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The treatment of religion-- of all religion, whether it be that wich you believe or deem false is ever a delicate and holy task. From dawn of consciousness all men are trained to believe in what their group and their age calls Truth. It may be wrong in part, but it is believed by hundfeds or millions. That bdlief must betresged with respect. Carefully, thoughtfully must the real truth be taught and this task in Nigeria must be paramount.

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The good of religions, not alone their mistakes must be taught. Conference and unddrstanding must be sought. Coopreation must be paramount

Witchcraft must nbot be derided. It is ancient as the hillls; it holds stores of wisdom; it is the source of literature and art; indeed it gave birth to science and still has much to teach

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It is of course possible for ~~such~~ a state to buy food and materials from abroad and thus trade has always been a part of its interests. But foreign trade as compared with domestic production always entails certain considerations: goods bought abroad must always eventually be paid for by goods sold ~~abroad~~ to foreigners, and the ratio of exchange must therefore be carefully calculated. If the traders of goods or services are equal individuals or tribes of essentially equal status the ratio of exchange, that is, the prices, will be reached by haggling in the market and will, in the long run, be fair to all. But under the colonial system, it was the practice for the mother country to set the prices and ~~it~~ as white Europe despised black Africa and did not believe in the ability nor desert of black folk it soon became customary for whites to pay the lowest possible wages for African labor and the cheapest prices for materials. Thus the mother country grew rich and kept her home labor sayisfied by paying them higher wages out of their profits on colonial trade.

40-2-5

The United States is regarded as the richest country in the world and this is credited to its development of private initiative and development of private capital. This is not ~~xxx~~ the complete truth . The United States is rich because of its vaste store of natural materials like coal, iron, oil and other minerals; it almost unlimited amount of rich land, with forests and water power. This wealth we have wasted and are wasting. We have allowed it to be monopolized by private individuals until now their corporations rule the land. Socialism in the New Deal fought this and even today the ~~failing~~ capitalist system is being restored by money from public taxation ~~which is being~~ assigned as a gift to private individuals.

This nation is still rich but in grave danger unless real socialism prevails

40-2-6

40-2-7

They also granted home labor some education and political rights, provided labour supported government policies and fought as soldiers to gain and keep colonial territory. ~~Meantime poverty spread in the colonies; the natives were taxed not only for their own needs but for~~ the expenses of colonial government, pensions for colonial officials and special wages and privileges for white workers who came to the colonies ~~to help government, trade and industry.~~ In time ~~these~~ privileges, included segregated and comfortable

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For many centuries peoples living in what is now called Nigeria, w were not hungry, had sufficient clothing and shelter, and were content. Widows were cared for, there were no orphans nor prostitutes; artists and artisans made beautiful things and poets sang and recorded history.. Now and then intertribal wars brought disaster, but there were long spaces of peace and plenty. Then came strangers fro abroad to explore and trade; but in time this trade degenerated into slave trading and tribal wars became slave raids. When the slave trade declined. Britai appeared as ruler, seeking to displace native rule. Poverty appeared in the colonies. More and more ~~so~~ what the natives raised and made was seized as taxes and used not so much for native needs

What must first freedom mean? Nigeria, an agricultural country, feeding, clothing and sheltering itself by the toil of its educated farmers, will need manufactures and skilled industries run by modern technical and scientific methods.. The current method of bringing industry to farming countries is by borrowing wealth from Europe; buying machines and tools with this wealth and then importing skilled technitians from abroad to migrate here and set up factories. With these factoriy hands and engineers come merchants to buy the manufactured products for sale abroad; and bringing with them goods made abroad to sell to the natives. This system which once seemed quite natufal and good for all was soon seen to be but little didderent from colonialism. The interest on borrowed capital was so high and thdterms so onerous, that the lending capitalists soon owned the country. It was thus that Algeria , Tunis and Egypt cmae under the complete control of Britain and France. It was this that would soon have happened to Ghana had not Nkrumah checkmated the trend; it was this that would have been the fate of Nigeria had it not been for the sacrifice and persistence of Macauley and Azikiwe. Moreover their work is not finished: it has just begun

40-2-9a

Modern miraculous industry calls for modern Science and skills. Learn these learn these in schools and by travel abroad; learn them from artisans welcomed from abroad, but welcome not white workers who will not recognize your equal rights and demand neither wage nor privilege which they are unwilling to share with all

Enter into ~~trade~~ TRADE; buy and sell to foreigners, developing the same skills which Africans were noted for centuries. But beware the ~~modern trader; the~~ Absentee investor who does not care how his wealth is invested so long as he gets support comfort and luxury; the adventurer who kills and enslaves, steals and cheats ~~so long as he~~ makes fortunes for his class and government. The outlaw ~~adventurer~~ who seized Uganda, Kenya and Nigeria, broke law and gospel, but when he enlarged the British Empire became a noble man and died in honor. Lugard did not found Nigeria -- it was founded in the great empires of the Sixteenth century.

Nigeria can finally say to the World:Africa is for the Africans: but we are a hospitable people, with plenty of lands and rich resourses. We need advice and help. And so We welcome to our shores all men of good will. . We do not welcome masters slavedrivers or thieves; we do not want playboys, gamblers or whoremongers. Those who come as friends, willing to live among us as equals, sharing our lack of wealth, giving us council and learning our wants and ways will be welcomed, as they find necessary work and space. Those who come to show off and exploit, to ~~get~~ enjoy cheap ~~house~~ menial service; to carouse and get something for nothing, would better stay away, ~~or~~ we will jail them or send them home. In the past the British have enslaved us and exploited our labor and land; but also they have helped in our education and yielded us even if reluctantly, independence and much sound advice. Americans have helped in education and skillls. We are well aware of the rivalry between these two nations in Africa and we fear it.. We are not going to continue to be under the control of the Brutish nor pass to the controll of America We are going to be independent and welcome British and Americans so far as they live under our control. We cannot forget that the United States are to tocay the chief centers of hate of Negroes and we await and demand a fundamentel change in this respect before we give them friendship or coopdration. . We know what the French have done for Africa and where they have failed. We hope for a happier future in A geria and the new French Community. We see in the Soviet Union and tis Communist allies, friends and striving to get rid of poverty and ignorance and disease. Especially do we stretch our arms to the People's Republic of China and to India, Pakistan, Burma and all Asia, who with us have long suffered color caste Hail, Peace and Plenty for the World and Zfrica.

40-2-10

~~NIGERIA~~

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We wish to judge the white folk who have come to Africa with fairness. The British have enslaved and exploited us in the past, but also, they have given us education and advice. In the future we will treat them as they deserve but not, necessarily, as they demand.

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Americans have sent us missionaries, who have done us both good and evil. We do not ~~welcome such~~ want missionaries as ~~those~~ who antagonize our religion and ~~who tend~~ try arbitrarily to change our customs; but we would be glad to receive ~~those with~~ the thrift and skill of America insofar as they and the poeple of South Africa do not ~~seem~~ to make color prejudice a central part of their lives.

We know that the French have done much for Africa, but that also there are things that they have done and evils to which they cling. So far as France stands by her fine ideal of liberty, equality and brotherhood, they are welcome to Nigeria.

We see in the Soviet Union and its allied states friends and helpers for peoples who have suffered as we have suffered from the oppresion of their rulers. We hail the emancipation and struggles of their peoples. In China and India we recognize our colored brethen: peoples who have suffered from color caste in the past, who ~~since~~ have ~~(x)~~ gained freedom and independence ~~in the future~~.

Hail ~~the~~ Peace and Plenty for the world and for Africa.

for his sacrifice, and of course retains ownership of his original property. This is the original and simple concept of capital. But the concept and practice has greatly changed in modern days: first the original capital is often not owned wholly by an individual, but is the gift of the state and yet the profit goes into private hands. For instance, the state builds a harbor with public taxes and yet private persons or corporations reap the profit without adequate charge. Or a private corporation builds a railroad, sells it to the state for a price fixed by the corporation as much higher than it is worth, and the state tries to run the railroad, but must first pay the inflated price or "bonded indebtedness" with high interest. State conduct of the railroad results in a deficit which the public pays with high fares and freight charges. Or, again, the state gives a private corporation a monopoly in the use of streets and then the corporation makes a large profit which it calls its own, with no payment or very inadequate payment to the public. So that a new state like Nigeria must, from the beginning, be sure that the capital they borrow really belongs to the person or corporation which claims profit for its use.

The current method of bringing industry to farming countries is by borrowing wealth from Europe; buying machines and tools with this wealth and then importing skilled technicians from abroad to migrate here and set up factories. With these factory hands and engineers come merchants to buy the manufactured products for sale abroad; and bringing with them goods made abroad to sell to the natives. This system which once seemed quite natural and good for all was soon seen to be but little different from colonialism. The interest on borrowed capital was so high and the terms so onerous, that the lending capitalists soon owned the country. It was thus that Algeria, Tunis and Egypt came under the complete control of Britain and France. It was this that would soon have happened to Ghana had not Nkrumah checkmated the trend; it was this that would have been the fate of Nigeria had it not been for the sacrifice and persistence of Macauley and Azikiwe. Moreover, their work is not finished: it has just begun. Nigeria needs industry; and for

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industry Nigeria needs capital; and to use capital Nigeria needs skill, engineers, science. Capital must be saved. Each Nigerian, above what he eats, wears, and uses, must sacrifice and save. Every nation must save wealth for use as capital -- to make more goods for future use.

But considering the need; looking the present world crisis and threat straight in the face; considering how advantageous it would be if more capital was available now, some capital can and should be borrowed, if that can be done on favorable terms. It has long been the custom for western capitalists to gang up on poor countries in Asia and Africa and charge them exorbitant interest. Today they charge from five to ten percent, with other requirements which raise the charge to fifteen or twenty-five percent. But the Soviet Union and China often lend for two percent and sometimes for nothing. Nigeria should examine all terms offered and if they are clear and honest, with no strings attached, borrow at the best rates, the smallest sums sufficient for its needs.

Again, in the past, the nations which loan, usually sent their own nationals to direct colonial industry and furnish the direction and skill. For these they demanded special pay, preferred status, the right to govern even when the natives were disfranchised; and preferred places to live. All this privilege must go. If white folk cannot come to Nigeria and live on Nigerian wages, alongside Nigerian people, with the rights and no more rights than Nigerians enjoy, then White folk must stay out of Nigeria. Differences in custom, current ignorance of sanitation, and dire poverty, may make it difficult at present to carry out this equality of treatment; but that only indicates how quickly and thoroughly Nigeria must ride itself of poveryt, ignorance and disease, and what whites must sacrifice if they come here.

However, there is offered another way. Nigeria will find that the British and French and, especially, the North Americans suggest a quick by-path for Nigeria to become rich and happy. And that is for intelligent and well-to-do Nigerians to join the British and Americans and other white capitalists in exploiting the country and using cheap black labor and cheap land and its products, in making themselves and the white folk rich, and keeping most Nigerians especially the farmers and peasants, ignor-

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ant, poor and sick.

They say this should be done because it is the best and quickest way to help Nigeria upward. They point out that when men say that such a country is rich, they mean that their upper classes are rich but that the masses are poor, because the wealth they earn is used to support the rich in comfort and even luxury. They suggest that just as in the past, white Europe lived on black Africa, so in the future, the more prosperous black Nigerians and rich colored Americans become junior partners with white Europeans and live on the poverty, ignorance and sicknesses of the mass of Nigerians living in the country districts and the slums of the towns.

SOCIALISM

There are other folk in Nigeria and increasingly in Europe and Asia who say no, there is another answer. It has become customary in the 19th century in Europe and North America to build Progress on Poverty; to make a few cultured classes rich by letting them feed on a mass of the poor, and ignorant workers. This is not necessary and was not done in the past. In primitive Nigeria, no member of a tribe was hungry so long as the tribe had food. There were no homeless widows, nor helpless orphans. The tribe and clan fed the hungry and protected the helpless. The clan saved capital and invested it. The profits naturally belonged not to the individual who handled the transaction, but to the tribe which owned the wealth. To be sure the system was not perfect. Tribes were broken up by wars and wars became slave raids which further disrupted clans. Clans and nations moved to avoid disaster or gain new land or power. Disrupted members of tribes took refuge in towns without tribal protection and the ancient communal care failed often or disappeared. But it was an effective way of preventing poverty and spreading wisdom where and when it worked. Men remembered it, chiefs practiced it, and medicine men told about it. When now it is suggested that this common effort of the state be revived in some form, British and American scream "Socialism!" or "Communism!" But wise Nigerians are not frightened.

I have only to impress upon you that here there should be on your part little hesitancy. Socialism and Communism under the teaching of Karl Marx and Lenin are be-

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ginning to triumph and you should not hesitate in studying these doctrines and the triumph of private capital under Western Europe during the nineteenth century. Your logical development stems directly from the communalism of your fathers where capital or wealth used to produce wealth was owned by the chiefs who represented the tribe, just as today land and water are owned in a similar way and the profit made in early days through this capitalism belonged to all and not to any individual. Can and should socialism be restored in the great independent Dominion of Nigeria? Northern Nigeria with its ruling sultans and emirs; with its Moslem and primitive religion, its chiefs and medicine men, is still the stronghold of the ancient communalism. As such it is a most valuable counterweight to Eastern and Western Nigeria, which are centers of the new commercialism, where a new Bourgeoisie are seeking to exploit land and labor as is customary in the western world. The industrial and commercial Nigeria has embraced education and science, while the North has lagged in schools and defended primitive customs and dogma which hinder progress. The star of hope is that the North is beginning to encourage education and the commercial south is studying Socialism and Communism and what they may hold for future Nigeria.

Nigeria must build a welfare state and move toward a state where all men work to the best of their ability and receive as wage not everything that they want, but everything that they need for the greatest development of all the people. This will involve sacrifice. This will mean not the rule of the rich and the smart, but the uplift of the great mass of people out of which will come power and genius and ideals which will restore Africa to the place it once occupied in the forefront of the world.

In the hard and bitter strife toward this end you will find allies. Some few in Western Europe and Ngrth America. But not many, for they want so much your progress as prift from your free land and cheap labor. They are willing to share this loot with those of you who can be bought. But in nations like the Soviet Union and

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American Negroes. Most of these Negroes seem to insist that they are really quite well off in America; that racial segregation and color discrimination has almost disappeared, and that American Negroes are ready to join white folk as investors in African industry and as guides in American skills and methods.

Then comes some contradiction. Some other black Americans arrive, many of whom have suffered persecution in the United States and been refused passports to travel. They deny this rosy picture; they aver that, despite great progress, oppresion, color discrimination and segregation still persist in the United States, even despite the law; and that most of the black Americans who spread these pleasant stories are paid to do so by the State Department of the Government of the United States! Or by Big Business enterprise which wants to prevent Africans from learning of Socialism or seeing Communism in action. Under these circumstances the path of Nigeria is straight. Learn the facts. Listen to the truth. Believe what is Right and follow the good.

Freedom and independence do not involve isolation. Do not withdraw from the world: join it more closely than before, but join as equals. Educate your youth at home; send some of your bright and eager youth abroad for study and living in the chief nations of the world. Send students to Britain, to the United States, to Scandinavia, and Germany; also to the Soviet Union, and its allies, and, especially, to China, because the Yellow Race has suffered even more so than the Black Race from the cruelty and exploitation of the white race. Use education to rebind and heal the rifts of mankind and never forget that trade and commerce can be aids to human progress.

Africans are born traders. From the birth of Time the African market has set patterns for the world from the Nile to the Niger, from the Senegal to the Congo; from the Zambesi to the sea. The freedom of women began in the African market-place and still can be seen on the streets of Cairo, Accra, Lagos, Ibadan and Leopoldville. Against these African traders, and their market-place, is rising a terrible menace in the form of the European corporations: Unilevers of Britain, with a capital of a billion dollars and an annual income of three hundred millions of dollars; other giant corporations

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of Belgium, France, and Switzerland, with the best and highest paid skill of the world, backed by the airplanes, armies and navies of most of the world's most powerful nations. This duel goes on today along the streets of every African town. The mass of retail traders, selling directly to consumers who are themselves either artisans or workers are the basis of the national economy. They correspond to the artisans and retail traders of the world, and like them, are being attacked by the Corporation which eventually, unless the State steps in, will drive them out of business, as it is driving out the retail merchants of the western world.

THE CORPORATION

What is the Corporation? It began in Western Europe in the Middle Ages, when a Group of persons secured the right to be legally regarded as a person with limited responsibilities, so that it could keep its gains made in trade and word for private use, but could shift a part of its losses on the State. It could thus afford to risk chances which would have ruined the lone trader. This artificial Body or Corporation entered into trade and if it lost, lost only what it risked; if it gained it made fabulous fortunes. The state soon saw these advantages and took part in the Corporations. If the State was an absolute monarchy, the King then shared the gains of the Corporation and taxed the people for its losses. But soon the other members of the corporations secured some of the gain or threatened withdrawal. Thus they shared some of the monarch's power and turned the State into an aristocracy.

Later the common folk forced themselves into corporations and aristocracies became democracies. When the wage contract became common -- that is, when the laborer was forced to sell the results of his labor to the capitalist, he had to form a defensive alliance, the Trade Union, to protect his rights. He changed the medieval guild which comprised both employer and worker and made a new group of laborers, after bitter opposition from the property owners. But in the late Nineteenth Century the labor union gained recognition and legal status with political power and education for workers. Then in the twentieth century the corporations of capitalists began to move in and control the labor

40A.2.24

unions by law, curtailing their activities; and by bribing their officials, until, today, many of the most powerful unions represent capital as much or more so, than labor. Nigeria must watch her unions; see that the workers control them by democratic process and that the power of their officers is not secretly increased by bribery from capitalists. It was the revolt of the workers at Paris, against capitalist-controlled unions, in 1945, which made the Fifth Pan-African Congress possible and started Nkrumah toward freeing Ghana.

This growth and change of corporations can be seen in Western Europe. Elizabeth of England incorporated the African slave trade. Her nobility forced themselves into power; the great merchant groups succeeded to power under the Stuarts, and with Cromwell the power of merchants decreased. Then democracy entered, reaching its zenith with 1776. Democracy fell before the oligarchy of the Slave Power but triumphed in Civil War and abolition.

Since 1876, however, a new set of corporations appeared in America, due to disfranchising Negroes and Poor Whites; on hoarding gold and monopoly of land and natural resources. The Corporation killed democracy in the United States, and now rules supreme, buying the presidency, cowing Congress and controlling Public Opinion through monopoly of news-gathering, ownership of the press, radio and television, and limiting the publication of books. Capital and invention now made the corporate form of enterprise invincible and it swept the world. Great Britain and France drove Germany out of competition in colonial power, and the United States pressed Britain to the wall and made a million a day profit out of the First World War. But the greed of the United States drove the world into bankruptcy, and Germany and Italy and Japan tried to seize the cheap colonial labor of the world and thus rule industry.

A new element appeared, the Socialist Union of Russia and neighboring peoples. They, under the stern Stalin, beat back the Germans and freed Europe and America at the sacrifice of 20,000,000 lives and a large part of their hard-earned savings. Stalin and Roosevelt, therefore, propsed an alliance between the Socialist East and Capitalist West,

40A.2.27

based on disarming Germany and making her pay a part of the cost of the war. But Churchill, cajoling Truman; and American corporations and Trade Unions, backed by the armed forces, forced a settlement which refused the Soviet Union help, furnished West Germany arms and capital, and gave her corporations immense new power. The United States ringed the Soviet Union with threatening bases, armed with modern weapons. These weapons now included atom and nuclear power, and for a time, the United States believed that it could make the world do its will. But America failed. The Soviets invented their own bomb. India freed itself from Britain so far as her own capitalists allowed; China threw off America's stoogs and, with American arms, drove Chiang-Kai-Chek off the mainland. She erected an independent Socialist Republic. Britain saw the handwriting on the wall. She yielded independence to Ghana and provincial status to Nigeria. France gave most of her colonial world partial independence.

Moreover, corporations in America and the West have lately increased their power and privilege. Formerly the corporation belonged to those furnishing its capital. Now only a part of those buying stock are real owners with a voice in controlling the policies or the funds of the corporations. The rest are merely shareholders receiving, when the real owners decree, dividends of such amount as the owners decide or none at all. Yet Big Businesses advertise how large a share of industry, the public owns! Beyond this, through corporations buying stock in other corporations, such holding companies can arrange to control whole industries through ownership of as little as a fifth of the invested capital. Thus democracy gradually disappears from industry and oligarchy or dictatorship takes control of work and wage, property and income. All this is made possible through elaborate secrecy. The ownership of property; the amount of individual or corporate income; the business transactions, the profits or losses are guarded by law and thus the basic facts of industry, knowledge of which is indispensable to intelligent judgment, can be known only in part.

40A.2.20

for this I have already consulted Dr. Dike of the Nigerian University College at Ibadan. He is, perhaps, the best know African scholar in African history. He and his scholars have given cheerful promise of cooperation. Other African Universities and Colleges have promised cooperation. But scientific truth is our aim and not mere racial propaganda; when, then, no African scholars are found who measure up to modern scientific standards, we shall draw no color line, and shall seek the best scholars, without regard to color, race or religion.

40-2-88

Nigeria must, finally, say to the world: Africa is for the Africans, for the black folk who for centuries have inhabited this continent. But we are a hospitable, and friendly people, and we welcome to our shores all men of good will. We do not want again slave traders nor thieves. We do not want whore-mongers nor gamblers. Those who come to us as friends, who wish to live beside us as equals, sharing our poverty and our conditions of life will be welcomed. Others will be sent home.

We wish to judge the white folk who have come to Africa with fairness. The British have enslaved and exploited us in the past; but, also, they have given us education and advice. In the future we will treat them as they deserve, but, not, necessarily, as they demand.

Americans have sent us missionaries, who have done us both good and evil. We do not want missionaries who antagonize our religion and try, arbitrarily, to change our customs; but we would be glad to receive the thrift and skill of America insofar as the United States and the people of South Africa do not make color prejudice a central part of their lives.

We know that the French have done much for Africa; but that, also, there are things that they have done, and evils to which they cling. So far as France stands by her fine ideal of liberty, equality and brotherhood, people from France are welcome to Nigeria.

appetite, but promiscuity defeats its aim of pleasure and healthy children. While women are designed to bear children, they cannot in civilised life be regarded as simply brood mares or toys for the pleasure of men. They have as much right to careers as men, and, after the normal child-bearing age, they should join in the world's work; they should even have the right if it suits their health or ambition, to surrender motherhood for work they can do better. In fine, from the year of about sixteen to twenty-six, the natural sex appetite is strong and should be indulged, legally and normally. These years are best for parenthood and make possible a normal companionship of children and parents which can build the normal family. Marriage should make public this procreation of children. But the marriage should be made terminable at will of either partner when it ceases to be satisfactory, provided the rights of husband, wife, and children, are fully assured. All this can be feasible by law and custom, if treated by law and decency and not hidden in secrecy, cheating and false shame.

68-2-04

One problem has resulted in paradox in modern civilisation. That is what is called "menial service". It is arising in Nigeria. What shall be the status and wage of those who do the intimate services which every man requires more or less from infancy through age: the care of infants, the bathing of bodies, the cooking and serving of food, the washing of clothes, the cleaning of living quarters, attending the sick, adorning the body, entertaining guest, and the like matters. These services are, on the one hand, matters of love and trained knowledge; on the other, the removal of dirt, manure, they are often regarded as the lowest work of mankind, fit only for slaves, or the lowest and worst treated of workers. Yet both these things they cannot be. What is holier and dirtier than a mother's care? What is more despised than menial service? This paradox must be reconciled. Nigerians of wealth and position are hiring many servants and paying them low wage. Nigerians of education and ambition refuse to become

We see in the Soviet Union and its allied states friends and helpers for peoples who have suffered as we have suffered from the oppression of their rulers. We hail the emancipation and struggles of their peoples. In China and India we recognize our colored brethern: peoples who have suffered from color caste in the past, and who, since, have gained freedom and independence.

Hail Peace and Plenty, for the World and for Africa.

40-2-94

the pamphlet.

FOOD, CLOTHES
AND SHELTER

Normally, the first duty of a people is to feed, clothe and shelter themselves. Nigeria is a well-situated state, with rich soil, great rivers, lakes and forests, a wealth of materials, vegetable and mineral and a generous seaboard. It has a large but not crowded population which it can support from its own soil, with its own sowing, and reaping; spinning and weaving; planning and building. Its people are not homogeneous, but not too different to preclude working together as one unified state with reconcilable aims and ideals. It is of course possible for such a state to buy food and materials from abroad and thus trade has always been a part of its interests. But foreign trade as compared with domestic production always entails certain considerations: goods bought abroad must always eventually be paid for by goods sold abroad, and the ratio of exchange must therefore be carefully calculated. If the traders of goods or services are equal individuals or tribes of essentially equal status the ratio of exchange, that is, the prices, will be reached by haggling in the market and will, in the long run, be fair to all. But under the colonial system, it was the practice for the mother country to set the prices and if white Europe despised black Africa and did not believe in the ability nor desert of black folk it soon became customary for whites to pay the lowest possible wages for African labor and the cheapest prices for materials. Thus the mother country grew rich and kept her home labor sayisfied by paying them higher wages out of their profits on colonial trade. They also granted home labor some education and political rights, provided labour supported government policies and fought as soldiers to gain and keep colonial territory. Meantime poverty spread in the colonies; the natives were taxed not only for their own needs but for the expenses of colonial government, pensions for colonial officials and special wages and privileges for white workers who came to the colonies to help government, trade and industry. In time these privileges included segregated and comfortable

40-2-31

homes and the right to vote and hold office even when the natives were disfranchised and housed in ghettoes. As the native peoples realized their plight; and as by efforts of missionaries some began to acquire education, there arose a demand for reform, which today in every part of Africa is resulting in colonial freedom.

FREE
NIGERIA

When now a nation like Nigeria becomes "free" just what does that mean? Under the natural laws of nature; with universal need for food, clothes and shelter, there can manifestly be no complete freedom for man anywhere nor at any time. Men must always plant and reap; search and dig and carry; spin and weave; cook, build and store; they must plan marriage, home and children. They must provide government: that is for order, cooperation and respect for others, so that all may live a good life and none be completely subordinate to the will of a few. Moreover, above and apart from this work to sustain life, there must remain leisure to make life worth living: for rest and play; for dance and song; for creative activity and any pursuit or game that men may choose and which does not hurt control them, nor limit nor prevent similar activities among others.

40-2-33

From primitive times the work of a tribe or nation will include foreign trade and that will call for increasing activity and thought as men come into contact with men. No people can live to themselves. Ever by accident or design peoples meet with each other, and while there are times when such contact means trouble and war, in the long run it is the contact of strange folk with others that leads to civilization; that brings new goods and methods; new thoughts and ideals. Thus foreign trade has ever been the beginning of progress. The west Coast early traded gold for salt with its northern neighbors. Spice for metals followed, and laborers for tools. This last exchange between Portuguese and Africans led to difficulties, at first unnoticed, but in the end of world wide significance. Intertribal wars were common in the early centuries. Quarrels over hunting grounds, over succession to power, over trade. They

often resulted in prisoners who became slaves of the visitors, and despised slaves if they differed in religion. ~~But~~ and Culture.

THE ~~AMERICAN~~ slave
FOREIGN TRADE

In the Fourteenth Century as Holland, France and Britain were growing rich on the loot of India, Portugal started to India down the coast of Africa, and began a trade in slaves which she sent back to Portugal. ~~This country was~~ Portugal had been impoverished by war and ~~public theft.~~ exploitation ~~Here their~~ labor was ~~breeded~~ barely needed on the farms. Negroes were imported as slaves This trade in human beings gave a new incentive to African intertribal wars. In the next century Spain sent an Italian west over the Atlantic to find a shorter way to India. Thus Columbus discovered America. Here a new market for African labor arose among the British, French and Spanish.

40-2-24

Thus, in the Fifteenth Century the African slave raids became an industry that spread over the continent and after the Seven Years War the British became attracted by the possibilities of gain by ~~trading in~~ selling African slaves to America. From their Assiento Treaty with Spain in 1703 ~~until the middle of the Nineteenth Century.~~ for 100 years Britain built up the trade in African slaves to be the most profitable trade on earth and the most disastrous to the African race. It is estimated that black Africa lost 100,000,000 souls in slave raids, ~~dwindling~~ the Middle Passage and captivity in America. Britain by theft in India and the profits of the slave trade accumulated an amount of capital that made its owners the most powerful people in the world; and America ~~with~~ became its visions of democracy, freedom and conquest of poverty became the center of a new modern slavery.

production was limited; and owned by the family and clan, not by individuals. The same was true in Europe until suddenly in the Sixteenth century, European traders got hold of fabulous treasure from two sources; and it fell into private hands: Europeans found vast wealth by plundering India, and by stealing peasants in West Africa and enslaving them in America. Americans raised tobacco, sugar and cotton and sold them over all the earth. The world was transformed. Incidental tribal wars of Africa became profitable slave raids which robbed the continent of 100,000,000 human beings, distorted their lives and customs, severly uprooted their political structure, their art, and clouded their ideals. Conquest by Europe overthrew the civilization of Asia: Europe began to gain rule over most of the world, by stealing gold and silver of ~~America~~, slave labor, and selling the goods which slaves made for profits so huge as to enable it to manufacture goods for sale, and trade these goods for the raw materials of the whole world. The skill of American and European labor increased the ability to manufacture and science and invention gave miraculous power to this new technique.

From 1800 Europe ruled the world. Africa and Asia and the islands of the Seven Seas bowed or were bent before it. It even partially deceived itself and under the spell of a new religion borrowed from Asia, justified theft and slavery, conquest and force as the one way in which superior White folk, could lead colored folk to civilization, if indeed they could be led. But the world did not stand still. The Christian church split in disagreement, the black slaves in the West Indies arose in continuous and increasing revolt, and the white peasants of Europe sought freedom from serfdom in the growing towns where the new capitalists hired them as servants, laborers, artisans and soldiers. The artisans in turn fought wars to gain more capital for the town dwellers.

40-2-32

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

America is a curious tale of selfish greed and lofty hope. Spain, seeing in the Fifteenth Century how much gold and other treasure Portugal, Holland, Britain, and France were making in Africa and Asia by ~~way of~~ sailing south around Africa on the Atlantic Ocean; and what riches Italy had garnered in Asia by traversing the Mediterranean, was

often resulted in prisoners who became slaves of the victors, and despised slaves if they differed in religion.

THE AFRICAN
FOREIGN TRADE

In the Fourteenth Century as Holland, France and Britain were growing rich on the loot of India, Portugal started to India down the coast of Africa, and began a trade in slaves which she sent back to Portugal. This country had been impoverished by war and public theft. Here their labor was needed on the farms. This trade in human beings gave a new incentive to intertribal wars. In the next century Spain sent an Italian west over the Atlantic to find a shorter way to India. Thus Columbus discovered America. Here a new market for African labor arose among the British, French and Spanish.

40-2-35

Thus, in the Fifteenth Century the African slave raids became an industry that spread over the continent and after the Seven Years War the British became attracted by the possibilities of gain by trading in African slaves. From their Assiento Treaty with Spain in 1713 until the middle of the Nineteenth Century, for 84 years Britain built up the trade in African slaves to be the most profitable trade on earth and the most disastrous to the African race. It is estimated that black Africa lost 100,000,000 souls in slave raids, middle passage and captivity in America. Britain by theft in India and the profits of the slave trade accumulated an amount of capital that made its owners the most powerful people in the world; and America with its visions of democracy, freedom and conquest of poverty became the center of a new modern slavery.

to slavery — Abolitionists and the

~~the slave system~~ which arose from the protest of Free Negroes. When this alliance succeeded in restricting the further spread of slave territory in the United States, the South tried to secede from the Union and form a slave empire in the West Indies and South America. The North tried to hold them in the Union by force, ~~but in order to accomplish this they had to seek~~ the aid of Negro slaves and promise them freedom in return. ~~with the help of 200,000 black soldiers and laborers~~ Thus the Civil War became a war which abolished Negro slavery in the United States.

Britain, unable to make further profit out of the slave trade, gradually adopted Colonial Imperialism -- that is, instead of transporting labor from Africa to America, she sought to seize control of territory and people in Africa and Asia, and, raising raw material there with cheap labor, carried it to Europe and processed it into valuable goods which sold at huge profit. European workers increased their demand for wages and rights; after organising trade unions the workers won, but only by helping capital to gain and hold more colonial territory. Thus Britain gained control of countries like Nigeria. The British appeared, first as traders. Then helped by natives like Bishop Samuel Crowther, they explored more land and materials; finally they attempted political control, but met resistance from native rulers. They tried methods learned in Asia. Bringing in highwaymen and freebooters like Lugard and Chinese Gordan, they gained new colonial territory for the empire. Thus in Uganda, Lugard used his machine guns on Catholics, Protestants and Mohammedans fighting to conquer each other and subdue the native tribes. At last Lugard made Uganda a part of the British Empire. Then although still legally an outlaw he came to Nigeria and showed the British how to annex Nigeria by his "indirect rule"; that is, by bribing, cajoling and befriending rulers, and paying the salaries of chiefs until they acknowledged Britain as overlord, not by conquest, but by consent.

However, the Nigerians were not content. Increasingly they protested against the loss of their ancient liberties. Many used their ancient lore and customs, some secured education. The grandson of Samuel Crowther, the first black Anglican Bishop in West Africa, secured a place in the civil service and through his newspaper,

40-2-36

Macauley started the battle for freedom. He was later joined by a young Nigerian student, Nnamdi Azikiwe, now Governor General of Nigeria, who for 25 years fought a desperate battle for freedom until freedom came, November 1, 1960.

I witnessed with pride and hope the inauguration of the first black Governor-General and Commander-In-Chief of a Dominion of the British Commonwealth of nations. I hail Nigeria as the largest black nation of the world and as a worthy successor of the African imperial rule which began with the Songhay seven hundred years after Christ and became under Mohammed Askia, in the sixteenth century, an empire as large as all Europe today and as cultured as the Europe of that day, with its great University of Sankore and with "peace and plenty for all."

Then succeeded the rule of the Hausa with their seven industrial cities led by Kano and accompanied in development to the East by the kings of Kanem and the lords of Bornu. Westward then marched the Fulani, and there rolled up from the Gulf of Guinea, the Yoruba, the Ibo and the people of Benin. With these came industry, art and architecture which has taught the whole modern world. But all this marvelous development was distorted and overthrown by the British slave trade to America and followed in the nineteenth century by colonial imperialism which reduced this part of Africa to subjection to capitalist West Europe and North America.

40-2-37

THE PROBLEM OF CAPITAL

What does independence and freedom mean? Nigeria, an agricultural country, feeding, clothing and sheltering itself by the toil of its farmers, will need manufactures and skilled industries run by modern technical and scientific methods. For this Nigeria will need capital. All nations need capital. Capital accumulation is a great modern idea. This means simply that a nation must produce more than enough for its immediate needs so as to use the surplus for better and increased production in the future. How now can apital best be raised? The simplest way is that a worker refrains from consuming all he makes and saves the surplus. He thus deserves a profit

The non-slave -holding Southern whites began to refuse to fight for the slaveholders and deserted by the thousands; the Northern whigr laborers especially the foreigbers refused to enlist and mobbed the Negroes on the streets. But the Negroes, free and slave offered their services and in the end 500,000 were used as soldiers and stevedores, servants and spies. Other millions stood ready to enlist . The slave barons became frightened and even tried to enlist slaves on their side. But it was too late and they surrendered to the North.

(B)

Nigeria is a rich land in both senses of the word: it is rich because it has abundanch of rich soil, variety of tree and vine; abundance of minerals buried beneath and bright sun and floods of water above. It can if properly used feed and clothe and shelter thirty-six million Nigdrians and xxx other millions abroad. Then too Nigeria is rich in the sense that if it soil xxxxxxxxxx is raped and its workers starved and its materials stolen and taken abroad , the white folk of Britain, France and the United States may live not simply in comfort but in extravagant luxury while you starve. In this sense much of the world regards Nigeria rich because you are poor

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for his sacrifice, and of course retains ownership of his original property. This is the original and simple concept of capital. But the concept and practice has greatly changed in modern days: first the original capital is often not owned wholly by an individual, but is the gift of the state and yet the profit goes into private hands. For instance, the state builds a harbor with public taxes and yet private persons or corporations reap the profit without adequate ~~charge~~ payment. Or a private corporation builds a railroad, sells it to the state for a price fixed by the corporation ~~as~~ and much higher than it is worth, ~~and~~ the state tries to run the railroad, but must first pay the inflated price or "bonded indebtedness" with high interest. State conduct of the railroad results in a deficit which the public pays with high fares and freight charges. Or, again, the state gives a private corporation a monopoly in the use of streets and ~~then~~ the corporation makes a large profit which it calls its own, with no payment or very inadequate payment to the public. So that a new state like Nigeria must, from the beginning, be sure that the capital they borrow really belongs to the person or corporation which claims profit for its use.

10-2-04

The current method of bringing industry to farming countries is by borrowing wealth from Europe; buying machines and tools with this wealth and then importing skilled technicians from abroad to migrate here and set up factories. With these factory hands and engineers come merchants to buy the manufactured products for sale abroad; and bringing with them goods made abroad to sell to the natives. This system which once seemed quite natural and good for all was soon seen to be but little different from colonialism. The interest on borrowed capital was so high and the terms so onerous, that the lending capitalists soon owned the country. It was thus that Algeria, Tunis and Egypt came under the complete control of Britain and France. It was this that would soon have happened to Ghana had not Nkrumah checkmated the trend; it was this that would have been the fate of Nigeria had it not been for the sacrifice and persistence of Macauley and Azikiwe. Moreover, their work is not finished: it has just begun. Nigeria needs industry; and for

(B)

industry Nigeria needs capital; and to use capital Nigeria needs skill, engineers, science. Capital must be saved. Each Nigerian, above what he eats, wears, and uses, must sacrifice and save. Every nation must save wealth for use as capital -- to make more goods for future use.

~~But~~ Considering the need; looking the present world crisis and threat straight in the face; considering how advantageous it would be if more capital was available now, some capital can and should be borrowed, if that can be done on favorable terms. It has long been the custom for western capitalists to gang up on poor countries in Asia and Africa and charge them exorbitant interest. Today they charge from five to ten percent, with other requirements which raise the charge to fifteen or twenty-five percent. But the Soviet Union and China often lend for two percent and sometimes for nothing. Nigeria should examine all terms offered and if they are clear and honest, with no strings attached, borrow at the best rates, the smallest sums sufficient for its needs.

Again, in the past, the nations which loan, usually sent their own nationals to direct colonial industry and furnish the direction and skill. For these they demanded special pay, preferred status, the right to govern even when the natives were disfranchised; and preferred places to live. All this privilege must go. If white folk cannot come to Nigeria and live on Nigerian wages, alongside Nigerian people, with the rights and no more rights than Nigerians enjoy, then White folk must stay out of Nigeria. Differences in custom, current ignorance of sanitation, and dire poverty, may make it difficult at present to carry out this equality of treatment; but that only indicates how quickly and thoroughly Nigeria must rid itself of poverty, ignorance and disease, and what whites must sacrifice if they come here.

40-2-40

However, there is offered another way. Nigeria will find that the British and French and, especially, the North Americans suggest a quick by-path for Nigeria to become rich and happy. And that is for intelligent and well-to-do Nigerians to join the British and Americans and other white capitalists in exploiting the country and using cheap black labor and cheap land and its products, in making themselves and the white folk rich, and keeping most Nigerians especially the farmers and peasants, ignor-

ant, poor and sick.

They say this should be done because it is the best and quickest way to help Nigeria upward. They point out that when men say that such a country is rich, they mean that their upper classes are rich but that the masses are poor, because the wealth they earn is used to support the rich in comfort and even luxury. They suggest that just as in the past, white Europe lived on black Africa, so in the future, the more prosperous black Nigerians and rich colored Americans become junior partners with white Europeans and live on the poverty, ignorance and sicknesses of the mass of Nigerians living in the country districts and the slums of the towns.

There are other folk in Nigeria and increasingly in Europe and Asia who SOCIALISM say no, there is another answer. It has become customary in the 19th century in Europe and North America to build Progress on Poverty; to make a few cultured classes rich by letting them feed on a mass of the poor, and ignorant workers. This is not necessary and was not done in the past. In primitive Nigeria, no member of a tribe was hungry so long as the tribe had food. There were no homeless widows, nor helpless orphans. The tribe and clan fed the hungry and protected the helpless. The clan saved capital and invested it. The profits naturally belonged not to the individual who handled the transaction, but to the tribe which owned the wealth. To be sure this system was not perfect. Tribes were broken up by wars and wars became slave raids which further disrupted clans. Clans and nations moved to avoid disaster or gain new land or power. Disrupted members of tribes took refuge in towns without tribal protection and the ancient communal care failed often or disappeared. But it was an effective way of preventing poverty and spreading wisdom where and when it worked. Men remembered it, chiefs practiced it, and medicine men told about it. When now it is suggested that this common effort of the state be revived in some form, British and American scream "Socialism!" or "Communism!" But wise Nigerians are not frightened.

I have only to impress upon you that here there should be on your part little hesitancy. Socialism and Communism under the teaching of Karl Marx and Lenin are be-

all over the world

ginning to triumph and you should not hesitate to study these doctrines and the rise of private capital under Western Europe during the nineteenth century. Your logical development should stem directly from the communalism of your fathers, where capital or wealth used to produce wealth was controlled by the chiefs who represented the tribe as real owner just as today land and water are owned in a similar way, and the profit made in early days through this capitalism belonged to all and not to any individual. Can and should socialism be restored in the great independent Dominion of Nigeria? Northern Nigeria with its ruling sultans and emirs; with its Mahammedan and primitive religion with its chiefs and medicine men, is still the stronghold of the ancient communalism. As such it is a most valuable counterweight to Eastern and Western Nigeria, which are centers of the new commercialism, where a new Bourgeoisie are seeking to exploit land and labor as is customary in the western world. The industrial and commercial Nigeria has embraced education and science, while the North has lagged in schools and defended primitive customs and dogma which hinder progress. The star of hope is that the North is beginning to encourage education and the commercial south is studying Socialism and Communism and what they may hold for future Nigeria.

40-2-42

Nigeria must build a welfare state and move toward a state where all men work to the best of their ability and receive as wage not everything that they want, but everything that they need for the greatest development of all the people. This will involve sacrifice. This will mean not the rule of the rich and the smart, but the uplift of the great mass of people out of which will come power and genius and ideals which will restore Africa to the place it once occupied in the forefront of the world.

In the hard and bitter strife toward this end you will find allies. Some few in Western Europe and North America. But not many, for they want not so much your progress as profit from your free land and cheap labor. They are willing to share this loot with those of you who can be bought. But in nations like the Soviet Union and

The Peoples Republic of China; in Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, and Hungary, you will find allies and friends who will help you toward freedom and peace. ~~If Britain rejects Socialism, whatever it is, that is their right.~~ Britain and Scandinavia accept a partial socialism, but refuse as yet to accept the aims and methods of Communism. That is their right. If the United States fears Communism ~~and knows why~~ that is their business. If Cuba chooses Communism, they have the right so to choose. Whatever Nigeria accepts is not a name but a fact. Nigeria must prevent poverty; it must educate its children; it must heal its sick. Whatever path leads to these ends, Nigeria must follow, no matter what it is called. Nigerian students should study and travellers should visit and examine the way in which the nations of the West and East are settling the pressing problems of income and expense; of work and wage; of property, of crime; of education and employment. Deeds, not mere words settle these problems, and it matters not a jot whether the system which proves effective is called Capitalism, Socialism, or Communism. Nigeria must adopt those measures which solve her problems and ignore that which suits others but does not apply to her.

40-2-43

These people are not as they are often painted either fools or conspiritors but struggling and oppressed folk like you who are striving for a decent life. You should visit and get to know them

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40-2-44

AMERICAN NEGROES

In seeking these answers, the attitude and words of American Negroes greatly puzzle Nigerians today. They know that millions of black Africans for 400 years were stolen from their homes and enslaved in America when not murdered or drowned at sea. In America they suffered every cruelty and degradation, while digging from the soil stolen from the Red Indians, wealth which made Europe rich and powerful and long masters of mankind. At length these black slaves gained partial freedom by their own revolts and by the help of white folk who grew ashamed of their own sin and pitied their victims' sufferings. They sued and sacrificed until black Americans and their white friends hoped that free black Americans might lead black Africa to freedom and independence. But before black America was really free, Black Africa arose to its feet and asserted a freedom and independence which is astonishing the world.

When now, after some efforts at returning to their motherland; after a series of Pan-African Congresses and two world wars, there begins a new visiting of Africa by

AMERICAN NEGROES

In seeking these answers, the attitude and words of American Negroes greatly puzzle Nigerians today. They know that millions of black Africans for 400 years were stolen from their homes and enslaved in America when not murdered or drowned at sea. In America they suffered every cruelty and degradation, while digging from the soil stolen from the Red Indians, wealth which made Europe rich and powerful and long masters of mankind. At length these black slaves gained partial freedom by their own revolts and by the help of white folk who grew ashamed of their own sin and pitied their victims' sufferings. They sued and sacrificed as black Americans and their white friends hoped that free black Americans might lead black Africa to freedom and independence. But before black America was really free, Black Africa arose to its feet and asserted a freedom and independence which is astonishing the world.

When now, after some efforts at returning to their motherland; after a series of Pan-African Congresses and two world wars, there begins a new visiting of Africa by

American Negroes. Most of these Negroes seem to insist that they are really quite well off in America; that racial segregation and color discrimination has almost disappeared, and that American Negroes are ready to join white folk as investors in African industry and as guides in American skills and methods.

Then comes some contradiction. Some other black Americans arrive, many of whom have suffered persecution in the United States and been refused passports to travel. They deny this rosy picture; they aver that, despite great progress, oppresion, color discrimination and segregation still persist in the United States, even despite the law; and that most of the black Americans who spread these pleasant stories are paid to do so by the State Department of the Government of the United States! Or by Big Business enterprise which wants to prevent Africans from learning of Socialism or seeing Communism in action. Under these circumstances the path of Nigeria is straight. Learn the facts. Listen to the truth. Believe what is Right and follow the good.

40-2-46

Freedom and independence do not involve isolation. Do not withdraw from the world: join it more closely than before, but join as equals. Educate your youth at home; send some of your bright and eager youth abroad for study and living in the chief nations of the world. Send students to Britain, to the United States, to Scandinavia, and Germany; also to the Soviet Union, and its allies, and, especially, to China, because the Yellow Race has suffered even more than the Black Race from the cruelty and exploitation of the white race. Use education to rebind and heal the rifts of mankind and never forget that trade and commerce can be aids to human progress.

THE AFRICAN WOMAN

Africans are born traders. From the birth of Time the African market has set patterns for the world from the Nile to the Niger, from the Senegal to the Congo; from the Zambesi to the sea. The freedom of women began in the African market-place and still can be seen on the streets of Cairo, Accra, Lagos, Ibadan and Leopoldville. Against ~~these~~ women African traders, and their market-place, is rising a terrible menace in the form of the European corporation: unilevers of Britain, with a capital of a million dollars and an annual income of three hundred millions of dollars; other giant corporations

(over)

Guard your women. The white man has for for two centuries been the threat of Negro womanhood. White men have raped and degraded colored women from Casablanca to Capetown; from Thailand to ~~Non De~~ Calcutta Americans are planning to send scouts to ~~Niger~~ West Africa Some will be honest friends hoping to learn and help. Most will be curios ity seemers. Teach them if you can. But many will be men seeking colored concubines; put hese in jail or deport them. Show them no mercy

of Belgium, France, and Switzerland, with the best and highest paid skill of the world, backed by the airplanes, armies and navies of most of the world's most powerful nations. This duel goes on today along the streets of every African town. The mass of retail traders, selling directly to consumers who are themselves either artisans or workers are the basis of the national economy. They correspond to the artisans and retail traders of the world, and like them, are being attacked by the Corporation which eventually, unless the State steps in, will drive them out of business, as it is driving out the retail merchants of the western world.

THE CORPORATION

What is the Corporation? It began in Western Europe in the Middle Ages, when a Group of persons secured the right to be legally regarded as a person with limited responsibilities, so that it could keep its gains made in trade and word for private use, but could shift a part of its losses on the State. It could thus afford to risk chances which would have ruined the lone trader. This artificial Body or Corporation entered into trade and if it lost, lost only what it risked; if it gained it made fabulous fortunes. The state soon saw these advantages and took part in the Corporations. If the State was an absolute monarchy, the King then shared the gains of the Corporation and taxed the people for its losses. But soon the other members of the corporations secured some of the gain or threatened withdrawal. Thus they shared some of the monarch's power and turned the State into an aristocracy.

Later the common folk forced themselves into corporations and aristocracies became democracies. When the wage contract became common -- that is, when the laborer was forced to sell the results of his labor to the capitalist, he had to form a defensive alliance, the Trade Union, to protect his rights. He changed the medieval guild which comprised both employer and worker and made a new group of laborers, after bitter opposition from the property owners. But in the late Nineteenth Century the labor union gained recognition and legal status with political power and education for workers. Then in the twentieth century the corporations of capitalists began to move in and control the labor

unions by law, curtailing their activities; and by bribing their officials, until, today, many of the most powerful unions represent capital as much or more so, than labor. Nigeria must watch her unions; see that the workers control them by democratic process and that the power of their officers is not secretly increased by bribery from capitalists. It was the revolt of the workers at Paris, against capitalist-controlled unions, in 1945, which made the Fifth Pan-African Congress possible and started Nkrumah toward freeing Ghana.

This growth and change of corporations can be seen in Western Europe. Elizabeth of England incorporated the African slave trade. Her nobility forced themselves into power; the great merchant groups succeeded to power under the Stuarts, and with Cromwell the power of merchants decreased. Then democracy entered, reaching its zenith with 1776. Democracy fell before the oligarchy of the Slave Power but triumphed in Civil War and abolition.

Since 1876, however, a new set of corporations appeared in America, due to disfranchising Negroes and Poor Whites; to hoarding gold and monopolizing land and natural resources. The Corporation killed democracy in the United States, and now rules supreme, buying the presidency, owning most high offices, cowing Congress and controlling Public Opinion through monopoly of news-gathering, ownership of the press, radio and television, and limiting the publication of books. Capital and invention now made the corporate form of enterprise invincible and it swept the world. Great Britain and France drove Germany out of competition in colonial power, and the United States pressed Britain to the wall and made a million a day profit out of the First World War. But the greed of the United States drove the world into bankruptcy, and Germany and Italy and Japan tried to seize the cheap colonial labor of the world in 1939 and thus rule industry.

A new element appeared, the Socialist Union of Russia and neighboring peoples. They, under the stern Stalin, beat back the Germans and freed Europe and America at the sacrifice of 20,000,000 lives and a large part of their hard-earned savings. Stalin and Roosevelt, therefore, proposed an alliance between the Socialist East and Capitalist West,

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16 15 GUIDED BY MEANY AND

based on disarming Germany and making her pay a part of the cost of the war. But Churchill, BYRNES ~~and~~ ROTTEN BOROUGHS, THE CLAY and WITH cajoling Truman; and American corporations and Trade Unions, backed by the armed forces, forced a settlement which refused the Soviet Union help, furnished West Germany arms and capital, and gave her corporations immense new power. The United States ringed the Soviet Union with threatening bases, armed with modern weapons. These weapons now included atom and nuclear power, and for a time, the United States believed that it could make the world do its will. But America failed. The Soviets invented their own bomb. India freed itself from Britain so far as her own capitalists allowed; China threw off America's stoogs and, with American arms, drove Chiang-Kai-Chek off the mainland. She erected an independent Socialist Republic. Britain saw the handwriting on the wall. She yielded independence to Ghana and provincial status to Nigeria. France gave most of her colonial world partial independence.

Moreover, corporations in America and the West have lately increased their power and privilege. Formerly the corporation belonged to those furnishing its capital. Now only a part of those buying stock are real owners with a voice in controlling the policies ~~or the~~ and funds of the corporations. The rest are merely shareholders receiving, when the real owners decreee, dividends of such amount as the owners decide or none at all. Yet Big Businesses advertise how large a share of industry, the public owns! Beyond this, through corporations buying stock in other corporations, such holding companies can arrange to control whole industries through ownership of as little as a fifth of the invested capital. Thus democracy gradually disappears from industry and oligarchy or dictatorship takes control of work and wage, property and income. All this is made possible through elaborate secrecy. The ownership of property; the amount of individual or corporate income; the business transactions, the profits or losses are guarded by law and thus the basic facts of industry, knowledge of which is indispensable to intelligent judgment, can be known only in part.

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This legal basis of work and wage is laid by lawyers. Lawyers make the law in legislatures; interpret it as judges, and guide individuals, and especially corporations in methods of breaking it. Physicians heal, preachers guide, engineers calculate; but by growing agreement and common understandingm lawyers not only make the law but break it; not only defend the innocent but set the guilty free; and this is regarded as right and justifiable.

Of course other professions are not all unselfish: physicians often forget their duty to heal disease and prevent disease and act like trade unions to prevent competition, raise fees and monopolize medicine. Civil servants often try to make money rather than carry on the business of the State honestly; preachers seek place and salary rather than moral conduct. In fact, human beings are not naturally good but are tempted to be selfish and forgetful of their neighbors. Especially since this awful era of world war, many have to come to think that the world belongs to the smart and that murder, gambling and theft are the quickest way to success. The history of mankind proves

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THE FUNCTION OF LAWYERS

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40-2-51

FOREIGN CORPORATIONS

How now shall Nigeria protect her retail trade and curb corporations, native and foreign, and foreign, of Britain, France, Switzerland and America, already doing large business within her borders, and restrain her own bourgeoisie from becoming junior partners in this foreign enterprise? Remeber that for the most part, these corporations are too large, powerful and widespread for Nigerians to think of gaining control of them. They are today a sort of super-government of the World. The utmost that now can be envisaged is that a few black employees may share their profits and have some weak voice in policy. Meantime, that policy will gradually kill the African markets and the host of small women traders, reducing them to poverty and unemployment. The State of Nigeria has, of course, the power to eject these corporations and confiscate their local capital. But that would be a fatal mistake at present. These corporations now perform a great function. They funnell world trade to Nigeria on a scale that no Nigerian enter-

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Also Nigeria has much power. She can tax all corporations doing business within its borders on their property and privileges. In most western nations, corporations escape taxation by various devices, but especially because the people do not know the income of, or privileges enjoyed by, corporations. In the United States a teacher may pay 40 percent of his income in taxes, while the Standard Oil Company escapes with payment of one percent. Nigeria, tax your corporations, fairly but steadily! Also control your retail traders; enforce sanitary rules of manufacture and display; require steadily higher education of those buying and selling; allow no cheating nor deception. For both

Unilevers is a combination of British and German companies with capital of a billion dollars and profits of 250,00,000 dol,ars a year. Its 23,000 managers covder the earth and afre ruled by an oligarchy and backed by the ar mies and ships ofthe Br tish Commonwealth. There is the Imperial Chemical In dustries. It has spent since sdcond World Sar a billion and a half dollars on new plants and is ruled by a tight family group of I2 men. There is the U Union Miniere du Haut Katanga which mines 60% of the world"s cobzlt and II% of the worlds caoppdrIt is owned by Belgian , British and Amstican investors and is responsible for holding up the black Congo Republic and murdering its Prime Minister. Here is the fight of the future: Corporation against democracy

Nigeran enterprise cannot ~~can~~ function abroad ~~prise is able to do.~~ They have the power to hurt Nigeria in many ways: not only in trade and credit, but also in acquiring skill and technique; in finding foreign markets for African goods; in getting credit and setting fair prices.

Nevertheless, they are not all-powerful. The small retailers can undersell them unless they keep their prices reasonable and treat their black customers courteously. Also, Nigeria has much power. She can tax all corporations doing business within her borders on their property and privileges. In most western nations, corporations escape taxation by various devices, but especially because the people do not know the income of, or privileges enjoyed by, corporations. In the United States a teacher may pay 40 percent of his income in taxes, while the Standard Oil Company escapes with payment of one percent. Nigeria, tax your corporations, fairly but fully! Also, control your retail traders; enforce sanitary rules of manufacture and display; require steadily higher education of those buying and selling; allow no cheating nor deception. For both corporations and individuals enforce fair prices. In turn, give both the market-place and the sidewalk vendor, clean and accessible places for trade. Do not clutter the sidewalks, or fill the streets with waste and refuse. In short, so lift the standards of the street vendors, and so curb the profit and privileges of the corporations that they gradually approach substantial equality of opportunity to serve the folk.

40-2-53

And their lies the great truth which this people must seek: Service, not gain; not the spread of profit, but the increase of content and happiness. This is not utopian; it is not impossible. For five centuries Europe has taught the world that only the few can be rich, educated and live decently; and that this can happen only at the expense of keeping most people poor, ignorant and sick. Prophets and sages, working people, and poets, today are pointing out a better way: if all work hard at that which they can do best; if materials, goods and services are given all men, not in proportion to what they can take, but in proportion to what they need to make them healthy persons,

EDUCATION

To know the truth requires intelligence: not only native ability to think but information acquired from others, from words of the wise, from books and papers in which wisdom and events are recorded. Not only must such knowledge be had for work and trade, but even more for knowledge of the natural laws which rule this intricate and puzzling world in which we live. This is a world of regular law and not of haphazardous chance as the ignorant think. Sages have from the beginning of Time have tried to know Truth, and gradually over thousands of years of search and thought mankind has in the last few centuries, come to understand a great deal about the laws of nature -- not all to be sure; there is still much that remains mystery -- but in 1960 we know vastly more about the laws of the universe than we did in 1860 [illegible] when Bishop Crowther explored the Niger and Lagos was seized by the British when the black empire of the Sudan was rising to power. This information the mass of men must know; not simply the children, not simply men but women. All their lives people must be learning about themselves and the world about them.

40-2-54

This process must begin with the Young; but it must not end there. With the Young a large part of their time must be set aside for School, where they learn to Read, Write, and Count in primary school; and in secondary grades how to make use of words to convey meaning; and where men live and how. Children do not simply study, they also learn by doing; by helping their elders work. Then such youth as have the aptitude should go to college where they study the Universe as a whole, its Past and Present, its Laws and Probabilities, its Future, so far as it may be guessed. They then become through study or practice co-workers for carrying on life, laborers, artisans, scientists, lawyers, physicians, writers, artists; parents of children, makers of goods, processors of materials.

Curiously enough it has happened in the past and is true largely today, that the very persons who do the fundamental work of raising food and fibre get so little of the food they raise and the fibre they grow that these farmers are poor, ignorant and ragged.

20

Nations must defend themselves: from foes ~~from~~ without, from inner crime and turmoil. Increased civilization lessens the fear of outer attack, and yet even today, some armed defense is called for. Always inner police must be at call. But the cost of defense decreases as War ceases ~~to be resorted to~~ as men become educated and more and as crime decreases because of education and cure of disease. For Nigeria, friendliness with her neighbors is called for; intertribal quarrels must be lessened and union of nations rather than division into small and smaller parts ~~is called for~~. The Pan-African movement must someday unite all Africa into one great federation ~~nation~~, playing a leading roll in a ~~great and more~~ perfect United Nations. Meantime so long as South Africa breaks every law of human decency; so long as Portugal continues to lie about her murder and theft in ~~Portugese~~ Africa, so long Nigeria must be strong enough to boycott and refuse political ties with them. And if Britain France or Israel prepare nuclear force against Algeria or other helpless nations, Nigeria is justified in demanding atomic weapons of the Soviet Union and China

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Let 22 48

then most of mankind can live in a contented, happy world. insert 22

It is not war that made Europe great; rather war has near ruined what men have done to make a decent world. Cry Peace, then, Peace and plenty for all.

Nigeria has many religions. This is fortunate, for it teaches tolerance.

RELIGION Had Nigerians been born in Spain, they would have been taught to hate Protestants; had they been born in Sweden, they would have feared Catholics; had they been born in the United States they would have been contemptuous of Moslems. But there are in Nigeria millions of Africans who still believe in the ancient faith of their forefathers, who saw God in mountain, tree and river; who believed in witchcraft and charms The followers of Mohammed know no color line; Christians know modern European culture; all Nigerian religions respect the faith of others and grant them the right to follow it. They know that a religion is an attempt to know the truth, and a belief in such truth as is beyond proof. This dogma may go so far as to deny Truth, even when it is proven; but if it does, in time it must give up dogma and recognize Science; just as Science admits freely that it does not know all, and perhaps never will. insert 22A

40-2-26

Meantime, the object of religion is to induce men to act right so that none will hurt another and all can find happiness.

What is happiness? It is primarily the gratification of the senses: seeing, hearing, touch, taste, ~~feeling~~ smell. But here, manifestly this is true: moderation must be the rule; temperance: you cannot see everything on earth; you cannot hear all the music of the spheres; you cannot feel every pleasure at once. So the wise man eats moderately, drinks sparingly, does not go on sprees. Especially, man must never seek happiness at the cost of pain and unhappiness to others. In a land like Nigeria, so long deprived of ordinary decencies, much more of happiness can be had, than is usual today. Many are apt to think that the Western world has enjoyed every happiness and should be imitated: that drunkenness, drug-taking, loud noise and hysteria are signs of culture. No, after all, eyes only see; ears only hear; the old dancing of your fathers is as lovely as new steps and lovelier than Rock and Roll. Man is just man. His capacities are limited and are loveliest when enjoyed in reasoned limit.

Rome copied, the brilliant robes worn by women, the children with a minimum of clothes were excellently adapted to Africa. Today Africans are being tempted to dress as Europeans do, regardless of whether these clothes are suitable or not. This is wrong. Resist "fashions" and insist on what is suitable. Instead of holding back a nation's whole industry until some fashion dictator decides whether a skirt should be long or short, wide or narrow, let individuals decide what suits them; instead of sending their designs and colors abroad for fabrication, let them be done at home in Lagos or Ibadan, and thus keep Nigerians at work.

40-2-57

Finally, what Nigeria and all Africa needs is knowledge of their past history and culture. Europe has grown powerful largely because its children for generations have been taught to believe in themselves. They have read the story of their past, seen pictures of the deeds of their fathers and heard legends of their people. Africans also heard of their past, but only in the dry regions like the Nile valley was the record kept in imperishable stone or written on papyrus. In the valleys of the Niger, Senegal and Congo, and on the West Coast, history lived in the minds of men, and was handed down over the centuries from father to son. The West interpreted this as fairy tale and not truth; also when the West wanted an excuse for oppressing and exploiting black folk, they said that Africans had no history and that this proved their inferiority. On the other hand, the West was tempted to exaggerate their own past and, especially, after the slave trade to forget or embroider the sordid story of colonialism. Thus the young African today, and the descendants of Africans in America, know little or nothing of their history or of the cultural inventions of their fathers. As a matter of fact, the transmitted lore of Africa is one of the finest cultural heritages of all time; it often borne the tests of science and the highest standards of literature and art.

To change this fatal ignorance of the present world I have undertaken to plan an Encyclopaedia Africana, in which scholars will set down in the light of the

In many ways the West, and particularly Britain and France, have seriously misled the world; perhaps the worst is gambling. The primitive world thought chance ruled life, and, for that reason, they cast lots and threw dice. But nowwe know that natural laws, and human effort, make history, and that dependence on luck and chance is misleading, especially for the mass of workers. Yet gambling has been made fashionable in London, Paris, and Rome, by the rich and high-born, through horse-racing, card-playing, and so-called "sports". This is bad enough, but beyond games of real chance, comes systematic cheating, which enables professional gamblers to use marked cards and other deceptions. Foremost today is the so-called "Stock-Market" where, under the pretext of distributing capital, whole nations are plunged into daily gambling with rigged results. Beyond that is the custom of establishing centers of gambling, prostitution and drug taking. Under the Colonial system, Britain did this at Singapore, after she had forced opium from India on helpless China. France made Hanoi and Saigon such centers. All three of these nations made Shanghai and its Bund a sink of iniquity until China arose and redeemed a nation. Hong Kong is still a cess-pool under the British. "Chinatowns" all over the World were encouraged to prove Chinese hopelessly debauched. What Nigeria should seek is right conduct; simple comfort without senseless luxury and show; work and wage, not stealing and gambling; walking and running gymnastics and games, rather than elaborate "sports"; music, not noise and hysteria; mothers, homes and childrens, not abortions, dens and prostitutes; refrigerators to preserve food, rather than automobiles to crowd the streets, kill the pedestrians, and carry hundreds whither they have no need to go. Think, listen, read, and do the right which you well know: This is the Will of all your gods; this is Peace on earth and Plenty.

Nations must defend themselves: from foes from without, from inner crime and turmoil. Increased civilization lessens the fear of outer attack, and yet, even today, some armed defense is called for. Always inner police must be at call. But the cost of defense decreases as War ceases; as men become educated and moral, and as crime

latest results of social science the history of mankind on the African continent will be recorded. The Ghana Academy of Learning, under the patronage of President Kwame Nkrumah initiated this project, and asked my help since I had planned such an encyclopaedia early in the century. The Governor-General of Nigeria has expressed his interest in this project and the cooperation of other African rulers will be asked. In order that this project shall be written from the African point of view and not from that of the colonial masters we shall seek African scholars, so far as we can find well-trained scientists of African descent. For this I have already consulted Dr. Dike of the Nigerian University College at Ibadan. He is perhaps the best known African scholar in African history. He and his scholars have given cheerful promise of cooperation. But scientific truth is our aim and not mere racial propaganda; when then no African scholars are found who measure up to modern scientific standards, we shall draw no color line and seek the best scholar, without regard to color, race or religion.

40-2-59

The African loves drama; his sense of theatre is inborn. Nigeria should encourage and lead this desire and as soon as possible escape from the present compulsion to see only foreign plays and films. Especially, the present dependence of the world on the decadence of Hollywood is deplorable and must as soon as possible be terminated. Nigeria must eventually make its own films and meantime seek decent films from those who have them.

The gathering of news from the world; the free expression of opinion; the unhampered creation of forms of art are prime needs of a nation. Remember that most nations today have difficulty in getting true reports of current events; are not allowed to hear what men think and are limited in knowing forms of art and literature which their governments do not like. Let this never occur. Watch the press. Insist on hearing the "other side". Resent the gagging of opinion or taste. Watch the beginnings of this tendency, before it is too late and you find yourselves gagged and bound with monopoly.

Insert 23

Nigeria must from the first strive to treat the problems of sex with commonsense and not mess them up as Europe has. You cannot worship virginity in women, when the natural function of women is to give birth to babies. You cannot regard the human body and sex relations as essentially nasty and still reproduce healthy human beings. Sex promiscuuty defeats its aim of pleasure and healthy children, and while women are designed to bear children, they cannot in civilized li fe be regarded as brood mares or purveyors of the pleasure of men. In finefrom the year of about sixteen to twenty-six, the n natural sex appetite is strong and should be endulged, legally and normally These years are best for parenthood and make possible a normal companion ship of children and parents which czn build the normal family. Marriage should make public this procreation of children. But the marriage should be made terminable at will of either partner when it ceases to be satsi-factory, provide the rights of husbsnd, wife and children are fully assur ed. All this can be feasable by law and custom, if treated by law and de cency and not hidden in sdcrecy, cheating and false shame.

40-2-60

Sex is a healthy, natural appetite, but

They have as much right to careers as men and after the normal child bearing age they should join in the world's work; they should even have the right if it suits their health or ambitions to surrender motherhood for work they can do better.

Insert 23 B

follow

Insert 23 B

One problem has resulted in paradox in modern civilizat. That is what is called "menial Service". It is arising in Nigeria. What shall be the status and wage of those who do the intimate services which everyman requires more or less from infancy through age: the care of infants, the bathing of bodies, the cooking and serving of food, the washing of clothes, the cleaning of living quarters, a attending the sick, adorning the body, entertaining guests, and like matters. These services are on the one hand, matters of love and trained knowledge; On the oth er , they are often regarded as the lowest work of mankind, fit only for slaves or the lowest and worst treated of workers. Yet both these things they cannot be. What is holier and dirtier than a mother's care? What is more despised than menial serv vice? This parodox must be reconciled. Nigerians of wealth and position are hiring many servants and paying them low wage. Nigerians of education and ambition refuse to become servants. What must be the end of this? Service needs education and skill and such folk can be had only for good pay and public respect. In all civilized lands the "servant" problem is unsolved and often seemingly unsoluble. Nigeria must solve it. she must rate meniel service high and pay it well, and in turn the servant must be trained and so capable as to deserve respect. This will take time and thought, but it is none the less pressing and pressing now. Here and there in the world one sees the beginnings of solution: in New York garbage collectors are paid more than most teachers; in Britain old and trusted servants are part of the family. In the Soviet Union, servants afe equal in status to any worker.

(back to 1.23)

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decreases because of education and cure of disease. For Nigeria, friendliness with neighbors is called for; intertribal quarrels must be lessened and wider union of nations rather than division into small and smaller parts. The Pan-African movement must someday unite all Africa into one great federation, playing a leading roll in a perfect United Nations. Meantime, so long as South Africa breaks every law of human decency; so long as Portugal continues to lie about her murder and theft in Africa; so long Nigeria must be strong enough to boycott and refuse political ties with them. And, if Britain, France, or Israel prepare nuclear force against Algeria or other helpless nations, Nigeria is justified in demanding atomic weapons of the Soviet Union and China.

29-2-04

One peculiar development in the West and particularly in the United States is the dominance of advertising over production and distribution of goods. Advertising is letting the consumer know what the producer has to sell. Or at another step shows what the trader has bought from the producer and offers to sell the producer. But, today, in America, the advertiser dominates the market; he decides what shall be sold and at what price; the consumer is compelled to buy what the advertiser offers at the advertiser's price. The intricate methods by which the advertiser has acquired this power are intricate and hard to understand, but they involve large capital for useless display, highly paid skill in picture, word, and the government-backed monopoly of advertising media like newspapers and magazines, radio and television, and other methods which the government uses to put public profit into private hands. Nigeria should watch all approaches to this subtle transfer of power.

Another method of public aid to private gain is through what is called "Fashions". This is inducing the consumers, especially women, to wear what certain persons who monopolize publicity tell them is "fashionable". After a time respectable women are actually afraid to wear what is not "fashionable" whether it suits them or not. Now the people of Africa have for centuries become used to wearing clothes of a weight and texture, and color, peculiarly suited to their life and climate: the men's toga which

Rome copied, the brilliant robes worn by women, the children with a minimum of clothes were excellently adapted to Africa. Today Africans are being tempted to dress as Europeans do, regardless of whether these clothes are suitable or not. This is wrong. Resist "fashions" and insist on what is suitable. Instead of holding back a nation's whole industry until some fashion dictator decides whether a skirt should be long or short, wide or narrow, let individuals decide what suits them; instead of sending their designs and colors abroad for fabrication, let them be done at home in Lagos or Ibadan, and thus keep Nigerians at work. (insert 25)

Finally, what Nigeria and all Africa needs is knowledge of their past history and culture. Europe has grown powerful largely because its children for generations have been taught to believe in themselves. They have read the story of their past, seen pictures of the deeds of their fathers and heard legends of their people. Africans also heard of their past, but only in the dry regions like the Nile valley was the record kept in imperishable stone or written on papyrus. In the valleys of the Niger, Senegal and Congo, and on the West Coast, history lived in the minds of men, and was handed down over the centuries from father to son. The West interpreted this as fairy tale and not truth; also when the West wanted an excuse for oppressing and exploiting black folk, they said that Africans had no history and that this proved their inferiority. On the other hand, the West was tempted to exaggerate their own past and, especially, after the slave trade to forget or embroider the sordid story of colonialism. Thus the young African today, and the descendants of Africans in America, know little or nothing of their history or of the cultural inventions of their fathers. As a matter of fact, the transmitted lore of Africa is one of the finest cultural heritages of all time; it often borne the tests of science and the highest standards of literature and art.

To change this fatal ignorance of the present world I have undertaken to plan an Encyclopaedia Africana, in which scholars will set down in the light of the

Each Nigerian vilage and city should build its own little theatre where its own life is depicted, its own history told and the theatre of o other times and nations brought to teach and guide and inspire the people

40-2-65

Mar 25

The African loves drama; his sense of theatre is inborn. Nigeria should encourage and lead this desire and as soon as possible escape from the present compulsion to see only foreign plays and films. Especially, the present dependence of the world on the decadence of Hollywood is deplorable and must as soon as possible be terminated. Nigeria must eventually make its own films and meantime seek decent films from those who have them.

49-2-04

Watch city and suburb and do not let them kill nor oppress each other; do not \p pamper the city and starve the country. Protct the forest and keep it replanted.\P Protect wild life, both beast and bird; know the great world of insects and regulate it for the good of man and not for attack and disease. Watch and record the weath er, guide the rivers and harness poer so that nature as well as man furnish ~~power~~ and work. Give thought to the making of homes so that they become centers of protection, e education and pleasure and not airless and dirty dens of drudgery, dirt and pain

99-2-06

There is developing in Nigeria what is called a Bourgeoisie; that is a group of professional men, civil servants, merchants and white collar workers who are accumulating wealth, furnishing comfortable homes with servants, motor cars and many luxuries. This is copying after the white West and is normal and in many respects desirable. But it skirts fatal dangers unless watched guided and curbed. In all history, civilization has developed in cities. That is what the name means. It is natural that where men congregate in groups and come to know each other and learn from each other, here knowledge developes, inventions grow and men become builders of culture. But here too lurk dangers: the city group easily learns to use the peasant for the city's life and comfort without returning to the rural districts any of the human culture which its toil sustains. Almost invariably the country grows pooor and ignorsnt as the city grows rich and sophisticated. Then the inevitable bappens: the peasant tries to leave the farm and the city dweller tries to drive him back.

27-2-04

This is beginning to happen in Nigeria and it will increase in the future; and many will tell you that it is inevitable. Do not believe them. Educate your peasant; give them beauty and recreation. Make a life and career in the country as good as one in the city

decreases because of education and cure of disease. For Nigeria, friendliness with neighbors is called for; intertribal quarrels must be lessened and wider union of nations rather than division into small and smaller parts. The Pan-African movement must someday unite all Africa into one great federation, playing a leading roll in a more perfect United Nations. Meantime, so long as South Africa breaks every law of human decency; so long as (Rhodesia which one white minority rule; as long as) Portugal continues to lie about her murder and theft in Africa; so long Nigeria must be strong enough to boycott and refuse political ties with them. And, if Britain, France, or Israel prepare nuclear force against Algeria or other helpless nations, Nigeria is justified in demanding atomic weapons of the Soviet Union and China.

*7 One peculiar development in the West and particularly in the United States is the dominance of advertising over production and distribution of goods. Advertising is letting the consumer know what the producer has to sell. Or at another step it shows what the trader has bought from the producer and offers to sell the producer. But, today, especially in America, the advertiser dominates the market; he decides what shall be sold and at what price; the consumer is practically compelled to buy what the advertiser offers at the advertiser's price. The ~~intricate~~ methods by which the advertiser has acquired this power are intricate and hard to understand, but they involve large capital for useless display, highly paid skill in picture and word, and the government-backed monopoly of advertising media like newspapers and magazines, radio and television, and other methods which the government uses to put public profit into private hands. Nigeria should watch all approaches to this subtle transfer of power.

ADVERTISING

40-2-28

Another method of public aid to private gain is through what is called "Fashions". This is inducing the consumers, especially women, to wear what certain persons who monopolize publicity tell them is "fashionable". After a time respectable women are actually afraid to wear what is not "fashionable" whether it suits them or not. The people of Africa have for centuries become used to wearing clothes of a weight and texture, and color, peculiarly suited to their life and climate: the men's toga which

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40-2-69

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To change this fatal ignorance I have undertaken to plan an Encyclopaedia Africana, in which scholars will set down in the light of the latest results of social science the history of mankind on the African continent. The Ghana Academy of Learning, under the patronage of President Kwame Nkrumah initiated this project, and asked my help since I had planned such an encyclopaedia ~~since 1900.~~ The Governor of Nigeria has expressed his interest in this project and the coopdration of other African rulers will be asked. In order that this project shall be written from the African point of view and not from that of the colonial master we shall seek African scholars, so far as we can find ~~such~~ well trained scientists of African descent. But scientific truth is our aim and not mere racial propaganda; ~~If~~ then no African scholars are found who measure up to modern scientific standards, we shall draw no color line and we seek the best scholar, without regard to color, race or religion

The African loves drama; his sense of theatre is inborn. Nigeria should encourage and lead this desire and as soon as possible escape from the presence compulsion to ~~import~~ our foreign plays and films. Especially the present dependence of the world on the decadence of Hollywood is deplorable and must as soon as possible be terminated. Nigeria must eventually make its own films and meantime seek decent films from those who have them.

The gathering of news from the world; the free expression of opinion; the unhampered creation of forms of art are prime needs of a nation. Remember that most nations today have difficulty in getting true reports of current events; are not allowed to hear what men think and are limited in knowing forms of art and literature which their governmenta do not like. Let this never occur. Watch the press. Insist on hearing the "other side" Resent the gagging of opinion or taste. Watch the beginnings of this tendency, before it is too late and you find yourselves gagged and bound with monopoly

40-2-71

latest results of social science the history of mankind on the African continent ~~will be recorded.~~ The Ghana Academy of Learning, under the patronage of President Kwame Nkrumah initiated this project, and asked my help since I had planned such an encyclopaedia early in the century. The Governor-General of Nigeria has expressed his interest in this project and the cooperation of other African rulers will be asked. In order that this project shall be written from the African point of view and not from that of the colonial masters we shall seek African scholars, so far as we can find well-trained scientists of African descent. For this I have already consulted Dr. Dike of the Nigerian University College at Ibadan. He is perhaps the best known African scholar in African history. He and his scholars have given cheerful promise of cooperation. But scientific truth is our aim and not mere racial propaganda; when then no African scholars are found who measure up to modern scientific standards, we shall draw no color line and seek the best scholar, without regard to color, race or religion.

27-2-07

Other African Universities and Colleges have promised cooperation

6-1-V

40-2-73

Nigeria needs capital. All nations need capital. Capital accumulation is a great modern idea. This means simply that a nation must produce more than enough for its immediate needs so as to use the surplus for better and increased production in the future. How now can capital best be raised? The simplest way is that a worker refrains from consuming all he makes and saves the surplus. He thus deserves a profit for his sacrifice, and of course retains ownership of his original property. This is the original and simple concept of capital. But the concept and practice has greatly changed in modern days.: first the original capital is often not owned wholly by an individual, but is the gift of the state and yet the profit goes into private hands. For the state builds a harbor with public taxes and yet private persons or corporations reap the profit without adequate charge. Or a private corporation builds a railroad, sells it to the state for a price much higher than it is worth, and the state tries to run the railroad, but must first pay the inflated price with high interest. State conduct of the railroad results in a deficit which the public pays with high fares and frieght charges. Or again the state gives a private corporation a monopoly in the use of streets and then the corporation makes a large profit which it calls its own with no payment or very inadequate payment to the public. So that a new state like Nigeria must from the beginning be sure that the capital they borrow really belongs to the person or corporation which claims profit for its use.

The current method of bringing industry to farming countries is by borrowing wealth from Europe; buying machines and tools with this wealth and then importing skilled technicians

from abroad to migrate here and set up factories. With these factory hands and engineers come merchants to buy the manufactured products for sale abroad; and bringing with them goods made abroad to sell to the natives. This system which once seemed quite natural and good for all was soon seen to be but little different from colonialism. The interest on borrowed capital was so high and the terms so onerous, that the lending capitalists soon owned the country. It was thus that Algeria, Tunis and Egypt came under the complete control of Britain and France. It was this that would soon have happened to Ghana had not Nkrumah checkmated the trend; it was this that would have been the fate of Nigeria had it not been for the sacrifice and persistence of Macauley and Azikiwe. Moreover, their work is not finished: it has just begun. Nigeria needs industry; and for industry Nigeria needs capital; and to use capital Nigeria needs skill, engineers, science. Capital must be saved. Each Nigerian, above what he eats, wears, and uses, must sacrifice and save. Every nation must save wealth for use as capital -- to make more goods for future use.

40-2-25

But considering the need; looking the present world crisis and threat straight in the face;considering how advantageous it would be if more capital was available now, some capital can and should be borrowed, if that can be done on favorable terms. It has long been the custom for western capitalists to gang up on poor countries in Asia and Africa and charge them exorbitant interest. Today they charge from five to ten percent, with other requirements which raise the charge to fifteen or twenty-five percent. But the Soviet Union and China often lend for two percent and sometimes for nothing. Nigeria should examine all terms offered and if they are clear and honest, with no strings attached, borrow at the best rates, the smallest sums sufficient for its needs. Again, in the past, the nations which loan, usually sent their own nationals to direct colonial industry and furnish the direction and skill. For these they demanded special pay, preferred status, the right to govern even when the natives were disfranchised; and preferred places to live. All this privilege must go. If white folk cannot come to Nigeria and live on Nigerian wages, alongside Nigerian people, with the rights and no more rights than Nigerians enjoy, then White folk must stay out of Nigeria. Differences in custom, current ignorance of sanitation, and dire poverty, may make it difficult at

present to carry out this equality of treatment; but that only indicates how quickly and thoroughly Nigeria must rid itself of poverty, ignorance and disease, and what whites must sacrifice if they come here.

However, there is offered Nigerians another way. You will find that the British and French and, especially, the North Americans suggest a quick by-path for Nigeria to become rich and happy. And that is for intelligent and well-to-do Nigerians to join the British and Americans and other white capitalists in exploiting the country and using cheap black labor and cheap land and its products, in making themselves and the white folk rich, and keeping most Nigerians especially the farmers and peasants, ignorant, poor and sick.

They say this should be done because it is the best and quickest way to help Nigeria upward. They point out that when men say that such a country is rich, they mean that their upper classes are rich but that the masses are poor, because the wealth they earn is used to support the rich in comfort and even luxury. They suggest that just as in the past, white Europe lived on black Africa, so in the future, the more prosperous black Nigerians become junior partners with white Europeans and live on the poverty, ignorance and sicknesses of the mass of Nigerians living in the country districts and the slums of the towns. There are other folk in Nigeria and increasingly in Europe and Asia who say no, there is another answer. It has become customary in the 19th century in Europe and North America to build Progress on Poverty; to make a few cultured classes rich by letting them feed on a mass of the poor, and ignorant workers. This is not necessary and was not done in the past. In primitive Nigeria, no member of a tribe was hungry so long as the tribe had food. There were no homeless widows, nor helpless orphans. The tribe and clan fed the hungry and protected the helpless. The clan saved capital and invested it. The profits naturally belonged not to the individual who handled the transaction, but to the tribe which owned the wealth. To be sure the system was not perfect. Tribes were broken up by wars and wars became slave raids which further disrupted clans. Clans and nations moved to avoid disaster or gain new land or power.

Disrupted members of tribes took refuge in towns without tribal protection and the ancient communal care failed often or disappeared. But it was an effective way of preventing poverty and spreading wisdom where and when it worked. Men remembered it, chiefs practiced it, and medicine men told about it. When now it is suggested that this common effort of the state be revived in some form, British and American scream "Socialism!" or "Communism!". But wise Nigerians are not frightened.

40-2-77

I have only to impress upon you that here there should be on your part little hesitancy. Socialism and Communism under the teaching of Karl Marx and Lenin are beginning to triumph and you should not hesitate in ~~choosing between~~ Studying these doctrines and the ~~temporary~~ triumph of private capital under Western Europe during the nineteenth century. Your logical development stems directly from the communalism of your fathers where capital or wealth used to produce wealth was owned by the chiefs who represented the tribe, just as today land and water are owned in a similar way and the profit made in early days through this capitalism belonged to all and not to any individual. This socialism ~~can and should~~ can & should be restored in the great independent Dominion of Nigeria? Over

~~You~~ Nigeria must build a ~~socialism based on the~~ welfare state and move toward a ~~communism~~ where all men work ~~for the state~~ to the best of their ability and receive ~~from the state~~ as wage not everything that they want, but everything that they need for the greatest development of all the people. This will involve sacrifice. This will mean not the rule of the rich and the smart, but the uplift of the great mass of people out of which will come power and genius and ideals which will restore Africa to the place it once occupied in the forefront of the world.

In the hard and bitter strife toward this end you will find allies. Some few in Western Europe and North America. But not many, for they want not so much your progress as profit from your free land and cheap labor. They are willing to share this loot with those of you who can be bought. But in ~~the great and successful~~ nations like the Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China; Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, and Hungary, ~~who are today leading the world~~ you will find allies and friends who will help you toward freedom and peace. If Britain rejects Socialism, whatever it is, that is their ~~business~~ right or any other nation

Northern Nigeria with its ruling sultans and emirs; with its Moslem and primitive religion is still the stronghold of the ancient communalism. As such it is a most valuable counterweight to Eastern and Western Nigeria which are centers of the new commercialism, where a new Bourgeoisie are seeking to exploit land and labor and reduce the peasants to subservient poverty. But the industrial and commercial Nigeria has embraced education and science, while the more primitive North has lagged in schools and defended primitive customs and dogma which hinder. The star of hope is that the North is beginning to encourage education and the commercial south is studying Socialism and Communism and what they may hold for future Nigeria

Britain and Scandinavia accept a partial socialism, but refuse as yet to accept the aims and methods of Communiasm. That is their right.

If the United States fears Communism and knows why that is their business. If Cuba chooses Communism, they have the right so to choose. Whatever Nigeria accepts is not a name but a fact. ~~Nigeria must~~ Nigeria must prevent poverty; it must educate the children; it must heal the sick. Whatever path leads to these ends, Nigeria must follow, no matter what it is called. Nigerian students should study and travellers should visit and examine the way in which the nations of the West and East are settling the pressing problems of income and expense; of work and wage; of property, of crime; of education and employment. Deeds, not mere words settle these problems, and it matters not a jot whether the system which proves effective is called Capitalism, Socialism, or Communism. Nigeria must adopt those measures which solves her problems and ignore that which suits others but does not apply to her.

In seeking these answers, the attitude and words of American Negroes greatly puzzle Nigerians today. They know that millions of black Africans for 400 years ~~from 1500 to 1900~~, were stolen from their homes and enslaved in America when not murdered or drowned at sea. In America they suffered every cruelty and degradation, while digging from the soil stolen from the Red Indians, wealth which made Europe rich and powerful and long masters of mankind. At length these black slaves gained partial freedom by their own revolt and by the help of white folk who grew ashamed of their own sin and pitied their victims' sufferings. They sued and sacrificed until black Americans and their white friends hoped that free black Americans might lead black Africa to freedom and independence. But before black America was really free, Black Africa arose to its feet and asserted a freedom and independence which is astonishing the world. When now, after some efforts at returning to their motherland, a series of Pan-African Congresses, and two world wars, there begins a new visiting of Africa by American Negroes. Most of these Negroes seem to insist that they are really quite well off in America; that racial segregation and color discrimination has almost disappeared and that American Negroes are ready to join white folk as investers in African industry and as guides in American skills and methods. Then comes some contradiction. Some other black Americans arrive, ~~who contradict this story,~~ They despite great progress aver that oppression, color discrimination and segregation still persist in the United States, even despite the law; and that most of the black Americans who spread these pleasant stories are paid to do so by the State Department of the Gov't-

Many of whom have suffered peesecution in the United States and be~~en~~
refused passports to travel. ~~and~~ They deny this rosy picture;

Government of the United States, or by Big Business enterprise which wants to prevent Africans from learning of Socialism or seeing Communism in action. Under these circumstances the path of Nigeria is straight. Learn the facts. Listen to the truth. Believe what is Right and follow the good.

40-2-79

Freedom and independence does not involve isolation. Do not withdraw from the world: join it more closely than before, but join as equals. Educate your youth at home, but send some of your bright and eager youth abroad for study and living in the chief nations of the world. Send students to Britain, to the United States, to Scandinavia, and also Germany, to the Soviet Union, and its allies, and especially, to China, because the Yellow Race has suffered even more so than the Black Race from the cruelty and exploitation of the white race. Use education to rebind and heal the rifts of mankind and never forget that trade and commerce can be made to human progress are the element of humanity. Africans are born traders. From the birth of Time the African market has set patterns for the world from the Nile to the Niger, from the Senegal to the Congo; from the Zambesi to the sea. The freedom of women began in the African market place and still can be seen on the streets of Cairo, Accra, Lagos, Ibadan and Leopoldville. Against these African traders, and their market place, is rising a terrible menace in the form of the European corporation: Unilevers of Britain, with a capital of a million dollars and an annual income of three hundred millions of dollars; other giant corporations of Belgium, France, and Switzerland, with the best and highest paid skill of the world, backed by the airplanes, armies and navies of most of the world's most powerful nations. This duel goes on today along the streets of every African town. The mass of retail traders, selling directly to consumers who are themselves either artisans or workers are the basis of national economy. They correspond to the artisans and retail traders of the world and like them are being attacked by the Corporation which eventually, unless the State steps in, will drive them out of business as it is driving out the retail merchants of the western world.

What is the Corporation? It began in Western Europe in the Middle Ages, when a Group of persons secured the right to be legally regarded as a person with limited

[The Corporation]

responsibilities, so that it could keep its gains made in trade and word for private use, but could shift a part of its losses on the State. It could thus afford to risk chances which would have ruined the lone trader. This artificial Body or Corporation entered into trade and if it lost, lost only what it risked; if it gained it made fabulous fortunes. The State soon saw these advantages and took part in the Corporations. If the State was an absolute monarchy, the King then shared the gains of the Corporation and taxed the people for its losses. But soon the other members of the corporations secured some of the gain or threatened withdrawal. Thus they shared some of the monarch's power and turned the State into an aristocracy. Later the common folk forced themselves into corporations and aristocracies became democracies. When the wage contract became common -- that is, when the laborer ~~sold the future~~ was forced to sell results of his labor to the capitalist, he had to form a defensive alliance, the Trade Union, to protect his rights. He changed the medieval guild which comprised both employer and worker and made a new group of laborers, after bitter opposition from the property owners. But in the late Nineteenth century the labor union gained recognition and legal status with political power and education for workers. Then in the twentieth century the corporations of capitalists began to move in and control the labor unions by law, curtailing their activities and by bribing their officials, until, today, many of the most powerful unions represent capital as much or more so, than labor. Nigeria must watch her unions; see that the workers controle them by democratic process and that the power of their officers is not secretly increased by bribery from capitalists. It was the revolt of the workers at Paris, against capitalist-controlled unions, in 1945, which made the Fifth Pan-African Congress possible and started Nkrumah toward freeing Ghana.

This growth and change of corporations can be seen in Western Europe. Elizabeth of England incorporated the African slave trade. Her nobility forced themselves into power; the great merchant groups succeeded to power under the Stuarts, and with Cromwell the power of merchants decreased. Then democracy entered, reaching its zenith with 1776. Democracy fell before the oligarchy of the Slave Power but triumphed in Civil War and abolition.

Since 1876, however, a new set of corporations appeared in America, due to disfranching Negroes and Poor Whites; on hoarding gold and monopoly of land and natural resources. The Corporation killed democracy in the United States, and now rules supreme, buying the presidency, cowing Congress and controlling Public Opinion through monopoly of news-gathering, ownership of the press, radio and television, and limiting the publication of books. Capital and invention now made the corporate form of enterprise invincible and it swept the world. Great Britain and France drove Germany out of competition in colonial power, and the United States pressed Britain to the wall and made a million a day profit out of the First World War. But the greed of the United States drove the world into bankruptcy, and Germany and Italy and Japan tried to seize the cheap colonial labor of the world and thus rule industry. ¶ A new element appeard, the Socialist Union of Russia and neighboring peoples. They, under the stern Stalin, beat back the Germans and freed Europe and America at the sacrifice of 20,000,000 lives and a large part of ~~her~~ their hard earned savings. Stalin and Roosevelt, therefore, proposed an alliance between the Socialist East and Capitalist West, based on disarming Germany and making her pay a part of the cost of the war. But Churchill, cajoling Truman; and American corporations and Trade Unions, backed by the armed forces, forced a settlement which refused the Soviet Union help, furnished West Germany arms and capital, and gave her corporations immense new power. The United States ringed the Soviet Union with threatening bases, armed with modern weapons. These weapons now included atom and nuclear power, and for a time, the United States believed that it could make the world do its will. But America failed. The Soviets invented their own bomb. India freed itself from Britain so far as her own capitalists allowed; China threw off ~~trained~~ America's stooge and drove ~~him~~ Chiang Kai Shek off the mainland with American arms. She erected an independent Socialist republic. Britain saw the handwriting on the wall. She yielded independence to Ghana and provincial status to Nigeria. France ~~yielded~~ gave more of her colonial world, [illegible] independence

40-2-81

corporations and individuals enforce fair prices. In turn give both the market place and the sidewalk vendor, clean and accessible places for trade. Do not clutter the sidewalks, or fill the street with waste and refuse. In short, so lift the standards of the street vendors, and so curb the profit and privileges of the corporations that they gradually approach substantial equality of opportunity to serve the folk.

And there lies the great truth which this people must seek: Service, not gain; not the spread of profit, but the increase of contentment and happiness. This is not utopian; it is not impossible. For five centuries Europe has taught the world that only the few can be rich, educated and live decently; and that this can happen only at the expense of keeping most people poor, ignorant and sick. Prophets and sages, working people, and poets, today are pointing out a better way: if all work hard at that which they can do best; if materials, goods and services are given all men not in proportion to what they can take, but in proportion to what they need to make them healthy persons, then most of mankind can live in a contented, happy world.

It is not war that made Europe great; rather war has near ruined what men have done to make a decent world. Cry Peace, then, Peace and plenty for all.

Nigeria has many religions. This is fortunate for it teaches tolerance. Had Nigerians been born in Spain, they would have been taught to hate Protestants; had they been born in Sweden, they would have disliked Catholics; had they been born in the United States they would have suspected Moslems. But in Nigeria millions of their fellows believe in the ancient faith of their forefathers, who saw God in mountain, tree and river; other millions believe in the religion of Mohammed which knows no color line; many are Christians who profess a high moral code; but all respect the faith of others and give them the right to follow it. They know that a religion is an attempt to know the truth and a belief in truth beyond proof. This dogma may go so far as to deny Truth but if it does in time it must give up dogma and recognize Science; just as Science admits freely that it does not know all, and perhaps never will. In the meantime the object of religion is to induce men to act right so that none will hurt another and all can find happiness. What is happiness? It is primarily the gratification of the senses: seeing, hearing, touch, taste, feeling. But here manifestly this is true:

moderation must be the rule; temperance: you cannot see everything on earth; you cannot hear all the music of the spheres; you cannot feel every pleasure at once. So the wise man eats moderately, drinks sparingly, does not go on sprees. Especially man must never seek happiness at the cost of pain and unhappiness to others. In a land like Nigeria, so long deprived of ordinary decencies, much more of happiness can be had. Many are apt to think that the Western world has enjoyed every happiness and should be imitated: that drunkenness, drug-taking, loud noise and hysteria are signs of culture. No, after all, eyes only see; ears only hear; the old dancing of your fathers is as lovely as new steps and lovelier than Rock and Roll. Man is just man. His capacities are limited and are loveliest when enjoyed in reasoned limit.

So what Nigeria should seek is right conduct; simple comfort without senseless luxury and show; work and wage, not stealing and gambling; walking and games rather than elaborate sports; music, not noise and hysteria; mothers and children, not prostitutes; refrigerators to preserve food, rather than automobiles to crowd the streets, kill the pedestrians, and carry hundreds where they have no need to go. Think, listen, read, and do the right which you well know: this is the Will of all your gods; this is Peace on earth and Plenty.

In many ways the West, and particularly Britain and France have seriously misled the world: perhaps the worst is in gambling. The primitive world thought ruled ruled life and for that reason they cast lots and threw dice. But now we know that natural laws, and human effort make history and that dependence on luck and chance is misleading, especially for the mass of workers. Yet gambling has been made fashionable in London, Paris and Rome through horse-racing, card-playing and so-called "sports" This is bad enough but beyond games of chance, comes systematic cheating, which enables professional gamblers to use marked cards and other methods of cheating. Foremost today is the so-called "Stock-Market" where unedr the pretext of distributing capital whole nations are plunged into daily gambling with rigged results. Beyond that is the custom of establishing centers of gambling, prostitution and drug taking under the Colonial system. Britain did this at Singapore after she had forced opium from India on helpless China. France made Hanoi and Saigon such centers. All three of these nations mad Shangai and its Bund a sink of iniquity until China arose and redeemed a nation. Britain has debauched the West Indies with horse-racing. Let Nigeria beware and resist gambling. Cultivate decdnt, amateur athletics and avoid professional " Sports "

then most of mankind can live in a contented, happy world.

It is not war that made Europe great; rather war has near ruined what men have done to make a decent world. Cry Peace, then, Peace and plenty for all.

RELIGION

Nigeria has many religions. This if fortunate, for it teaches tolerance. Had Nigerians been born in Spain, they would have been taught to hate Protestants; had they been born in Sweden, they would have feared Catholics; had they been born in the United States they would have been contemptuous of Moslems. But there are in Nigeria millions of Africans who still believe in the ancient faith of their forefathers, who saw God in mountain, tree and river. The followers of Mohammed know no color line; Christians know modern European cultures; all Nigerian religions respect the faith of others and grant them the right to follow it. They know that a religion is an attempt to know the truth, and a belief in such truth as is beyond proof. This dogma may go so far as to deny Truth, even when it is proven; but if it does, in time it must give up dogma and recognize Science; just as Science admits freely that it does not know all, and perhaps never will.

Meantime, the object of religion is to induce men to act right so that none will hurt another and all can find happiness.

What is happiness? It is primarily the gratification of the senses; seeing, hearing, touch, taste, feeling. But here, manifestly this is true: moderation must be the rule; temperance: you cannot see everything on earth; you cannot hear all the music of the spheres; you cannot feel every pleasure at once. So the wise man eats moderately, drinks sparingly, does not go on sprees. Especially, man must never seek happiness at the cost of pain and unhappiness to others. In a land like Nigeria, so long deprived of ordinary decencies, much more of happiness can be had, than is usual today. Many are apt to think that the Western world has enjoyed every happiness and should be imitated; that drunkenness, drug-taking, loud noise and hysteria are signs of culture. No, after all, eyes only see; ears only hear; the old dancing of your fathers is as lovely as new steps and lovelier than Rock and Roll. Man is just man. His capacities are limited and are loveliest when enjoyed in reasoned limit.

48-2-04

19

In many ways the West, and particularly Britain and France, have seriously misled the world: perhaps the worst is in gambling. The primitive world thought chance ruled life, and for that reason, they cast lots and threw dice. But now we know that natural laws, and human effort, make history, and that dependence on luck and chance is misleading, especially for the mass of workers. Yet gambling has been made fashionable in London, Paris, and Rome, through horse-racing, card-playing and so-called "sports". This is bad enough, but beyond games of real chance, comes systematic cheating, which enables professional gamblers to use marked cards and other deceptions. Foremost today is the so-called "Stock-Market" where under the pretext of distributing capital whole nations are plunged into daily gambling with rigged results. Beyond that is the custom of establishing centers of gambling, prostitution and drug taking. Under the Colonial system, Britain did this at Singapore, after she had forced opium from India on helpless China. France made Hanoi and Saigon such centers. All three of these nations made Shanghai and its Bund a sink of iniquity until China arose and redeemed it. Hong Kong is still a cess-pool under the British.

19

"Chinatowns" all over the World are encouraged to prove Chinese hopelessly debauched. What Nigeria should seek is right conduct; simple comfort without senseless luxury and show; work and wage, not stealing and gambling; walking and running gymnastics and games, rather than elaborate sports; music, not noise and hysteria; mothers, homes and children, not abortions, dens and prostitution; refrigerators to preserve food, rather than automobiles to crowd the streets, kill the pedestrians, and carry hundreds whither they have no need to go. Think, listen, read, and do the right which you well know: This is the Will of all your gods; this is Peace on earth and Plenty.

In many ways the West, and particularly Britain and France, have seriously misled the world; perhaps the worst is in gambling. The primitive world thought chance ruled life, and, for that reason, they cast lots and threw dice. But nowwe know that natural laws, and human effort, make history, and that dependence on luck and chance is misleading, especially for the mass of workers. Yet gambling has been made fashionable in London, Paris, and Rome, by the rich and high-born, through horse-racing, card-playing, and so-called "sports". This is bad enough, but beyond games of real chance, comes systematic cheating, which enables professional gamblers to use marked cards and other deceptions. Foremost today is the so-called "Stock-Market" where, under the pretext of distributing capital, whole nations are plunged into daily gambling with rigged results. Beyond that is the custom of establishing centers of gambling, prostitution and drug taking. Under the Colonial system, Britain did this at Singapore, after she had forced opium from India on helpless China. France made Hanoi and Saigon such centers. All three of these nations made Shanghai and its Bund a sink of iniquity until China arose and redeemed a nation. Hong Kong is still a cess-pool under the British. "Chinatowns" all over the World were encouraged to prove Chinese hopelessly debauched. What Nigeria should seek is right conduct; simple comfort without senseless luxury and show; work and wage, not stealing and gambling; walking and running gymnastics and games, rather than elaborate "sports"; music, not noise and hysteria; mothers, homes and childrens, not abortions, dens and prostitutes; refrigerators to preserve food, rather than automobiles to crowd the streets, kill the pedestrians, and carry hundreds whether they have no need to go. Think, listen, read, and do the right which you well know: This is the Will of all your gods; this is Peace on earth and Plenty.

Nations must defend themselves: from foes from without, from inner crime and turmoil. Increased civilization lessens the fear of outer attack, and yet, even today, some armed defense is called for. Always inner police must be at call. But the cost of defense decreases as War ceases; as men become educated and move, and as crime

98-2-04

For this I have already consulted Dr. Dike of the Nigerian University College at Ibadan. He is, perhaps, the best known African scholar in African history. He and his scholars have given cheerful promise of cooperation. Other African Universities and Colleges have promised cooperation. But scientific truth is our aim and not mere racial propaganda; when, then, no African scholars are found who measure up to modern scientific standards, we shall draw no color line, and shall seek the best scholar, without regard to color, race or religion.

18-2-04

THE NEGRO IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

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the negro in the french REVOLUTION

39-4a-8

by

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

AFRICA AND
THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION

39-4a-9

BY

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

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W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.

BIOGRAPHY

W.E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, born Great Barrington. February 23,1868, of Negro, Duth and Hugenot descent; educated in the public schools of Massachusetts, at Fisk University, Harvard, and the University of Berlin.

Has received honorary degrees from Atlanta, Fisk Howard, Wilberforce, Charles University of Prague, University of Moscow, University of Sophia and other institutions.

Married: Nina Gomer 1896 deceased 1950. Children: Burghardt Gomer, Nina Yolande, both deceased. Married 1951: Shirley Graham.

Professor of Greek and Latin. Wilberforce University. 1894–1896 Assistant Instructor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, 1896 1897

Professor of Economics and History, Atlanta University, 1897–1910
Director of Publications of N.A.A.C.P. and Editor of Crisis, 1910–1933.
Head of Dept. of Sociology, Atlanta University, 1939–1944
Head of Dept. of Special Research N A.A.C.P., 1944–1948
Vice-Chairman of Council of African Affairs, 1949–1954
Chairman of Peace Informational Bureau, 1950–1951
Editor of Atlanta University Studies, 1897–1911
Founder and Editor of Phylon, 1940–1944
Recipient of Internation Peace Prize, 1952
Recipient of Lenin Internation Peace Prize, 1959
Fellow of American Association of the Advancement of Science
Founder of Pan-African Congresses
Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters
Knight Commander of the Liberian Order of African Redemption
Editor–in–Chief of the Encyclopedia of the Negro, 1933–1945
Head of the Ghana Secretariat for planning the Encyclopedia of the Negro, 1961—

Author of the 'Suppression of the Slave Trade', 1896
'The Philadelphia Negro', 1899,
'The Souls of Black Folk', 1903
'John Brown', 1909
Quest of the Silver Fleece', 1911
'The Negro', 1915
'Darkwater', 1920
'Gift of Black Folk, 1924
'Dark Princess', 1926
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'Black Folk Then and Now', 1939
'Dust of Dawn', 1940
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'The World and Africa', 1947
'Battle for Peace', 1952
The BlackFlame' – a trilogy
'The Ordeal of Mansart', 1957; Mansart Builds a School',1959, Worlds of Color 1961

AFRICA AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

IF YOU should penetrate the campus of an American Ivy League college and challenging a Senior, ask what, in his opinion, was the influence of Africa on the French Revolution, he would answer in surprise if not pity, "None." If, after due apology, you ventured to approach his teacher of "historiography," provided such sacrilege were possible, you would be told that between African slavery in America and the greatest revolution of Europe, there was of course some connection, since both took place on the same earth; but nothing causal, nothing of real importance, since Africans have no history.

39-4a-11

Nevertheless, it is a perfectly defensible thesis of scientific history that Africans and African slavery in the West Indies were the main causes and influences of the American Revolution and of the French Revolution. And when, after long controversy and civil war, Negro slavery and serfdom were not suppressed, the United States turned from democracy to plutocracy and opened the path to colonial imperialism and made wide the way for the final world Revolutions in the 20th century.

Let us now look at the story. Columbus had a Negro pilot, and in the 16th century his son Diago was governor of the island of San Domingo and his slaves staged a revolt in 1522. A few years later Vasquez d'Allyon tried to settle in Virginia but his slaves revolted. From the 16th century on, the revolt of the black workers stolen in Africa and transported to America continued. This was proven by the fright of the planters shown by the increased severity of the laws; at the same time, their desire to pretend that the slave system for blacks was perfect and was not resented.

Early in the 16th century the Maroons appeared all over the West Indies. This was the name given to runaway slaves who took refuge in the mountains of Cuba, Haiti, Jamaica and Central America. They formed their own governments and even built cities. They fought with the Spanish, the British and the French; they made treaties which the Whites broke.

Meantime, by the middle of the 17th century Cromwell had seized Jamaica and the French had started sugar planting on their islands. White indentured servants were imported into the West Indies and the Africa slave trade increased. Between 1700 and 1776, 600,000 blacks were imported to the West Indies, Central and South America. French commerce quadrupled between 1714 and 1789. Dutch slaves revolted and gained their independence, and in Haiti a succession of black rulers in this land of mountains carried on continuous governmental organization which lasted through the 18th century and still exists.

San Domingo was an island of mountains rising in places 6,000 feet above sea level. The San Domingo planters and the British and French bourgeoisie were the new owners of some of the richest property in the world. Of these three the most important in 1790 were the planter of San Domingo. The island was beautiful. The climate was favorable, and crops grew the year round. The planters lived luxuriously, and spent their vacations or old age in Paris. In France they formed a powerful political force as their counterparts did in England. French women from the gutter as well as the middle class came to the colony. French aristocracy came to rebuild their shattered fortunes. They took Negro concubines. Colonial cities were centers of dirt, gambling and debauchery. In 1789, of 7,000 mulatto women in San Domingo, 5,000 were either prostitutes or mistresses. Failures from all countries flocked to San Domingo. No white person was a servant or did any work that he could get a Negro to do for him. The owners lived in barbaric luxury and the island produced more sugar, coffee, chocolate, indigo, timber and spices than all the rest of the West Indies put together. As early as 1685 Louis XIV had issued a Code Noir which made wives and children of Frenchmen free. By the beginning of the 18th century mulattoes began to accumulate property and educate their children in France. Their children began to return by 1763 and tried as freemen to take part in public affairs.

Meantime, the British were profiting by the slave trade and building up their mercantile system of colonial trade.

The French regarded the colonies as existing for the profit of France. Colonies must buy all manufactured goods in France and could sell their produce only to France. The goods must be transported in French ships.

Sugar must be refined in France. In 1664 France gave the rights of trade with San Domingo to a private company. The colonists refused and the governor had to case restrictions. This happened again in 1722. There was another insurrection, the governor was imprisoned and the privileges of the company modified. The colonists thought of separating from France.

Long before 1789 the French bourgeoisie was the most powerful force in France and the slave trade in the colonies, the basis of its power. The fortunes created at Bordeaux and at Nantes by the slave trade gave the bourgeoisie the pride that demanded "liberty." In 1666, 108 ships went from Nantes to Africa with 37,430 slaves trade valued at 37 million dollars and giving the owners from 15 to 20 per cent on their money. In 1700 Nantes was sending 50 ships a year to the West Indies with food, clothing and machinery. Nearly all the industries developed in France were based on the slave trade or the trade with America. Bordeaux grew rich by 1750 with 16 factories refining sugar. San Domingo was the special center of the Marseilles trade. A dozen other great towns refined sugar. Hides and cotton came from the West Indies. Two to six million Frenchmen depended for their livelihood upon colonial trade. In 1789 San Domingo received in its ports more ships than Marseilles. France used for the San Domingo trade 750 vessels employing 24,000 soldiers. In 1774 the colonies owed France 200 million and by 1789 between 3 and 5 million. The British envied San Domingo with alarm after the independence of America. San Domingo doubled its production between 1783 and 1789.

The British slave trade became an increasing source of profit and their monoply of colonial trade a matter of increasing importance. When, therefore, the American colonists tried to extricate themselves from British power they struck first at the slave trade. Already the Negro workers were beginning to take part in the struggle. Crispus Attucks led a mod in Boston and Daniel Webster said that the severance of America from the British empire dated from his death. The day of his death was a national American holiday for nearly a quarter of a century.

In 1776 Jefferson emphasized the slave trade as America's grievance against Great Britain. The American Revolution stopped the trade. In 1774, the Second Article

of the Continental Association said: "that we will neither import nor purchase slaves imported after the first day of December next, after which we will wholly discontinue the slave trade." This all agreed would stop slavery. As the war progressed Negroes took part. General Nathaniel Green writes: "The natural state of the country appears to me to consist more in the blacks than in the whites." American Negroes fought for freedom, perhaps a larger proportion of them than among whites. In the early battles of the revolutionary war Negro soldiers fought side by side with the whites. It was feared that their presence might encourage slaves in the South to accept the offer of freedom given by the British governor, Dunmore, of Virginia, and for a while Washington was induced to refuse colored enlistments. But this he soon gave up. Negroes fought throught the revolutionary war, mostly on the side of the Americans, but some on the side of the British. And Negro slavery was certainly one of the strongest arguments for the American Revolution. After American gained its freedom in 1783 it was felt in France and America that slavery in America was at an end.

The French Revolution has been written to largely from the white point of view that the part which the blacks played in this drama has been either forgotten or unknown.

A revolution is a transfer of power from the top aristocracy of a nation to lower and lower classes. Very often all the work and demand of and artistocracy is interpreted as transfer of power to the masses of people. This is usually untrue. Magna Carta was not a democratic movement. It was a successful attempt of the higher British artistocracy to wrest power from the King. The writ of habeas corpus did not mean that the working masses escaped unjust imprisonment; it was for the benefit of the rich middle class. And so in France the fall of the Bastille was a victory for unjustly treated aristocrats.

The freedom which France demanded in 1787 was freedom to build their current prosperity on the products of slave labor supported by a slave trade from Africa. Profits from this source were at their highest and French migrants were rushing to San Domingo to get rich. About this time the colored bastards whom the Code Noir had declared to be free and Negroes who had either earned or bought their freedom began to

demand French citizenship, and French theorists and dreamers backed them as Friends.

In 1788, France exported to French San Domingo 21 million dollars in flour, wine, and manufactures, with 580 vessels in this trade and 98 in the African trade, and 29,500 slaves were brought to San Domingo from Africa.

In 1789, the West Indian colony of San Domingo supplied two-thirds of the overseas trade to France and was the greatest individual market for the European slave trade. It was an integral part of the economic life of the age, the pride of France, and the envy of every imperialist nation. The whole structure rested on the labor of the half million black slaves.

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San Domingo was now incomparably the finest colony in the world and its possibilities were limitless. But without slaves San Domingo was doomed. The British colonies had enough slaves from all their trade and the British bourgeoisie who had no other West Indian interests set up a howl for the abolition of the slave trade. The rising British industrial bourgeoisie turned toward free trade and the exploitation of India and called the West Indies, "sterile rocks."

Adam Smith and Arthur Young condemned slave labor. India, after the loss of America, became a source of sugar. The production of cotton in India doubled in a few years. Indian free labor cost only a penny a day. There were hoards of gold, silver and jewels.

In 1786 Wilberforce began the anti-slave trade campaign. Pitt egged him on. Liberals in France, including the great names of the revolution, formed a society. The Friends of the Negro aimed at the abolition of slavery.

In the Estates General which met in 1789 the French aristocracy gave up many of their rights and formed a Constitutuent Assembly under the domination of the upper middle classes. They for three years made this bourgeoisie equal in power to the former aristocrats. Thus equality which came in France was equality for the property owners and not for the working, starving masses. For a year the mass of workers began to put forward their demands in the Legislative Assembly and then finally for three years came real revolution. The monarchy

was abolished. A Committee of Public Safety was established and pure democracy which allowed the masses to vote was proposed but not ratified. The King was killed and the parties fought for power. A reign of terror ensued which by 1794 was killing 354 people a month untill suddenly came Thermidor. Robespierre himself was killed. The power of the Paris Commune with its extreme democracy was stopped. Babeuf, the serf, was executed. But the people were starving and there must be a change. In which direction would the change go, to a further devolution of power to the workers. Certainly not, said the respectable people. They turned to Bonaparts who had just married the granddaughter of a Negro and finished an Italian campaign. They brought him back from his wild Egyptian venture and the coup d'etat of the 18th Brumarie which ended in the empire. This is the story we are told and Africa touches it nowhere, save that we say that the terror in France was copied in Haiti and that Napoleon gave Louisiana to America.

This is not the complete story. Let us go over the details again: when the revolution broke out in France in 1787 San Domingo had more than three-quarter million slaves. The cities of France were flourishing with the slave trade. The French who were gaining equality with the former aristocrats were basing this equality on the profits of the slave trade and on crops grown by black slaves. From the very beginning two parties appeared in France: the moral philosophers and the social theorists, demanding freedom of the slaves. On the other hand, the planters demand recognition as citizens and the exclusion of the poor whites and the mulattoes.

The planters supported the monarchy against the revolution. The poor whites supported the revolution against the King but opposed the mulattoes. The mulattoes sought alliance with either or both groups of whites. In 1789 the mulattoes sent Raymond and Oge to Paris with 6 million pounds in gold and a promise of this and one-fifth of the property which the mulattoes owned in San Domingo to pay the French public debit. These delegates were received by the Constituent Assembly, and the Assembly thus recognized the citizenship of free Negroes. The planters were opposed as were also the manufacturers and merchants of the great French cities. The Constituent Assembly voted by large majority not to interfere with the internal government of the colonies and refused

to abolish the slave trade. But on March 18, 1790, the Amis des Noirs secured a vote declaring free Negroes citizens. Planters in Martenique, Guadaloupe and San Domingo all decreed that the law recognizing the right to vote applied only to white persons. The planters and poor whites fought each other, but both were against the Negroes.

The planters of San Domingo by secret manipulation placed six of their number in the Constituent Assembly. When representatives of the free Negroes and mulattoes appeared in Paris to demand hearing they were received and backed by the organization called the Friends of Negroes. The Declaration of the Rights of Man was adopted.

Oge returned to America with British money, landing secretly in north San Domingo. He collected 300 men. He was attacked and took refuge in the Spanish part of the island; the governor surrendered him. Oge and Chavannes were sentenced while alive to have their aims, legs and spines broken and then be exposed to the sun. This was done in the presence of the northern provincial assembly gathered in state.

War started between the planters and the free Negroes. The planters, reinforced by poor whites from France pouring in to make money from slavery, numbered 40,000. The free Negroes and mulattoes were about 26,000. And, despite the supporting votes of the National Convention, the war was going against them.

Then the unexpected happened. The bolder slaves had formed bands of Maroons in the mountains and before 1700, became dangerous. Over 1,000 Maroons are reported in 1720, 3,000 in 1751. By 1750 their greatest chief was Macandel. He planned a rebellion but was captured and burned alive. The planters were determined that nothing would interfere with their method and the slave system. A half-million black Africans long self-trained in the mountaines of Haiti on August 22, 1791, in a midnight thunderstorm, attacked. Thiers tells us: "In an instant twelve hundred coffee and two hundred sugar plantations were in flames; the buildings, the machinery, the farmhouses, were reduced to ashes; and the unfortunate proprietors were hunted down, murdered or thrown into the flames, by the infuriated Negroes. The horrors of a servile war universally appeared. The unchained African signalized his ingenuity by the discovery of new methods and unhead-of modes of torture."

They killed, raped and murdered. They destroyed property. The smoke of the fires blotted out the sun for days. The richest colony of France lay in ruins. The world shuddered. The slave-holders were frightened to death. But only gradually on slow sailing ship, loaded with lies, did the truth about what was happening reach France. Only after months did it realize that the foundations of its wealth and prosperity had disappeared. It was this and not any demands from the masses of French workers or of European philanthropists that turned the reaction of Thermidor into a reality and in time brought the counter-revolution of the 18th Brumaire.

The Terror did not spread from France to Haiti in 1793. Already in 1791 it came to France from Haiti. It was Africa in America and Africans led by Toussaint L'Ouverture who struck the French Revolution after it had given freedom to property-holders, and faced it with chaos. They plunged into anarchy, tempered by murder, until the reaction of Thermidor restored property to power.

The revolt was all the more startling because while it had been in the fears and imagination of the colonists for two hundred years, it was always underamed of as an actual occurence. There had been numberless revolts, which had spread terror to whites all over the West Indies, Central America and the mainland of the United States; but once they were quickly suppressed, their details and facts minimized, the records destroyed and the memory forgotten.

In San Domingo itself the dangers of slave revolts was not unknown. For years runaway slaves had hidden in the mountains especially in the northeastern part of the island. There were serious slave revolts in 1679, 1691 and 1718, and in the middle of the eighteenth century a Negro, Macandel, carried out systematic poisoning which created a panic.

In Europe the organization of the lowest classes of workers and servants, peassants and labourers to gain political power and property was rare and cannot be compared to the corresponding organizations of the African slaves in the West Indies and South America. Many European revolts which are pictured as risings of the masses are nothing of the sort. The Protest revolution had no sympathy with the peasants and Martin Luther kicked them in the teeth when they revolted. There were revolts

of the suffering masses in Hungary, France and England but they were small compared with the concerted, long-continued rebellion of the black Maroons. While the blacks of San Domingo were in wild rebellion France faced two paths: one was that of Babeuf who came up from the bottom of modern class organization, the servant class; he saw the masses starving, he felt their misery and he sang the dirge of the dying. He struggled for a commune of the workers; equality not of property owners but of those who gave property its value. He prayed and struggled for his paris commune, but the mounting power of the property owners pushed and beat him back until he died. He died on the scaffold in 1796 but arose from the dead in 1848 and again in 1871 in France; in 1917 Russia; in 1939 in China and in 1961 in Cuba.

France repudiating Babeuf, in its unconscious frenzy, took refuge in the reaction of Thermidor, after abolishing monarchy. killing the King, and murdering their leaders. Thermidor was the rule of the property-holders displacing the aristocrats. But in San Domingo, horror faced Toussaint and his rebels. Toussaint revered the King, his Chieftain; he believed in discipline and authority. He deserted impious France and led his legions to the service of Charles IV of Spain. Slowly he and his successors in after years developed his ancient tribal commaunlism in San Domingo. Beyond these political provisions, he turned attention toward the economic; the island was divided into districts with inspectors who were to see that the freedmen returned to their work. A fifth part of the produce of each estate was to go to the workers. Commercial arrangements were made with the United States and England. He immediately issued a manifesto to all Negroes and mulattoes. "I am Toussaint L'Ouverture; my name is perhaps know to you. I have undertaken to avenge your wrongs. It is my desire that liberty and equality shall reign in San Domingo ! I am striving to this end. Come unite with us, brothers, and fight with us for the same cause."

Through the prowess of Toussaint, the Spanish pushed the French farther and farther back and in a short time secured possession of nearly the whole norther of the island and apart of south. The French commission found itself in a tight place and tried to extricate itself in June, 1793, by offering to free all slaves who would enroll in in the army. In August they went even further and proclamed universal emanicipation in San Domingo and this action was confirmed by the French National Convention, February 4, 1794.

The first proclamation had no influence upon Toussaint. As a Spanish general, he refused to recognize the authority of the French. But when the English invaded San Domingo, the aspect of things changed. They landed in September and soon had captured that city with its heavy artillery and two million dollars' worth of shipping in its harbor. Toussaint knew the British as slave traders, and he now suspected that Spain wanted vengeance on France rather than freedom for the slaves. When, therefore, the French government affirmed universal emanciption early in 1794, he returned to French allegiance to the open delight of the commission. they said, "Remember that distinctions of color are no more!"

The blacks under Toussaint now proceeded to restore San Domingo to France. The mere magic of his name did much without fighting. In April Toussaint left the Spanish army; in May the French Flag was flying at Gonaives. From now on Toussaint was know as L'Ouverture, the Savior. Gradually the whole northern part of the island was in his possession. As Sonthonax wrote in his diary, "These Negroes perform miracles of bravery."

In after years, the successors of Toussaint, Dessalines and Christophe developed communalism and made the Haitian state independent and owner of its land and crops; but the surrounding world whirled away: it monopolized wealth in private hands, organized military power in their hand and France, the United States and Britain forced Haiti today. Still high in its mountains roll the tom-toms of ancient Africa and its dreams.

People who achieved equality in the French revolution had neither liberty nor brotherhood of the black slaves of Haiti who were dying for the glory France. For two years a National Convention was in control, which abolished the monarchy and vainly planned an equalitarian democracy. They tried to free the slaves, their own reaction could not survive slavery and live.

Meantime, separated by a vast ocean, with news traveling by slow sailing vessels, aad couriers leaded with lies, France and San Domingo led for a long period almost separate lives, neither knowing exactly what was occurring in the other. The French commissioners representing the state arrived in San Domingo. They joined the mulattoes and free Negroes and revoked the abolition of the slavery of the blacks. Toussaint, leader of the blacks, went over to the Spaniards and the French planters appealed to the British.

The governor of the colony helplessly called on the revolting Negroes to surrender. In answer Toussaint wrote: "Sir, – We have never thought of failing in the duty and respect which we owe to the representative of the person of the King, nor even to any of his servants whatever; we have proofs of the fact in our hands; but do you, who are a just man as well as a general, pay us a visit; behole this land which we have watered with our sweat or rather, with our blood,-those edifices which we have raised, and that in the hope of a just reward! Have we obtained it? The King– the whole world-has bewailed our lot, and broken our chains; while in our part, we, humble victims, were ready for anything, not wishing to abandon our masters What do we say? We are mistaken; those, who next to God, should have proved our father, have been tyrants, monsters unworthy of the fruits of our labours; and do you, brave general, desife that as sheep we should throw ourselves into the jaw of the wolf? No! it is too late. God, who fights for the innocent is our guide; he will never abandon us. Accordingly, this is our motto- Death or Vitory.!"

Thus while the slaves arranged themselves with the King as symbolic head of the state, the new colonial assembly August 24,1791, instead of appealing to France, begged protection, especially for their property from England: "Fire lays waste our possessions, the hands of our Negroes in arms are already dyed with the blood of our brethren. Very prompt assistance is necessary to save the wreck of our fortunes-already half-destroyed; and confined within the towns, we look for your aid."

The British after five years were sick of their attempt to conquer Haiti. By September 30, 1796, out of the whole number of white troops, British and foreign, who had landed in Haiti since 1795, at least 15,000 men, only 3,000 were left alive. April 22, 1798, the British Commander Maitland evacuated all towns in Haiti except Mole St. Nicholas. He had only about a thousand troops alive.

The brilliant success of Toussaint not aroused the envy of the mulattoes, but the suspicion of France. The commissioner, Sonthonax,* who had returned from San Domingo, reported to the new government in the Director in France, the facts concerning Toussaint, and they thought it best to send a governor who would curb his power. Hedouville, the new governor, arrived April 20, 1798, and proposed to take charge of the negotiations with the

English; but Maitland, the English commander, was only too glad to affront France by dealing directly and exclusively with Toussaint and to attempt to gain for England by flattery and bribery what he could not take by force. After five years of fighting, the loss of thirty thousand men and the expenditure of one hundred million dollars he offered to surrender.

On October, 1, 1798, Toussaint entered Mole St. Nicholas as conqueror. The white troops saluted him. He was dined in the public square, on a silver service which was afterwards presented to him in the name of the King of England. A treaty was signed by which the English gave up the island, recognized Haiti as independent, and entered into a commercial agreement. Then they tried secretly to induce Toussaint to declare himself King, but he refused.

Paris between March 1793 and July 1794 passed through one of the supreme epochs of political history. In this few months of their nearest approach to power the masses did not forget the blacks. They felt towards them as brothers, and the old slave-owners whom they knew to be supporters of the counter-revolution, they hated as if Frenchmen themselves had suffered under the whip. There were many so moved by the sufferings of the slaves that they had long ceased to drink coffee, thinking of it as drenched with blood and sweat of men turned into brutes.

This was the France to which, in January 1794, three deputies sent by San Domingo to the Convention arrived. Bellay, a Negro slave, who had purchased his freedom, Mills, a Mulatto, and Dufay a white man. On February 3rd they attended their first session. What happened there was quite unpremeditated.

The Chairman of the Committee on Decress addressed the Convention, "Citizens, your Committee on Decress has verified the credentials of the deputies from San Domingo. It finds them in order, and I move that they be admitted to their places in Convention" Camboulas rose. "Since 1789 the aristocracy of birth and the aristocracy of religion have been destroyed; but the aristocracy of the skin still remain. That too is now at its last gap, and equality has been consecreted. A black man, a yellow man, are about to join this Convention in the name of the free citizens of San Domingo." The three

deputies of San Domingo entered the hall. The black face of Bellay and the yellow face of Mills excited long and repeated bursts of applause.

Lacroix of (Eure–et–Loire) followed. "The Assembly has been anxious to have within it some of those men of colour who have suffered oppression for so many years. Today it has two of them. I demand that their introduction be marked by the President's fraternal embrace."

Next day, Bellay, the Negro, delivered a long and fiery oration, pledging the blacks to the cause of the revolution and asking the Convention to declare slavery abolished. It was fitting that a Negro and ex–slave should make the speech which introduced one of the most important legislative acts ever passed by any political assembly. No one spoke after Bellay. Instead Levasseur (of Sarthe) moved: "When drawing up the constitution of the French people we paid no attention to the unhappy Negroes. Posterity will bear us a great reproach for that. Let us repair the wrong – let us proclaim the liberty of the Negroes. Mr. President, do not suffer the Convention to dishonor itself by a discussion." The Assembly rose in acclamation. The two deputies of color appeared on the tribune and embraced while the applause rolled round the hall from members and visitors. Lacroix led the Mulatto and the Negro to the President who gave them the presidential kiss, when the applause started again.

Cambon, a deputy, drew the attention of the House to an incident which had taken place among the spectators.

"A citizeness of colour who regularly attends the sittings of the Convention has just felt so keen a joy at seeing us give liberty to all her brethren that she has fainted (applause). I demand that this fact be mentioned in the minutes, and that this citizeness be admitted to the sitting and received at least this much recognition of her civic virtues." The motion was carried and the woman worked to the front bench of the amphitheatre and sat to the left of the President, drying her tears amidst another burst of cheering.

Lacroix, who had broken the day before, then proposed the draft of the decree. "I demand that the Minister

Marine be instructed to despatch at once advices to the Colonies to give them the happy news of their freedom, and I propose the following decree: The national Convetion declares slavery abolished in all the colonies. In consequence it declares that all men, without distinction of colour, domiciled in the colonies, are French citizens, and enjoy all the rights assured under the Constitution."

During this time, the leaders of French industry continued their protests outside the national Convention.

"There is no longer any ship-building in our ports, still less any construction of boats. The manufactories are deserted and the shops even are closed. Thus, thanks to your sublime decrees, every day is a holiday for the workers. We can count more than three hundred thousand in our different towns who have no other occupation than, arms folded, to talk about the news of the day, of the Rights of Man, and of the Constitution."

On June 5th, the day after the Celebrations of the King's birthday and the capture of Port-au-Prince, the English commanders at St. Kitts heard that seven French ships had escaped the British fleet and landed at Guadeloupe. In command was Victor Hugues, a Mullato, "One of the great personalities of the French revolution to who nothing was impossible," taken from his post as public prosecutor in Rochefort and sent to the West Indies. Hugues brought only 1,500 men, but he brought also the Convention's message to the blacks. There was no black army in the Windward islands as in San Domingo. He had to make one out of raw slaves. But he gave them the revolutionary message and dressed them in the colors of the Republic. The black army fell on the victorious British, began to drive them out of the French colonies, then carried the war into the British islands.

Toussaint got the news of the decree sometime in May. The fate of the French in San Domingo was hanging by a thread, but now that the decree of Sonthonax was ratified in France, Toussaint did not hesitate a moment but at once tlod Laveaux that he was willing to join him. Laveaux, overjoyed, accepted the offer and agreed to make him a Brigadier-General, and Toussaint responded with a vigor and audacity that left all San Domingo gasping. He sent to the destitute Laveaux some good ammunition from the Spanish stores. Then he persuaded those of his followers who were with him to change

over, and all agreed-French soldiers, ex-slaves of the rank-and-file and all his officers, blacks and white royalists who had deserted the Republic to join him. "His demeanour at Mass was so devout that D'Hermona watching him communicate one day commented that God if he came to earth could not visit a purer spirit than Toussaint L'Ouverture."

The Directory which ruled from 1794 to 1799 turned to Napoleon who hated blacks. Neverthless, he married the granddaughter of a Negro, Josephine, who was a leader of currect French society. On the other hand, he dismissed General Dumas from his army solely because of his color. Napoleon was rising to prominence. He conducted a brilliant campaign in Italy and then from the foot of the pyramids looked toward India, but the British blocked him until unemployment in England brought the Peace of Amiens.

The French planters appealed to Napolean. He took their side, saying: "the liberty of blacks is an insult to Europe." But Toussaint was powerful. Napoleon had to flatter and cajole him. After consultation with French bankers, Napoleon planned an American empire based on African slavery. He lured Toussaint to France and killed him. He gathered a vast army under his brother-in-law, Le Clero, who sailed for San Domigo in 1801. He took 5 squadrons with 80 vessels and 21,000 troops. The Africans and the fever conquered this army and left Dessalines and Christophe, successors of Toussaint, masters of Haiti.

Napoleon was unable to start colonial imperialism in America. That was accomplished in later years when American democracy restored African slavery in the cotton kingdom.

But the world hailed Toussaint, he was one of the great men of his time. He made an extraordinary impression upon those who knew him personally or studied his life, whether they were friends or enemies. August Comte included him with Washington, Plato, Buddha and Charlemagne as worthy to replace all the calendar saints. Morvins, biographer of Napoleon, calls him "a man of genius." Beauchamp refers to him as "one of the most extraordinary men of a period when so many extraordinary men appeared on the scene." Lamartine wrote a drama with Toussaint as his hero. Harriet Martineau wrote a

novel on his life. Whittier wrote about him. Sir Spencer St. John, consular agent in Haiti, called him "the one grand figure of a cruel war." Rainsford, a British officer, refers to him as "that only great man." Chateaubriand charges that Bonaparte not only murdered, but imitated him.

A Fresh planter said, "God in his terrestrial globe did not commune with a purer spirit." Wendell Phillips said, "You think me a fanatic, for you read history, not with your eyes, but with your prejudices. But fifty years hence, when Truth gets a hearing, the Muse of History will put Phocion for the Greek, Brutus for the Roman, Hampden for the English, LaFayette for France; choose Washington as the bright, consummate flower of our earliest civillization; and then, dipping her pen in the sunlight, will write in the clear blue,, above them all, the name of the soldier, the statesman, the martyr, Toussaint L'Ouverture." Wordsworth sang:

> "There's not a breathing of the common wind
> That will forget thee: thou hast great allies;
> Thy friends are exultatoins, agonies,
> And love, and Man's unconquerable mind."

In 1802 and 1803 nearly forty thousand French soldiers died of war and fever. Le Clerc himself died in November, 1803. Rochabeau succeeded to his command and was promised soldiers by Napoleon; but already in May, 1803, Great Britain started new war with France and communication between France and San Domingo was impossible. The black insurgents held the land; the British held the sea. In November, 1803, Rochambeau surrendered and white authority died in San Domingo forever.

The effect of all this was far-reaching. Napoleon gave up his dream of American empire and sold Louisiana for a song. As Ce Wit Talmadge said: "Thus, all of Montana and Dakotas, and most of Colorado and Minnesota, and all of Washintion and Oregon states, came to us as the indirect work of a despised Negro. Praise, if you will, the work of a Robert Livingstone or a Jefferson, but today let us not forget our debt to Toussaint L'Ouverture, who was indirectly the means of America's expansion by the Louisiana Purchase of 1803."

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BOOK REVIEWS

Page, Thomas Nelson. The Negro: The Southerner's Problem. N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.

Review: "The Southerner's Problem" The Dial, Vol. 38, pp 315-318, May 1, 1905.

Rough draft; fragment

[came to title]

Mr. Thomas Nelson Page has ~~recently~~ collected in a book of 300 & more pages, certain articles contributed to McClure's magazine in answer & the unanswerable arguments of Carl Schurz, ~~& has~~ ~~in order to make~~ along with several ~~certain~~ earlier essays ~~writings~~ of his on the race problem. The result is a book with considerable ~~repetition~~ repetition and a notable lack of unity the central interest of which is psychological rather than scientific: that is at present too busy for the ~~South~~ South of a gentleman of chivalrous who while not a friend of the Negro race is certainly not to be counted an enemy.

A careful dissection of the book reveals some interesting evidences of growth & feeling. The first essay chronologically is Chapter VII written some fifteen years ago & published first in another volume. This essay is brought down & date by Chapter II with some repetition. Similarly Chapters VI & I elaborate Mr Page's only real contribution to the race problem in the years of his writing & observation — viz. the training & conduct of the house servant or the best Virginia plantations

49-5-44

Two chapters are given to special pleas on the subject of lynching & disfranchisement & a touchingly constructed & marvelously charitable ~~plea~~ plea in behalf of the present condition of the Negro. The book and such a solution of the Negro problem worthy for its ~~its~~ on its side for breadth & good temper on the one hand & the ~~the~~ the ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~

but this is seriously marred by careless
~~and the most serious lapses are common~~
statements of fact and, this large reliance on the fundamentally by
& this affliction of the misstatements assertions of this book
authority William Hannibal Thomas. For instance
& assert that "murder might easily have been done"
in the Boston "riot" ~~against Mr. Washington~~ of some
years since is an unfortunate exaggeration; the story of
Sam Hose is not at all in accordance with the published
facts, since many honest men do not believe he was
guilty of any crime but murder. Even tho ~~it would be~~
~~redundant to characterize Thomas & refer to him as~~
~~a distinguished Negro, as his book is "perhaps the~~
~~most remarkable study of the Negro which has ap-~~
peared the character of Thomas & the reliability of his book
have been too often exposed & have them made the
basis of reiterated slander upon the American Negro.

49-5-45

Murphy, Edgar G. Basis of Ascendency.
N.Y.: Longmans, 1909.

Review: The Horizon, Vol. 5, No. 2,
December 1909, pp. 11-12.

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found with 1909 material

There is something pathetic about Mr. Murphy's book. Here is a Southerner making a brave fight against Death; against physical death, for he has long been a sick man; against spiritual death, for he wants to be both a Southerner and a Christian. His book says, with careful, almost painful elaboration, and in slow and cautious movement: Let the Negro develope, break the chains, throw down the barriers, because after all he is but little more than a half-man and cannot possibly develop far enough to threaten your God-given supremacy. This is the main thesis of the Basis of Ascendency, through eleven chapters and 248 pages. One rises from the book with the same feeling that one rose from its predecessor, The Present South./ Jane Addams once voiced that feeling: she said the book was "too good not to be just a little better."

38-2-93

Odum, Howard W. Social and Mental Traits of the Negro. N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1910.

Review: "A Study of the Race Problem"

Unpublished?

A STUDY OF THE RACE PROBLEM

BY

W. E. Burghardt DuBois, Ph.D.

There has been in recent years some tendency among the post-bellum generation of white Southern students to study the Negro problem scientifically. In history we have studies of slavery like Ballagh's, in Reconstruction such excellent monographs as Garner's, and lately we are having distinct race studies like Tillinghast's, and Mr. Odum's "Social and Mental Traits of the Negro."

Mr. Odum's book of 302 pages is published by Columbia University and consists of an introduction and eight chapters.

38-2-88

Mr. Odum, after prefacing his work by saying that "the Negro is too often judged only partially" (p.13), states that his conclusions are based on a study of fifty towns mostly in the lower South and of some twenty other towns studied partially. He warns his readers that "this work should not be taken as a general study and as necessarily embodying final conclusions." (p.20)

Here is certainly a promising state of mind. When, however, one looks for the fulfillment of the promise one is disappointed. The scope indicated ought to make a social study of 100,000 Negroes - the largest single study of which I have ever heard. The wealth of statistical material from such a study would be large and illuminating; yet I have searched this book in vain for a single page of

statistical matter relating to the fifty or the seventy towns. There are a few general statements as to educational conditions in the second chapter but nearly all the figures given are from the United States Census. The chapter on Crime presents the only statistical matter but this is not from the fifty towns studied but is a series of reports of arrests from less than a dozen large and small cities, reports apparently such as any one could collect by mail. Outside of data which cover less than twenty pages of the three hundred, there is no way of ascertaining the basis of fact from which Mr. Odum's conclusions are derived. The fifty towns are not named, there is no statement of the schedules used, there are no tables from the schedules, no intimation of the scope of the investigation or the things counted. Further than this there is inexcusable exaggeration, e.g.:

"Negroes are rarely open to reason" (p.50) Negro children "are different in every particular from white children" (pp.44-45) "So, too, among the Negroes there is no social ostracism for those who are habitually guilty of gross wrongs." (p.89), and the remarkable statement that the "majority of Negroes" are "at some stage in their lives" vagrants (pp 217-18)

Statements like these are of course such as no student could prove by a local study and if he thinks he finds proof looking toward it the proof must be carefully stated.

In addition to this there are curious contradictions. For instance:

"The average of intelligence among Negro teachers in town and country is low and their education is meagre . . .

"The colored teachers employed in the schools of the towns studied are of a much higher order than those just mentioned.

38-2-89

"The Negro teacher has little reasoning power or depth of originality. There is little of the principle of honor among them - they do not comprehend it."

"The average of intelligence is higher; they are better educated and more earnest in their work. They have a broader conception of of the needs of the children whom they are to teach. They have an honest purpose to serve well their people."

Which is the truth: the conclusions from "town and country" or from the "towns studied"?

Again,

"The better Negro teacher is the most honest and sincere leader to be found in all the race." (p.34)

"The young educated Negroes are not a force for good in the community but for evil." (p.41)

In the matter of Negro crime he says:

"There can be no doubt that crime and vice among the Negroes in Southern communities have assumed alarming proportions. That they are not decreasing can scarcely be doubted by those who know the situation best. On the other hand, it is generally believed that the extent of criminal offences among the Negroes is growing and that the nature of the most common crimes and the prevalence of vice is growing more serious." (p. 182-83)

"A careful study of the foregoing tables will show that it is difficulty to fix the exact criminal status of the Negro; the same difficulty is found in the further study of criminal records and in private research. Contradictions and exceptions are numerous, so that it is doubtful if the exact relations can be determined at the present stage of our knowledge." (p.206)

38-2-90

Not only is the author extreme in his statements and contradictory, but his lack of knowledge of well-known facts is extraordinary. He asserts, without any figures or statistics whatsoever of his own, and in flat contradiction to the United States Census and other well-known sources, that the worse diseases among Negroes are increasing in frequency (p.167), that property holding is not increasing (p.224), and that "it is doubtful if a single locality can be found in the South in which Negro labor is not growing more unsatisfactory" (p.279).

There is evidence too of peculiar mental methods: Negro education is condemned as largely a failure because of racial peculiarity and not because, as he himself showed, only 30% of the colored children were attending school and these mostly for a few months in the year.

38-2491

Most astounding of all are the omissions: for instance, so far as I can see there is not a word in the book of the immoral sexual offenses of white men with colored women. The moral situation of the Negroes is explained as a race trait, and yet Mr. Odum knows that the small towns of the South like those he studied are rotten with illicit sexual intercourse between the races. On top of all this failure to grasp facts or array them, the book is full of platitudes like this: "If the Negro would work regularly and spend his money judiciously, he would have a reasonable amount of prosperity" (p.221-22). "The Negroes love notoriety and distinction." "Social prejudices and caste ideas are entertained by the Negroes of the higher class" (p.269)

As a scientific study, then, we must dismiss this book as untrustworthy, and must wonder just why the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia should have published it. As a study in the

psychology of the race problem, the book has interest and value. It is largely the expression of the philosophy of the younger South. Three-fourths of the book is generalization born not of the study of "fifty towns" but arising from a long acquaintance with Southern life and thoughts. As such it has value; it reveals the instinct for investigation, the desire to be open-minded and the endeavor to be fair. As opinion, then, it is worth reading, but as science it is not.

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38-2-92

Social + Mental Traits of the Negro. By Howard W. Odum, Ph. D. + Longmans, Green + Co. + New York, 1910. + This book may be obtained at the Office of The Survey for $2.50 (cloth), $2.00 (paper) or will be sent postpaid.

[p. 5 missing]

Ent Sept 19, 1910

A STUDY OF THE RACE PROBLEM

BY

W. E. Burghardt DuBois, Ph.D.

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Mr. Odum, after prefacing his work by saying that "the Negro is too often judged only partially" (p.13), states that his conclusions are based on a study of fifty towns mostly in the lower South and of some twenty other towns studied partially. He warns his readers that "this work should not be taken as a general study and as necessarily embodying final conclusions." (p.20)

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48-2-86

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88-2-84

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(Review of Odeman's book.) First draft – Mod Lent

1910

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48-2-98

The tendency here manifest is good and no matter what our judgment of the work of particular individuals may be, it is reassuring when from the heat of prejudice and academic discussion an appeal is made to fact and science.

Mr. Odum's book of 302 pages is published by Columbia University and consists of an introduction and eight chapters. There are single chapters on education, religion and benevolent societies, the home life, crime and occupations, together with two chapters of conclusions.

Mr. Odum, after prefacing his work by saying that "the Negro is too often judged only partially" (p.13), states that his conclusions are based on a study of fifty towns mostly in the lower South, and he instances the difficulty of study because of the "suspicion and ridicule" of the whites and because "the blacks are very untrustworthy and suspicious". On account of its limitations, therefore,

he warns his readers that "this work should not be taken as a general study and as necessarily embodying final conclusions." (p.20)

Here is certainly a promising state of mind. When, however, one looks for the fulfillment of the promised one is disappointed. A study of fifty towns, "the average being about four thousand" inhabitants means 200,000 persons of whom at least a third may be presumed to be Negroes, to these we are to add "some twenty other towns" partially studied. This ought to make a social study of 100,000 Negroes - the largest single study of which I have ever heard. The wealth of statistical material from such a study would be large and illuminating; yet I have searched this book in vain for a single page of statistical matter relating to the fifty or the seventy towns. There are a few general statements as to educational conditions in the second chapter but nearly all the figures given are from the United States Census. The chapter on Crime presents the only statistical matter but this is not fromthe fifty towns studied but is a series of reports of arrests from less than a dozen large and small cities, reports apparently such as any one could collect by mail. Outside of data which cover less than 20 pages of the three hundred there is no way of ascertaining the basis of fact from which Mr. Odum's conclusions derived. The fifty towns are not named, there is no statement of the schedules used, there are no tables from the schedules, no intimation of the scope of the investigation or the things counted.

It is, however, possible for a student to make a careful social study and publish simply the general conclusions. This, however, as Mr. Odum himself says, is not advisable in this particular problem since we have a subject of opinions and a dearth of accurate knowledge.

In case, however, a student choses to keep to himself the statistical basis of a limited social study there must at any rate be certain characteristics of such a study:

1. The conclusions will be carefully stated and tentative.

2. They will be consistent with each other. No accurate student, for instance, after studying fifty communities out of a population of ten million could possibly make any of the folldwing statements made by Mr. Odum:

"Negroes are rarely open to reason" (p.50) Negro children are different in every particular from the white children" (pp.44-55). "The Negro shirks details and difficult tasks; he is incapable of turning his mind toward any other subject when once morbid curiosity holds his attention. He does not know the value of his word or the meaning of words in general. He utters phrases suited to his own fancy without regard to their meaning and forms conclusions in his mind which give him pleasure. He recognizes no causal relation between stability and prosperity, whether it be in reference to his local abode or his work. The Negro is improvident and extravagant." (p.39) "So, too, among the Negroes there is no social estracism for those who are habitually guilty of gross wrongs." (p.89). "The Negroes in their social life are, for the most part, careless in action and boisterous in their conversation. They are coarse and sensual in their association. The average young Negro does not know what it is to think seriously about better things and the average group never discusses for any length of time at their chance meetings anything of serious import." (pp. 233-34); and the remarkable statement that the "majority of Negroes" are "at some stage in their lives" vagrants. (pp 217-18)

48-2-100

Statements like these are of course such as no student could prove by a local study and if he thinks he finds proof looking toward it the proof must be carefully stated.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Odum does not believe these statements in the extreme form in which he continually puts them; This leads to remarkable contradiction of statements, for instance: "The average of intelligence among Negro teachers in town and country is low and their education is meagre . . . . . The Negro teacher has little reasoning power or depth of originality. There is little of the principle of honor among them - they do not comprehend it." "The colored teachers employed in the schools of the towns studied are of a much higher order than those just mentioned. The average of intelligence is higher; they are better educated and more earnest in their work. They have a broader conception of the needs of the children whom they are to teach. They have an honest purpose to serve well their people." Which is the truth: the conclusions from "town and country" or from the "towns studied?"

Again, "The better Negro teacher is the most honest and sincere leader to be found in all the race" ((p.34) "The young educated Negroes are not a force for good in the community but for evil." (p.41)

In the matter of Negro Crime he says: "There can be no doubt that crime and vice among the Negroes in Southern communities have assumed alarming proportions. That they are not decreasing can scarcely be doubted by those who know the situation best. On the other ha nd, it is generally believed that the extent of criminal offences among the Negroes is growing and that the nature of the most common crimes and the prevalence of vice is growing more serious." (p.182-83) "A careful study of the foregoing tables will show that it is diffi-

cult to fix the exact criminal status of the Negro; the same difficulty is found inthe further study of criminal records and in private research. Contradictions and exceptions are numerous, so that is doubtful if the exact relations can be determined at the present stage of our knowledge." (p.206)

Not only is the author extreme in his statements and contradictory, but his lack of knowledge of well-known facts is extraordinary. He asserts, without any figures or statistics whatsoever, that the worse diseases among Negroes are increasing in frequency (p.167) that property holding is not increasing (p.224) and that "it is doubtful if a single locality can be found in the South in which Negro labor is not growing more unsatisfactory." (p.279).

48-2-102

As a matter of fact, the Negro death rate from consumption decreased from 546 per hundred thousand to 491 between 1890 and 1900, according to the United States Census. While the Negro property holding shows the following rates of increase:

Homes and farms owned between 1890 and 1900, 40.9 per cent.
Property owned in North Carolina between 1900 and 1908, 124.2 %
Property owned in Virginia between 1900 and 1908, 61.6 per cent
Property owned in Georgia between 1900 and 1908, 91.5 per cent.
Negro Church property owned, between 1890 and 1906, 112.7 per cent.

There is evidence too of peculiar mental methods: Negro education is condemned as largely a failure because of racial peculiarity and not because as he himself showed only 30% of the colored children were attending school and these mostly for a few months in the year.

Most astounding of all are the omissions: for instance, so far as I can see there is not a word in the book of the immoral sexual offenses of white men with colored women. The moral situation of the Negroes is explained as a race trait, and yet Mr. Odum knows that the small towns of the South like those he studied are rotten with

illicit sexual intercourse between the races. On top of all this failure to grasp facts or array them, the book is full of platitudes like this: "If the Negro would work regularly and spend his money judiciously, he would have a reasonable amount of prosperity." (p.221-22) "The Negroes love notoriety and distinction." "Social prejudices and caste ideas are entertained by the Negroes of the higher class." (p.269)

As a scientific study, then, we must dismiss this book as untrustworthy, and must wonder just why the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University should have published it. As a study in the psychology of the race problem, the book has interest and value. It is largely the expression of the philosophy of the younger South. Three-fourths of the book is generalization born not of the study of "fifty towns" but arising from a long acquaintance with Southern life and thoughts. As such it has value; it reveals the instinct for investigation, the desire to be open-minded and the endeavor to be fair. As opinion then, it is worth reading, but as science it is not.

Mecklin, John M. Democracy and Race Friction. N.Y.: Macmillan Co., 1914.

Review: "Another Study in Black"

The New Review, Vol. 2, No. 7, July 1914, pp. 410-414.

Race Prejudice 1914

Professor John M. Mecklin of the University of Pittsburgh has written a book of 273 pages on "Democracy and Race Friction."

So far as the race problem is concerned the book is symtomatic with the average of our national thought. As a social study it belongs to the "sociological " school with elaborate insistance on psychology and groups and a vast overworking of the word social.

38-2-193

The book is divided into nine chapters. The first chapter says that the people must be alike if they are to liwe together in peace and it hastens to add that if two groups live together there is going to be "group" antagonism.

The social conscience cannot tolerate two standards of values different in quality and yet equal in authority. The race discriminations which one meets at every turn in the South thus become in their last analysis a form of self-preservation adopted by the group mind of the white. They often appear to the outsider cruelly unjust, and in individual cases perhaps they are; but the group mind, which thinks in comprehensive and convenient terms, has identified with the white skin the exceedingly fundamental problem of the preservation of the unquestioned supremacy of social ideals which are instinctively felt to be necessary to the integrity and persistance of the civilization of the white.

The second and third chapters proceed to prove that the ten million American Negroes are a "race" and as such inferior to the white race. The proof is brain measurements, quotations from African travellers and a good deal of insistance on the lack of variability in the form of the head of the Negro. Haiti and the prevalence of come in for the usual emphasis.

Summing up the results of the analysis of the race traits of the Negro, we assert that facts tend to show not so much racial inferiority as fundamental racial indifferences..... After every allowance has been made for the effect of the social heritage and for the generally acknow-

ledged similiarity of all mankind, so far as general mental characteristics are concerned, there is still left in the case of the Negro, as in the case of other races, a residue of racial traits that must be looked upon as peculiar to him.

These differences are found only at the lower level of instinct, impulse.

38-2-169

Handicapped by such absolute race differences the fourth chapter says that the social heritage of the Negro has been quite shocking. This wretched social heritage comes from their African life and their life since slavery it seems. During slavery the blacks were according to a long quotation on page 155, chiefly entertained with pictures of beautiful colored plates of Audubon birds.

Chapter five goes on quite naturally to say that a people with such natural traits and heritage are the subject of race prejudice. This, however, is not bad although the reaction of the Negro toward it may be dangerous.

The militant race philosophy preached by a certain group of Negro writers and thinkers is not one that the sincere friend of the Negro would like to see him adopt.

However, all is not dark. Mr. Washington's philosophy of submission is at hand and therefore in line on salvation.

So far the book has followed the logical and old-fashioned development of the anti-Negro arguments. The author has been at pains to avoid extreme views and has modified his own with certain semblance of fairness He desires, however, to come out at a different point than the older race philosophers.

Chapter six, therefore, on "The Philosphhy of the Color Line" represents a certain squirming away from the inevitable of the earlier chapters. This leads him to the following point.

The philosophy of the color line should enable us to understand why the full and complete social integration of the Negro is impossible. Such social integration as does exist must be based upon mutual concessions and compromises. The conditions of the greatest harmony will be, as already suggested, where the weaker group accepts unconditionally the will of the stronger group. Conditions of friction will inevitably occur where the weaker group refuses to accept these conditions. "The most fruitful conditions of race friction may be expected where there is a constant insistence upon a theoretical equality of the weaker group which the stronger denies." Starting with racial antipathy as a fixed and irreducible element in the problem, it is undoubtedly true that the farther we get from slavery and the nearer an approximation of the theoretical claims of democracy, the more difficult social integration appears.

Having reached this empasse he proceeds in the next chapter with "Creating a Conscience." This conscience, however, it seems is to be created by the Negro race.

The facts cited in the chapter on the "color line" indicate that the social salvation of the Negro for an indefinite period in the future must be worked out within his own group. And, therefore, we have a chapter which revels in the various short-comings of colored men; their lack of unity, and a certain Lincoln Emancipation Celebration, their pride and particularly their sense of immorality . This, the author returns to again in this chapter with a peculiar smacking of lips. He has before recited the statistics of Washington hospitals, he repeats the assertions of southern white physicians, he laughs at Negro preaches and criticizes "immaturity and uncertainty of group ideals" among the Negro intellectuals. In fact, it is quite evident after this orgie that nothing can save the Negro but the Negro himself. However, the author glances at the supreme court and is much pleased with its decision.

28-2-200

The supreme court's interpretation of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments has demonstrated another fact also, namely, the bankruptcy of the old theory of natural rights. The sublime assurance with which Summer, Garfield, Edmunds, and others assumed the essential equality of all men by virtue of certain natural rights, a "God-given franchise," which they did not take the trouble to define further, has disappeared. The most vigorous repudiation of the doctrine often comes from the sons of those who championed it. Their vision of an ideal social and political order based upon these "vague, irresponsible oracles of Nature" has now little more significance than an iridescent dream.

This, then, brings him to his last chapter and his great solution, "Equality Before the Law." He names three possible solutions.

Summing up our conclusions we remark first that the semblance of democracy may be preserved, as has been suggested, by maintaining the Negro in enjoyment of an artificial state of equality until, through a slow process of social selection and a gradual approximation to the type of the dominant group he is ready for complete assimilation. Such a solution is impossible. It presupposes for an indefinite length of time a mere modus vivendi injurious to both groups....

On the other hand it is conceivable that the principles of American democracy may perforce undergo modification to the extent of permitting a status based upon race traits and the resulting caste distinctions. In support of this view our attention is directed to the imperative need of a stable social order and the actual facts of race adjustment as they have taken place in the South since the civil war. Such a situation, however, apart from its violation of the spirit of democracy, serves only to perpetuate and to stereotype rather than to solve the problem. It would perpetuate it as slavery did or as peonage would do....

A third alternative is to accept the situation as it is, with all the complications arising from segregation and race antipathy, and to insist

upon a stern, evenhanded justice based upon equality of consideration. This implies, of course, that each individual as well as each racial group be free to find a natural level in society.

In other words, Mr. Mecklin, after having put the individual Negro out of the court and used nearly 300 pages to say that the whole problem is a problem of groups comes in his last chapter to a perfectly rational conclusion that this is not a problem of groups at all but a matter of each individual finding his natural level. But having once come to this conclusion how can we accept the situation as it is because the essense of the situation as it is means that the Negro should be treated not according to his deserts but according to that ever indefinite thing, the present status of his race. That the race to which he belongs should be assumed to be wholly of African blood and heritage, when as a matter of fact from twenty-five to forty percent of it is of Anglo-Saxon descent, and that finally, he is as a matter of fact judged not according to the real status of his race but according to what public opinion for the time being assumes to be the status of his race.

After all, this leads us to the inevitable conclusion that Mr. Mecklin's book is not worth while. It says nothing new, it is based on no first hand or intimate knowledge and the only thing worth while about it is its illogical conclusion.

(For Mr. Walling)

38-2-202

Phillips, Ulrich Bonnell. American Negro Slavery: A Survey... . N.Y.: D. Appleton + Co., 1918

Review: American Political Science Review, Vol. 12, November 1918, pp. 722-726.

AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVERY.

A Survey of the Supply, Employment and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Regime. By Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Ph. D., Professor of American History in the University of Michigan. D. Appleton & Co., 1918, 8 vol. lX 529 pp.

Mr. Phillips' work is not a history of American slavery but an economic study of American slave holders and their land and crops. As such it gives evidence of wide reading and knowledge of the facts. Two hundred of its five hundred pages are mainly historical, treating of Africa and the slave trade and West Indian and American conditions. Two hundred other pages contain a series of essays on aspects of slavery - the cotton crop, plantation economy, etc. The other chapters are devoted to freedom and crime among slaves and slave codes.

34-1-100

Mr. Phillips was born and lived in earlier life on a Southern plantation (p. 313, note) and bases some of his information on this experience. To this he had added a knowledge of the standard authorities like Helps, Hakluyt, Nieboer, Kingsley and Ellis, and the less well-known Saco and Scelle. He has made wide use of southern newspapers and pamphlets and some manuscript materials, but has done little with any Negro sources most of which he regards as "of dubious value," (p. 445, note).

The result is a readable book but one curiously incomplete and unfortunately biassed. The Negro as a responsible human being has no place in the book. To be sure individual Negroes are treated here and there but mainly as exceptional or as illustrative facts for purposes outside themselves. Nowhere is there any adequate conception of "darkies," "niggers" and "negroes" (words liberally used throughout

the book) as making a living mass of humanity with all the usual human reactions.

This intrigues the reader, for a history of slavery would ordinarily deal largely with slaves and their point of view, while this book deals chiefly with the economics of slaveholders and is without exception from their point of view. Its thesis is that slavery was an ordinary human labor problem not unlike that of modern factory labor. It had little to do with humanity and even its sufferings were not different from the ordinary hardships of laboring people, (pp. 52, 181, 182).

34-1-101

This thesis, however, encounters the difficulty that most writers, even of the ultra-economic sort, have regarded slavery as a peculiar sort of labor problem because of its degradation of the laborer and the reflex action of this on the master class. Mr. Phillips sees this difficulty and notes the horrors of the Roman latifundia and Cato's code (p. 341) but he surmounts the difficulty by two premises, no where clearly stated, but always implicit in his narrative. The unstated major premise is that Negroes were not ordinary slaves nor indeed ordinary human beings, "The heartlessness of the Roman LATIFUNDIARII was the product partly of their absenteeism.....and partly of the lack of difference between masters and slaves in racial traits. In the ante-bellum South all these conditions were reversed."

Mr. Phillips recurs again and again to this inborn character of Negroes : they are "very fond of display," (pp. 1, 291) with a "proneness to superstition" and "acceptance of subordination," (p. 291); "chaffing, and chattering" (p. 292) with "humble nonchalance and a freedom from carking care," (p. 416). From the fourteenth to the twentieth century Mr. Phillips sees no difference in these predominant characteristics of the mass of Negroes and while he is finishing his book in a Y. M. C. A. Army hut in the South all he sees in the Negro soldier is

the "same easy-going amiable serio-comic obedience," and all he hears is the throwing of dice, (pp. Vlll, lX). This Negro nature is, to Mr. Phillips, fixed and unchangeable. A generation of freedom has brought little change (p. lX). Even the few exceptional Negroes whom he mentions are of interest mainly because of their unexpected "ambition" and not for any especial accomplishment, (p. 432). The fighting black maroons were overcome by "fright" (p. 466) and the Negroes' part in the public movements like the Revolution was "barely appreciable" (p. 116); indeed his whole picture is of "inert Negroes, the majority of whom are as yet perhaps less efficient in freedom than their forbears were as slaves!" (p. 396)

34-1-102

Having now rather by innuendo and assumption than dogmatic statement established these sub-human slaves, Mr. Phillips, by a similar method, evokes the slaveholding super-man.

Slavery, we are told, (p. 401) was "less a business than a life; it made fewer fortunes than it made men." Life among Negro slaves "promoted, and wellnigh necessitated the blending of foresight and firmness with kindliness and patience," (p. 344). In fact the whole slave system was "analogous in kind and in consequence to the domestication of the beasts of the field" (p. 344). With such masters, Mr. Phillips finds the treatment of slaves on the whole excellent. He notes the "interest of the master in the future of his workers," (p. 357). The surviving vestiges of slave quarters proove how comfortably they were housed (p. 298). Planters had to "guard their slaves' health and lives as among the most vital of their own interests" (p. 301) and the tradition of the mistreatment of slaves in the Southern South were simply spread by border state masters "in the amiable purpose of keeping their own slaves content" (p. 305).

"There was clearly no general prevalence of severity in the

régime," (p. 307). "The generality of the Negroes insisted upon possessing and being possessed in a cordial but respectful intimacy" (p. 307). White and black children were playmates; returning masters had their hands and feet kissed and the result of the whole system was no fatigue or over work, as the "sturdy sleekness as well as the joviality" of most of the slaves proved (p. 384). Slaves were rarely sold by a master, (p. 397) and if hired out their masters were most solicitous for their "moral and physical welfare" (p. 410). Among town slaves there was "much comfort and even luxuty" (p. 424).

34-1-103

The author quotes some cases where this idyllic picture seems a bit beside the truth but he immediately martials overwhelming witnesses to the contrary. As for instance, on page 251, he gives two inches to Fannie Kemble's picture of a wretched plantation and follows it with three pages of contradicting testimony. The various severe indictments of certain aspects of slavery Mr. Phillips touches lightly but surely. The breaking up of families by sale is dismissed by the statement that slave owners "deplore" it, (p. 202). Breeding for the domestic slave trade is dismissed as "extremely doubtful" (p. 362). Concubinage and illicit intercourse between master and servant receives but passing mention. Fugitive slaves are camouflaged as truants. As for over work, "anyone who has had experience with Negro labor may reasonably be sceptical when told that healthy, well-fed Negroes, whether slave or free, can by any routine insistence of the employer be driven beyond the point at which fatigue begins to be injurious" (p. 384).

After having painted this picture of the slave régime Mr. Phillips is too logical a thinker not to see that he has over-shot his mark for the ugly fact remains that this institution of born slaves, kindly masters, and favorable conditions in crops and land failed to succeed. Why was this? It was not, Mr. Phillips assures us, because of any especial moral delinquency of the South and he uses the "Tu quoque" ar-

gument against New England abolitionists and English philanthropists with inspiring if not convincing keenness, even to the extent of making Oglethrope "The manager" of the Royal African Company. He finds Cairnes' stinging indictment of the slave Barons full of "grotesqueries" (p. 356). He attacks Loria's socialistic explanation of the over valuation of slaves as a "fallacy" and finally he, himself, explains the economic failure of slavery as chiefly due to the fact that "the routine efficiency of slave labor itself, caused the South to spoil the market for its distinctive crops by producing greater quantities than the world would buy at remunerative prices. To this the solicitude of the masters for the health of their slaves contributed!" (p. 398)

34-1-104

Mr. Phillips elaborates this thesis and also offers other and apparently contradicting explanations; on the whole this is by far the weakest part of the book and leaves the reader much befogged.

The last chapters come as more or less illogical addenda to the main thesis. Under "Town Slaves" the servant problem of the whites is mainly treated. Under "Free Negroes" we are told of some slaves who won deserved freedom and the others who tasting freedom returned to the plantation. Slave crime includes the stories of such criminals as Denmark, Vesey and Toussaint L'Overture, and the treatment of slave codes shows, according to Mr. Phillips, that "the government of slaves was for the ninety and nine by men, and only for the hundredth by laws. There were injustice, oppression, brutality and heartburning in the regime, - but where in the struggling world are these absent? There were also gentleness, kind-hearted friendship and mutual loyalty to a degree hard for him to believe who regards the system with a theorist's eye and a partisan squint" (p. 514).

On the whole this book with its undoubted evidence of labor and research, its wealth of illustrative material and its moderate tone is deeply disappointing. It is a defense of American slavery - a de-

fense of an institution which was at best a mistake and at worst a crime made in a day when we need sharp and implacanle judgment against collective wrong doing by cultured and courteous men. The case against slavery is too strong to be moved by this kind of special pleading. The mere fact that it left to the world today a heritage of ignorance, crime, lynching, lawlessness and economic injustice to be struggled with by this and succeeding generations is a condemnation unanswered by Mr. Phillips and unanswerable.

34-1-105

Woolf, Leonard. Empire and Commerce in Africa. London: Labour Research Department, 1920.

Review: The Survey, vol. 44, no. 9, May 29, 1920, pp. 310-311.

EMPIRE AND COMMERCE IN AFRICA. A STUDY IN ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM BY LEONARD WOOLF. LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, LONDON. PRICE

This is a book of great value and startling candor. It will remind some of a Veblen satire but it is more concrete and human than that. It's thesis is one that from now on must more and more force itself on the minds of thinkers and reformers: human history, social development and modern industry are matters of human want and will and not simply mechanical necessity due to the "logic of events". On this thesis Mr. Woolf traces the history of economic imperialism as a set of ideas governing the relations of Europe and Africa since 1876. These ideas may be briefly summed up in the phrase of Joseph Chamberlain spoken in 1896 - "It is not too much to say that commerce is the greatest of all political interests, and that that Government deserves most the popular approval which does most to increase our trade and to settle it on a firm foundation."

38-15-122

Mr. Woolf says: "It is almost impossible to visualize the total effect which the acceptance of this axiom in the last sixty years has had upon the world. It has turned whole nations into armies, and industry and commerce into weapons of economic war. It has caused more bloodshed than ever religion or dynasties caused in an equal number of years, when gods and kings, rather than commerce, were the "greatest of political interests." It was the chief cause of the war which we have just been fighting, and which in Asia men already talk of as the first act in the passing of the civilization of Europe. It has proved infinitely stronger than the other two great currents in nineteenth century history, democracy and nationalism, for everywhere in Europe democratic have yielded to economic ideals, and nationalism, wherever it has appeared, has applied itself most violently to economic ends. Within Europe the form and method of national commerce

and industry have been moulded by it, and it has built the barriers and set the limits of all international intercourse. These are only some of its more beneficent results upon the lives of Europeans, but its effects have been almost more violent outside Europe. For it has converted the whole of Africa and Asia into mere appendages of the European State, and the history of those two continents, the lives which men live in Nigeria or Abyssinia, in India and Siam and China, are largely determined by the conviction of Europeans that 'commerce is the greatest of European political interests.'"

Mr. Woolf's book is divided into three parts: in the fifty pages of part one he states his thesis; the main part of the book, part two, consists of 250 pages of social and historical investigations of the facts which prove his thesis. This part is admittedly incomplete. Morocco is omitted and Egypt, Tripoli and German Africa treated but incidentally and nothing is said of South or West Africa or of Portuguese. To treat all this as thoroughly and incisively as the author has done Algeria Tuine, Abyssinia and East Africa would, as he says, require many volumes. Yet eventually it should be done.

The part of Africa studied as a shuddering story of crime;lying, deception, stealing, cold-blooded murder - every crime of the calendar has marked the advance of Europe into Africa. And for waht? Part three announces this:

"The use of the State's power in Africa to support the economic interests of its citizens and to acquire African territory has poisoned international relations at their source during the last forty years. We have seen in these pages something of the state of feeling which these hostilities and competitions have produced at different times between France and Britain, Italy and France, and Britain and Germany. The fact that this policy more than once brought the world tothe verge of a

European war, and was a very material cause in pushing it over the brink in 1914, is perhaps not the most important point. The important point is that so long as policy is dominated by this hostility and competition of economic imperialism, and the power of the State is controlled and directed by the profit-making desires, there can be internationally no stability or security, no real harmony or co-operation. European policy in Africa may not have been the immediate cause of the Great War, but you cannot have a policy such as Europe pursued in Africa between 1880 and 1914 without great wars."

28-15-124

Review: "Eternal Africa"

The Nation, Vol. 111, No. 2882,

September 25, 1920, pp. 350-352.

ETERNAL AFRICA

Africa and the Discovery of America. Volume 1. By Leo Wiener, Innes & Sons.

The Republic of Liberia. By R. C. F. Maughan. Charles Scribner's Sons.

La France au Maroc. By Berthe Georges-Gaulis. Librairie Armand Colin.

The Belgian Congo and the Berlin Act. By Arthur Berriedale Keith. The Clarendon Press.

The Black Man's Burden. By E. D. Morel. The National Labour Press.

Empire and Commerce in Africa. By Leonard Woolf. The Labour Research Department.

Agadir. Joseph Caillaux. Albin Michel.

38-15-115

Here are seven books representing five interesting points of view, but all of them about Africa. First a scientific student of languages connects Africa in new ways with the discovery of America; then two officials, English and French, write in studied praise of the work of Europe in Africa, past, present and future; an orthodox historian sets down in careful and unemotional phrase the legal relation of Europe to the heart of the dark continent. Then comes revolt. Two reformers writing, one from the political and the other from the economic point of view say plain and biting words concerning the relations of black and white in this ancient continent; and finally, as commentary upon all of this, a prime minister of France, recently tried for treason, tells of the meaning of Agaidr.

No age of the world, ancient or modern has been able to escape

Africa. We may, according to our birth place or color or lineage, bewail this or feel a secret uplift because of it, but it is, in either case, true that from the beginning of human civilization on the Nile and Euphrates, around the shores of the Mediterranean, in central and in northern Europe and in America, continually each century at one time or another centers world interest in this old and mighty continent. And so again today Africa steps forward in the thought of men.

Professor Weiner shows us the amazing interaction of Africa, America and Europe in the early days of the slave trade. The layman cannot judge of the exact weight of the mass of material adduced because the extraordinary author is master of more languages than most people have heard of, much less know. The sources quoted in the eight and one-half pages of closely written bibliography include Spanish, French, English, Portuguese, Latin, Greek, German, Arabian and other works, and indicate extraordinary research and scholarship. The conclusions of Professor Weiner are striking: "When I began my scrutiny, I was firmly convinced, as is the universal belief, that tobacco, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes and peanuts were blessings bestowed upon the world by the Indians. A cursory study excluded the yams and the manioc. Soon the peanuts followed in their wake. Next came the sweet potatoes, and at last the tobacco. It turned out that American archaeology was to a great extent built on sand. But the most painful discovery was in the line of Indian religion. Here everything turned out to be topsy-turvy.

In this first volume I I show that the Negroes have had a far greater influence upon American civilization than has heretofore been suspected."

The average layman assumes that the horrors of the slave trade

38-15-14

and slavery have passed and that today we have the pacific economic and benevolent invasion of Africa from Europe for the purpose of its ultimate civilization. This is the uncritical attitude of Mr. Maugan, British consul at Monrovia. His study of Liberia tries on the one hand to say pleasant things concerning Liberia and on the other hand to show British merchants that now and here is their chance to exploit a rich land. The unspoken assumption is that what is for the good of the British merchant is for the good of Liberia. He sees the possibilities of Liberia and rightly complains that "for some curious reason, which I must confess has hitherto completely baffled me, it has usually been customary to write of Liberia and the Liberians in a tone of gentle melancholy; to descant upon the country and the people to whom it belongs as with a pen dipped in sighs, and generally to regard them with the despondent air of the good old Scotts mission doctor, who was wont to raise the spirits of his convalescent patients by reminding them of "hoo often they went off i' the relapse, ye ken."" But from the rest of the book it is evident that his encouragement with regard to Liberia is because of his knowledge as to what Liberia may mean as a possession to British wealth. He cannot, for instance, "conceive any situation more unfortunate than that of a country where the education of the masses has been overdone"! and consequently thinks that "it would seem highly undesirable that immigration from the United States to Liberia would, for the present at any rate, assume large proportions than it has done for may years past."

Mr Georges-Gaulis goes a step further. His work is a paean of praise of the French general who has just been admitted to the French Immortals and whose latest achievement has been the "pacification" of Morocco. Of this work the author is enthusiastic and says:

General Lyantey's work will remain. The attitude which he adopted

on the front of the field of action and which he persists in even today has caused his name to be inscribed on history's pages. The reconstruction of Morocco has been effected; it has already become the model for our Allies to follow.....

"I believe in action," said the general one day to an astonished Frenchman who had just come to Morocco And so forth, for a couple of hundred pages with only this ray of light. "Pacification and not conquest" is his motto, and he repeats this constantly just as he reiterates that there are no inferior races.

Professor Keith, formerly of the British Colonial Office and now at the University of Edinburgh writes of the international character of the Belgian Congo. This is the work of the orthodox British imperialist who without imagination or any great degree of sympathy with the natives, writes a book which contains a very short sketch of the Congo, followed by three chapters on the incertion of the Congo Free State, four more on the work of the State, and two on its well known failure. The remaining nine chapters have to do with the reorganization of the Congo Free State as a Belgian colony with a study of the new laws and arrangements and an examination of the relation of the Congo Free State to the Peace settlement. With most students of the war, Mr. Keith recognizes the close connection of Africa with that great catastrophe. "Whatever be the final verdict of history on the part played by the question of colonial expansion among the causes of the European War, two features have emerged in the course of the conflict which render the problem of the future of Central Africa of vital importance to the United Kingdom and its allies...."

While Mr. Keith acknowledges that all nations have sinned in thier treatment of the African races he thinks that the crimes of Germany

are the greatest. But chiefly, apparently because of her determination to have African colonies at the expense of England and France. "The demand is made that not only shall the former territories be restored, but that they shall be increased at the expense of France, Portugal, and Belgium so that all Central Africa from sea to sea shall be in the hands of Germany, which then b y means of submarine bases on either coast will effectively menace the ocean trade of the allies."

"The demand for so large accessions of territory, though justified also on commercial grounds, rests essentially on the second factor which has emerged in the course of the war, the realization of the military potentialities in the training under modern conditions of the natives of Africa."

23-15-119

The study of the Congo Free State bring clearly forward the restless personal ambition of Leopold and the extraordinary power which he snatched from under the nose of the civilized world and wielded in Central Africa. The Congo Free State was never international but was in fact a private project of the King of Belgium, for which he secured the recognition of the civilized world. That this was possible is extraordinary, but it rose over the rivalries of France, Germany and England. England could not interfere if she kept her hold on Egypt, while both France and Germany expected to inherit whatever Belgium secured. Could it not be said that the Great War resulted from the attempt to cash the blank check which Leopold handed Bismark in return for Germany recognition of the Congo Free State? "This left Leopold absolute monarch of 900,000 square miles of territory with 20 or 30 millions of people, unrestrained by any legislation or any effective legal requirement."

Here we begin to get an insight into the depths of degredation to which modern civilization has led the world in its relation to Africa,

but it takes plain speaking like that of E. D. Morel to expose the Congo atrocities. Mr. Morel's book is in part historical and in part a setting forth of selected stories of white atrocities all over Africa. He says: "The narrow, irregular streets of a Moorish town, into which shells from warships riding on the sparkling blue waters of the western Atlantic are falling in an incessant and murderous hail, smashing the white-walled, flat-roofed houses and splashing them all over with the blood of the white-clad inhabitants who sprawl in mangled heaps at the doors of their homes--between such a scene as this and the pitted, scarred battlefields of Europe to-day with the blasted stumps which once were trees, and the piles of masonry and timber which once were towns and villages, there appears at first thought no connecting link of circumstance. Yet it was the violence done to Casablanca which furnished the first direct incentive to that era of ambitions, covetousness and conflicts in Europe', whose fruits the people of Europe have been reaping for the past five years.

"Africa has always repaid her exploiters."

Morel himself is no particular lover of Africans. He has traveled in Africa, has written seven or eight books on aspects of the African problems and particularly was one of those who exposed Belgian misrule in the Congo. During the war, however, his liberalism was interpreted as sympathy for Germany and since the Belgian expose was due to him and the unfortunate Sir Roger Casement, his sympathy for Africa has been interpreted as part of a pro-German "plot." In truth, his attitude toward the black men is that of the liberal Englishman: that is to say, he is opposed to the past atrocities and wants Africa helped in every benevolent and philanthropic way. He has, however, no conception of a self governing, independent black Africa. Indeed, he suspects and rather dislikes the educated African and certainly has no faith in

his independent future. His attitude is best summed up in this word from his introduction. His book "seeks to lay down the fundamental principles of a humane and practical policy in the government of Africa by white men.

"We stand on the threshold of a new era. The moment is propitious for the birth of an international conscience in regard to Africa. Great social changes are in process of a development among the white peoples of the earth. The seat of power is shifting from the propertied classes to the producing masses. The latter will find themselves invested before long with executive duties in many spheres of government, with whose problems they are not familiar; among them the administration of dark-skinned peoples."

Mr. Morel, however, is frank in recognizing the terrific burden of the black man, - "the man of sorrows of the human family" and says that the problem of the native races today "centres henceforth upon the black man, as the African is called, although few Africans are wholly black." He says that the real crisis in the black man's existence comes today and that industrial exploitation if carried out ruthlessly may do what slavery, the slave trade and the political domination of Africa has hitherto failed to do, namely, - exterminate the race.

"A subsidiary purpose of the volume is to impress the reader with the remarkable manner in which the political history of Europe during the past half century has been affected by the reflex action upon European affairs of the proceedings of European Governments in Africa. Those to whom history appeals as a long chain of inter-connected links, who believe that wrong-doing by men and nations bring it inevitable aftermath, and that human records are stamped all over with the proofs of it, may be forgiven, perhaps, if they are tempted to see in the deso-

lation and misery into which Europe is plunged, the Nemesis of Europe's actions in Africa."

Mr Leonard Woolf is, if possible, even more outspoken . He has perhaps the advantage of a more detached scientific attitude than Mr. Morel in that he clearly sees the economic motives of Europe. He says that just as long as the modern white world is organized for individual profit just so long as they going to bring suffering and destruction upon the people of the earth. "Europe in the last century gained control over its physical environment with a rapidity and to a degree never attained before in any place or age. To dominate the earth, to ride the winds, and to harness fire and water are great and valuable achievements, but their greatness and value also depend upon whether the world's passions and beliefs are harnessed and under control. Some people seem to think that a maniac with a modern revolver in his hand is a nobler spectacle than a maniac with bow and arrow from the Stone Age. Perhaps he is, but at least it cannot be denied that he is infinitely more dangerous. So, too, the uncontrolled passions of fifty million men and women armed with twelve-inch guns and aeroplanes may be a finer thing to contemplate than the blind instincts of five thousand savages armed with tomahawks, but national passions firing off twelve-inch guns are more dangerous to humanity than tribal instinct directing a tomahawk. It is only because from our schooldays history is represented falsely to us as the logic of events rather than the logic of men's beliefs and desires that we are not driven by fear, if by nothing else -- to consider continually the possible results of national and communal beliefs and desires."

He goes on to show that "between 1880 and 1914 the States of

Britain, France and Germany each acquired an immense colonial empire outside Europe. These empires were empires in the literal sense of the word: they were founded by conquest, sometimes openly acknowledged, and sometimes disguised under various synonyms for civilization. The territories acquired were incorporated, usually against the wishes of their inhabitants, in the European State and the inhabitants were subjected to the autocratic rule of the European State. The territory acquirel by the British State in this way was about 3¼ million square miles, and the population subjected to its rule was about 46 million. The French State acquired 4 million square miles, and a population of over 50 million; the Germans State 1 million square miles, and a population of 15 million."

31-11-52

He strikes the keynote of all "Negro problems" when he says that "if the relations of Europe to Africa are to change, the beliefs and desires of Europeans in Africa and with regard to Africans must change. Hence when this class of thinker or reformer makes concrete proposals, they take the form, not of a change from imperialims to internationalism, but of a change in the social and economic relations between the African and the European. The 'native' is no longer to be regarded as the 'live-stock' on Europe's African estate, as the market for the shoddy of our factories and our cheap gin, or as the 'cheap labour' by means of which the concessionaire may supply Europe with rubber and ivory and himself with a fortune, but as a human being with a right to his own land and his own life, with a right even to be educated and to determine his own destiny, to be considered, in that fantastic scheme of human government which men have woven over the world, an end in himself rather than an instrument to other people's ends."

From this climax of arrangement of modern commercial empire we may

turn

turn by way of startling contrast to the complacent "apologia pro sua vita" by a man discredited in many respects but who knows his France and Europe well enough to adduce the theft of Morrocco as an excuse for his foreign policy.

In Joseph Caillaux's account of his foreign policies we get a rather illuminating even if ghastly glimpse of the way in which the peoples of the world have been the pawns of politics. The book surveys France's experience in her foreign affairs from 1877 to 1911. It proves beyond any doubt (albeit inadvertently) that the distribution of Africa has been the root of nearly all the various political controversies which have upset France, Germany , England and Russia for the last 40 years.

31-11-53

Africa WAS "the roots of the war"!

Here we are introduced to the very penetralia of high politics. France finds her interests in Morocco blocked by England. She therefore becomes willing to withdraw from Egypt in favor of Great Britain. Germany becomes incensed but signs with the rest a treaty at Algeciras, which neither France or England have any purpose to keep but it forms "a good working basis". The purpose of France to seize Morocco with the consent of Great Britain leads to the appearance of the German warship at Agadir. Thereupon a "showdown" is demanded. Germany finding that immediate war is impossible on account of her banking situation consents to receive an additional slice of Central Africa while France takes Morocco. Everything is settled except the Great War, but Caillaux in its great lambent light congratulates himself: he put it off three years!

Here we are back where we started. A continent with hundreds of millions of human beings has been made the foot ball of the nations until

the nations have suffered because of it the greatest revolution humanity has ever known. Whether this will teach us anything time only can tell.

31-11-54

ETERNAL AFRICA

Africa and the Discovery of America. Volume 1. By Leo Wiener. Innes & Sons.

The Republic of Liberia. By R. C. F. Maughan. Charles Scribner's Sons.

La France au Maroc. By Berthe Georges-Caulis. Librairie Armand Colin.

The Belgium Congo and The Berlin Act. By Arthur Berriedale Keith. The Clarendon Press.

The Black Man's Burden. By E. D. Morel. The National Labour Press.

Empire and Commerce in Africa. By Leonard Woolf. The Labour Research Department.

Agadir. Joseph Caillaux. Albin Michel.

Here are seven books representing five interesting points of view, but all of them about Africa. First a scientific student of languages connects Africa with the discovery of America then two officials, English and French write in studied praise of the work of Europe in Africa, past, present and future and an orthodox historian sets down in careful and unemotional phrase the legal relation of Europe to the heart of the dark continent. Then comes revolt. Two reformers writing at, one from the political and the other from the economic point of view say plain and biting words concerning the relations of black and white in this ancient continent and finally as commentary upon all of this a prime minister of France, recently tried for treason, tells of the meaning of Agadir. No age of the world, ancient or modern has been able to escape Africa. We may according to our birth place or color or lineage bewail this or feel a secret uplift because of it, but it is in either

case true that from the beginning of human civilization on the Nile and Euphrates, around the shores of the Mediterranean, in central and in northern Europe and in America continually each century centers world interest in this whole and mighty continent. Professor Weiner shows us the amazing interaction of Africa on America and Europe in the early days of the slave trade.

The layman cannot judge of the exact weight of the mass of material adduced because the extraordinary author is master of more languages than most people have heard of much less know. The sources quoted in the eight and one-half pages of closely written bibliography include Spanish, French, English, Portuguese, Latin, Greek, German, Arabian and other works, and comprehends extraordinary research and scholarship. Not only this, but the conclusions of Professor Weiner. When I began my scrutiny, I was firmly convinced, as is the universal belief, that tobacco, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes and peanuts were blessings bestowed upon the world by the Indians. A cursory study excluded the yams and the manioc. Soon the peanuts followed in their wake. Next came the sweet potatoes, and at last the tobacco. It turned out that American archaeology was to a great extent built on sand. But the most painful discovery was in the line of Indian religion. Here everything turned out to be topsy-turvy.

In this first volume I show that the Negroes have had a far greater influence upon American civilization than has heretofore been suspected. In the second volume I shall chiefly study the African fetichism, which, even with the elaborate books on the subject, is woefully misunderstood, and I shall show by documentary evidence to what extraordinary extent the Indian medicine-man owes his evolution to the African medicine-man, who, in his turn, derives his wisdom from the popular Arabic medical

32-15-104

science and religion.

The average layman assumes that the horrors of the slave trade and slavery passed and that today we have the pacific economic and benevolent invasion of Africa from Europe for the purpose of its ultimate civilization. This is the uncritical attitude of Mr. Maugan, British councellor at Monrovia. His study of Liberia tries on the one hand to say pleasant and suited things concerning Liberia and on the other hand to show British merchants that now and here is their chance to exploit rich land. The unspoken assumption is that what is for the good of the British merchant is for the good of Liberia. He sees the possibilities of Liberian and complains that for some curious reason, which I must confess has hitherto completely baffled me, it has usually been customary to write of Liberia and the Liberians in a tone of gentle melancholy; to descant upon the country and the people to whom it belongs as with a pen dipped in sighs, and generally to regard them with the despondent air of the good old Scotts mission doctor, who was wont to raise the spirits of his convalescent patients by reminding them of "hoo often they went off i' the relapse, ye ken." But from the rest of the book it is evident that his encouragement with regard to Liberia is because of his knowledge as to what Liberia may mean as a possession to British wealth. He cannot, for instance, "conceive any situation more unfortunate than that of a country where the education of the masses has been overdone." and consequently thinks that "it would seem highly undesirable that immigration from the United States to Liberia would, for the present at any rate, assume larger proportions than it has done for many years past."

Mr. Georges-Gaulis goes a step further. His work is an opinion of

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praise of the French general who has just been admitted to the French Immortals and whose large achievements have been the pacification of Morocco. Of this work the author is enthusiastic and says:

Turning from these fmore general works Professor Keith, formerly of the Colonial Office and now at the University of Edinburgh writes of the international character of the Belgian Congo. Here we leave science and the general aspects of European penetration and come to a specific and historical case.

38-15-106

This is the work of the orthodox British imperialist who without imagination or any great degree of sympathy with the natives, writes a book which contains a very short sketch of the Congo, followed by three chapters on the inception of the Congo Free State, four more on the work of the State, and two on its well known failure. The remaining nine chapters have to do with the reorganization of the Congo Free State as a Belgian colony with a study of the new laws and arrangements and an examination of the relation of the Congo Free State to the Peace settlement. With most students of the war, Mr. Keith recognizes the close connection of Africa with that great catastrophe. Whatever be the final verdict of history on the part played by the question of colonial expansion among the causes of the European War, two features have emerged in the course of the conflict which render the problem of the future of Central Africa of vital importance to the United Kingdome and its allies.....

While Mr. Keith acknowledges that all nations have sinned in their treatment of the African races he thinks that the crimes of Germany are the greatest. But chiefly, apparently becuase of the determination

to have African colonies at the expense of England and France. The demand is made that not only shall the former territories be restored, but that they shall be increased at the expense of France, Portugal, and Belgium so that all Central Africa from sea to sea shall be in the hands of Germany, which then by means of submarine bases on either coast will effectively menance the ocean trade of the allies.

The demand for so large accessions of territory, though justified also on commercial grounds, rests essentially on the second factor which has emerged in the course of the war, the realization of the military potentialities in the training under modern conditions of the natives of Africa.

28-15-107

The study of the Congo Free State brings clearly forward the restless personal abmition of Leapold and the extraordinary power which he snatched from under the nose of the civilized world and wielded in Central Africa. The Congo Free State was never international but was in fact a private project of the King of Belgium, for which he secured the recognition of the civilized world. That this was possible is extraordinary, but it rose over the rivalries of France, Germany and England. England could not interfere if she kept her hold on Egypt, while both France and Germany expected to inherit whatever Belgium secured. Could it not be said that the great war resulted from the attempt to cash the bank check which Liberia handed Bismarch in return for Germany recognition of the Congo Free State? This left Leopold absolute monarch of 900,000 square miles of territory with 20 or 30 millions of people, unrestrained by any legislation or any effective legal requirement. It was an astonishing gift of power and the world that gave it looked upon this as doing the most farsighted and philanthropic act. Colonel Strauch had recommended at the beginning that the Congo should be ruled through the established

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local government and through colored men and thus creating not a Belgian colony, but a powerful Negro state, and the suggestion was made 'that a confederation thus formed might grant concessions (with power to make good what they granted) to societies for the construction of works of public utility, or perhaps might be able to raise loans like Liberia and Sarawak, and construct their own public works'.

The King, however, was too eager to make money to attempt anything of this sort and the result is well known. The mineral wealth was given to a private company with both powers of exploitation and government for 99 years. The effort to seize the headwaters of the Nile nearly precipitated a European war in 1899. The land of the natives was practically confiscated, their labor was enslaved, they were almost without courts of justice and the population shrunk under a systematic murder and mutilation. The conscience of the world was appealed to but Belgium was able to make a spirited reply in which it drew some deadly parallels on Egnlish administration. A commission of inquiry strongly condemned the Belgian system, and then followed long negotiations between the King and his Parliament for transferring the colony to his state. This lasted from 1905-08, when Belgium took over a debt of 110 million francs and numbers of annuities and other obligations. Under the new colonial charter of 1908 the Congo is a Belgian colony but does not exist under the Constitution of Belgium but under a charter which is a simple law and can be changed by ordinary legislation. All powers of legislation are vested in the Parliament of Belgium, acting through the King and the local Congo government as mere temporary powers of legislation. The Congo natives of Belgium are "subjects" but not Belgian citizens. They are ruled through their chiefs but are subject to the same Slave Pass Laws which are used in South Africa. Their lands have not been restored to them and are still sub-

23-15-08

corporations, although reform in this respect is promised. They are receiving, however, some legal protection and the worst excesses of the law regime have probably passed.

Here we begin to get an insight into the depths of degredation to which modern civilization has led the world in its relation to Africa, but it takes plain speaking like that of E. D. Morel to oppose the Congo atrocities. Mt. Morel's book is in part historical and in part a study of selected stories of white atrocities all over Africa. He says: "The nattow, irregular streets of a Morrish town, into which shells from warships riding on the sparlking blue waters of the western Atlantic are falling in an in essant and muderous hail, smashing the white-walled, flat-roofed houses and splashing them all over with the blookd of the white-clad inhabitants who sprawl in mangled heaps at the doors of their homes-between such a scene as this and the pitted, scarred battlefields of Europe to-day with the blasted stumpts which once were trees, and the piles of masonry and timber which once were towns and villages, there appears at first thought no connecting link of circumstance. Yet it was the violence done to Casablanca which furnished the first direct incentive to that "era of ambitions, covetousness and conflickts in Europe," whose fruits the people of Europe have been reaping for the past five years.

38-15-10

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Morel himself is no lover of Africa. He has traveled in Africa, has written seven or eight books on aspects of the African problems and particularly was one of those who exposed Belgianmisrule in the Congo. During the war, howeve,r his liberalism was interpreted as sympathy for Germany and since the Belgian expose was due to him and the unfortunate Sir Roger Casement, his sympathy for Africa has been interpreted as part of a pro-German "plot." In truth, his attitude to-

is that of the liberal Englishman, that is to say, he is opposed to the past atrocities and wants Africa helped in every benevolent and philanthropic way. He has, however, no conception of a self governing, independent black Africa. Indeed, he suspects and rather dislikes the educated African and certainly has no faith in his independent future. His attitude is best summed up in this word from his introduction. His book, as he says, is "seeks to lay down the fundamental principles of a humane and practical policy in the government of Africa by white men.

"We stand on the threshold of a new era. The moment is propitious for the birth of an international conscience in regard to Africa. Great social changes are in process of a devel pment among the white peoples of the earth. The seat of power is shifting from the propertied classes to the producing masses. The latter will find themselves invested before long with executive duties in many spheres of government, with whose problems they are not familiar; among them the administration of dark-skinned peoples."

38-15-110

Mr. Morel, however, is frank in recognizing the terrific burden of the black man, - "the man of sorrows of the human family" and says that the problem of the native races today "centres henceforth upon the black man, as the African is called, although few Africans are wholly black." He says that the real crisis in the black man's existence comes today and that industrial exploitation if carried out ruthlessly may do what slavery, the slave trade and the political domination of Africa has hitherto failed to do, namely,- exterminate the race. The main part of his book is a series of expositions of the terrible results of European invasion of Africa: the Theft of the land in Rhodesia, the murder of the Herroes, the story of the Belgian and French Congo and the story of Portuguese slavery. To this he adds a statement of the seizure of Morrocco and Tripoli as illustrating political invasion and three chapters -

structive statement of the necessary European policy with regard to land and administration if the right is to prevail. He especially warns against the militarzation of the natives and shows how the League of Nations might take hold.

"A subsidiary purpose of the volume is to impress the reader with the remarkable manner in which the political history of Europe during the past half century has been affected by the reflex action upon European affairs of the proceedings of European Governments in Africa. Those to whom history appeals as a long chain of inter-connected links, who believe that wrong-doing by men and nations bring it inevitable aftermath, and that human records are stamped all over with the proofs of it, may be forgiven, perhaps, if they are tempted to see in the desolation and misery into which Europe is plunged, the Nemesis of Europe's actions in Africa."

Mr. Leonard Woolf is, if possible, even more outspoken. He has perhaps the advantage of a more detached scientific attitude in that he clearly sees the economic motives of Europe. He says that just as long as the modern white world gets the best profits and the best benefits just so long are they going to bring suffering and destruction upon the people of the earth. As Mr. Woolf says: Europe in the last century gained control over its physical environment with a rapidity and to a degree never attained before in any place or age. To dominate the earth, to ride the winds, and to harness fire and water are great and valuable achievements, but their greatness and value also depend upon whehter the world's passions and beliefs are harnessed and under control. Some people seem to think that a maniac with a modern revolver in his hand is a nobler spectacle than a maniac with bow and arrow from the Stone Age. Perhaps he is, but at least it cannot be denied that he is infinitely more dangerous. So, too, the uncontrolled passions of fifty million men and --

inch guns abd aeroplanes may be a finer thing to contemplate than the blind instincts of five thousand savages armed with tomahawks, but national passions firing off twelve-inch guns are more dangerous to humanity than tribal instinct directing a tomahawk. It is only because from our schooldays history is represented falsely to us as the logic of events rather than the logic of men's beliefs and desires that we are not driven OOby fear, if by nothing else -- to consider continually the possible results of national and communal beliefs and desires.

He goes on to show that between 1880 and 1914 the States of Britain, France, and Germany each acquired an immense colonial empire outside Europe. These empires were empires in the literal sense of the word: they were founded by conquest, sometimes openly acknowledged, and sometimes disguised under various synonyms for civilization. The territories acquired were incorporated, usually against the wishes of their inhabitants, in the European State, and the inhabitants were subjected to the autocratic rule of the European State. The territory acquired by the British State in this wayswas about 5½ million square miles, and the population subjected to its rule was about 46 million. The French State acquired 4 million square miles, and a population of over 50 million; the Germans State 1 million square miles, and a population of 15 million. The policy which led to the acquisition of this empire by Britain was the policty of Mr. Chamberlain and his followers. The motives have been sufficiently illustrated above from the declarations of Mr. Chamberlain himself. They were purely economic. In conquering the unexploited portions of Asia and Africa we were "pegging out claims for posterity," and the claims of posterity were for more markets. And the reasons which this school of policy gave for our "never losing the hold which we now have" over "our great Indian dependency" and over Egypt were the same, namely, the pro-

38-15-112

vision of markets and customers for the European citizens of the British State." He concludes that " if the relations of Europe to Africa are to change, the beliefs and desires of Europeans in Africa nand with regard to Africans must change. Hence when this class of thinker or reformer makes concrete proposals, they take the form, not of a change from imperialism to internationalism, but of a change in the social and economic relations between the African and the European. The "native" is no longer to be regarded as the "live-stock" on Europe's African estate, as the market for the shoddy of our factories and our cheap gin, or as the "cheap labour" by means of which the concessionaire may supply Europe with rubber and ivory and himself with a fotrune, but as a human being with a right to his own land and his own life, with a right even to be educated and to determine his own destiny, to be considered, in that fantastic scheme of human government which men have woven over the world, an end in himself rather than an instrument to other people's ends.

32-15-113

Finally in Joseph Caillaux's account of his foreign policies we get a rather illumin ting even if ghastly glimpse of the way in which the people of the world and of its have been the pawns of politics. This book although purporting to deal with Caillaux' foreign policy with regard to Agadir, surveys France's experience in her foreigh affairs from 1877 to 1911.

It proves beyond any doubt (albeit inadvertently) that the distribution of Africa has been the root of almost all the various political controversies which have upset France, Germany, England and Russia for the last 40 years.

Africa WAS "the roots of the war"!

Here we are introduced to the very of high politics. France find her interests in Morrocco blocked by England. She therefore becomes willing to withdraw from Egypt in favor of Great Britain. Germany be-

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38-15-114

Ovington, Mary White. The Shadow.
N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920.

Review: "The Shadow", The New
Republic, Vol. 25, February 23, 1921,
pp. 383-384.

THE SHADOW

The Shadow, by Mary White Ovington. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

Benjamin Brawley in a searching essay of some years ago called our attention to the "mob spirit in literature" which prevents our seriously touching the drama of the American Negro.

"As a matter of fact, the Negro in his problems and strivings offers to American writers the greatest opportunity that could possibly be given to them today....One can only imagine what a Victor Hugo, detached and philosophical, would have done with such a theme in a novel....And yet, with the Civil War fifty years in the distance, not one novel or one short story of the first rank has found its inspiration in this great theme. Instead of such work we have consistently had traditional tales, political tracts, and lurid melodramas."

What is true of literature is true of art: here with a tenth of us colored we see a colored face in an illustration, a painting or a bronze, on the stage or in a movie, but rarely and then usually in obvious caricature.

The reason is clear. We Americans have settled the race problem and we will not have our settlement tampered with. The truth of Art tampers. That is its mission. We refuse however even to conceive a black hero and white heroine, a white hero and black heroine. Too, we are impatient at "colored" grades in any relation to whites. And in characters wholly black we are frankly uninterested. The result is obvious: authors who aspire to be "best sellers" seek to avoid the race question, art or no art.

But it cannot be wholly avoided, being a dark and exceedingly stubborn, a sinister and amazing fact. In which case, for a long time we tried to ~~we may as we must~~ embalm the past or preach about the future: we ~~may~~ painted and repainted the glory of a type

of Negro long since dead or we ~~may~~ ranted about the inevitable character and fate of present the Negro, so long as, like Tom Dixon, we followed the lead of the Mob. So much for the past. But there are signs of change and "The Shadow" is a bright one. Miss Ovington in her novel on the race problem has avoided the chief difficulty of her task by making her heroine white in blood and only colored by adoption. This gains for Hertha immediately a sympathy which no Negro could claim from most American white readers. Former writers who have hit on this expedient have then over shot the mark by making the attendant Negroes as miserable and worthless as possible. If Miss Ovington were merely a propagandist in this work - and I hesitated to read it because I feared she was - she would have swung to the other extreme and made Hertha's Negro "relatives" paragons of goodness. With much skill, and resulting readableness the author avoids this and the real art of the novel lies in the fact that this white girl's life conflict lies in the fight between her wish to be free and white and her deep seated affection for her colored family. No matter what the truth may be, in Hertha's thought Ellen is a sister, Tom a big, sweet-hearted child and "mammy" a mother.

8-9-3

Here Miss Ovington touches with sure hand the crux of this human problem. Most folk are torn in such a case in two ways: if Negroes are human and sensitive as ~~I am~~ we are, Americans say, the horror of their situation is such boundless tragedy that sheer self-defence forbids any discussion of it on our part in poetry, ~~prose~~ essay or fiction. If on the other hand they do not feel their situation, then they are not human as ~~I am~~ we are, and why should I enlighten or arouse them even if that were possible? Miss Ovington's novel simply suggests that one who knew ~~a single family of~~ some of them intimately was, rightly or wrongly, so sure of their common humanity and endless suffering that the knowledge of it ~~made tragedy of~~ made cataclym to her own life.

The tragedy ~~which~~ then the book especially emphasizes is that between these races so old in their acquaintanceship and so close in common life, ~~#~~ between them today there can be no friendships. Tom is aghast to think of a place where he can talk simply to his white foster sister and the attempt to ~~bring~~ tell her news of ~~a~~ his mother's death nearly brings a lynching. On the other side the plight of the whites is equally tragic: the race hatred of Dick, the " " poor white, is a piteous madness and a disease and the life struggle of Landlord Merryvale begins rather than ends with his marriage to Hertha.

How curiously complicated it all is! What a treasure house for the story teller does Miss Ovington again open to us - but the Mob - the Mob!

The Negro himself, the author touches with delicate restraint. She does not attempt the racial conflict of Charles Chesnut's "Marrow of Tradition" or the inner analysis of Jessie Fauset's "Emmy" and "The Sleeper Wakes" - knowing that such penetralia are only for those born to the Veil. But she has written a deft and deeply interesting human story which with its knitting up of the problems of labor and race is perhaps even more a novel for the enlightenment of blacks than of whites. And for both its ultimate message is as simple as it is true no matter how much the Heathen rage:

"'Dearie,' the Irishwoman replied, 'you talk as if color were a state of mind.'

"'Isn't it?' Hertha asked."

W.E.~~Burghardt~~ Du Bois.

Woodson, Carter G. History of the Negro Church. Washington: Associated Publishers, 1922.

Reviews: The Freeman, Vol. 6, October 24, 1922, pp. 92-93.

Review for Freeman

1922?

The Socialized Negro Church

If it were not a church we would be dissolved in amazement at, the organizing ability of American Negroes who have built in slavery and 50 free years an institution with four million members and six million guests, in 40,000 centers, worth 60 millions of dollars and administered by 200,000 leaders. One can imagine the toil and turmoil, the spiritual writhings, the bitter disappointments and wild triumphs. Back beyond the staid and lofty beauty of Calvary Baptist of Norfolk, Virginia, or the spacious efficiency of St. John's Methodist of Cleveland, Ohio one can descry the red flame of the African witch doctor and the sombre moon-lit sacrifice of the Voodoo priests wild with song. By what paths have slaves and cowering freedmen walked from that to this and what does it mean for the coming day?

34-7-19

Those who would study and learn of this thrilling fairy tale of social history will not read Mr. Woodson, for his book has nothing to do with it. Mr. Woodson is a monographist of the strict Harvard dry-as-dust school. He has now for six years been the editor, publisher, author and almost sole supporter of a most accurate and faithful Journal of Negro History which is not more unreadable than such publications usually are among white folk. In this way Mr. Woodson has collected and carefully cataloged and pigeon holed and enormous number of facts concerning Negro American history. These facts he is now marshalling, grouping and issuing in book form under various titles - "The Education of the Negro", "A Century of Negro Migration", "Early Negro Education in West Virginia", "The Negro In Our History" and now "The Negro Church". This rapid issue of books at the rate of one a year in the last four years has not improved their finish and readable-

ness, but the present book sins beyond this; it does not really touch at all its true subject. It is full of interesting, even apposite facts, set forth in careful, almost painful detail. Its very erudition - (he records "an extensive examination" of the correspondence of West Indian Methodist missionaries from 1750 to 1833!) - makes one wild for the result that should follow and does not. Here are the trees all elegantly cataloged and named and even their limbs counted, if not their leaves; - but of the forest, the great dim, green and golden forest with its whispers and sighs and storms, with its soul, in short, of this there is never a word.

34-7-20

Perhaps after all, history is unwriteable. I speak as one who has failed. If you think you sense and know the Past and if you then cunningly paint and interpret and reveal it you would have History, provided your facts fit. But they do not and the result is — fiction. Or, like Dr. Carter Woodson, you know each fact, you revel in it and nail it accurately down, and then you produce — a dictionary. Mr. Woodson has the main ascertainable facts of Negro church history all neatly docketed in his volume and arranged in order. Everything is there, except the church; except the inner spirit and motive of that marvellous faith and unreason which caught a million black folk on the shores of exile and made them dance and scream and shout the Sorrow Song; which raised from smoking entrails the witch figures of that old black preacher, whose trembling hands built a spiritual state within a state, guarded and groomed it and made it spawn a new freedom for a world-old race; made it built and guide, shelter and teach, lead and train a people. The Negro church is the mighty central fact of Negro American history. It is dependent, unique and Negro through and through despite all imitation. It is a great, an astonishing, a contradictory social triumph with its feet in the African jungle and its head in heaven.

Of all this Dr. Carter Woodson not only says nothing but understands nothing. He has set down instead a catalog of well-authenticated truth.

Mr. Woodson might properly contend that of all American questions the one demanding fact rather than fancy is that of American Negroes. Quite true and Dr. Woodson's services as a fact finder are invaluable. I use him often. But let's call it fact, source-stuff, raw material and not history. I admit that many eminent gentlemen much lighter in complexion and of wider reknown agree with Dr. Woodson's conception of history, and if he and they are correct, Dr. Woodson has done a very good and very thorough piece of work and my only suggestion would be that the index be made its table of contents.

W. E. Burghardt DuBois.

34-7-21

*History of the Negro Church. Carter G. Woodson, Ph.D., Washington, D.C. The Associated Publishers, $2.15

Firbank, Ronald Prancing Nigger.

N.Y.: Brentano's, 1924.

Review: "Array of Books"

The Crisis, Vol. 28, No. 5,

September 1924, p. 219.

undated

American Negroes will neither read, nor if they read, understand Ronal Firbank's "Prancing Nigger". In the first place they will condem it unheard and unseen on account of its title just as they condemned the finest play in favor of the Negro yet written, Sheldon's "The Nigger". Those who bring themselves to read the book will not understand it because it is West Indian. Its whole setting and surrounding is in those beautiful exotic islands which we here so thoroughly misunderstand. But if the reader can forget its title and translate himself to the palms and glorious sunlight of the southern islands and look upon Mr. Firbanks as an artist and not a nordic propagandist they can have a delightful hour with this delicious book. In it the writer is unbound by convention, white or black. Mrs. Mouth assumes her "arange blastams" to marry her husband four years after the birth of her eldest daughter and the rich young white man who is the central figure in the story does not assume stage manners before little black Edna. He simply says "exquisite kid" and the author adds "she was in his arms". The whole book is just a delightful revel and now and then reaches a climax of drole humor as when pappy Paul announces to Mamma Luna "I have saw God and has spoken wid de President too", to which Mrs. Mouth quietly added "Dairs no trute at all in dat report".

3-12-25

Weatherford, W.D. The Negro from Africa to America. N.Y.: George H. Doran Co., 1924.

Review: "The Negro", The Nation, vol. 119, No. 3088, September 10, 1924, pp. 267-268.

The Negro from Africa to America. By W.D.Weatherford. George H.Doran Co.

This is a scrap book of 487 closely printed pages in rather small type. It gives evidence of extended research and hard work but from the very nature of the author's method the general reader will find it almost impossible to read through. It has no style or literary plan but is made up of quotations long and short, or of transcriptions ~~from~~ of authors' meanings. Yet Mr. Weatherford's book is not merely a doctor's thesis. With all its cumbersome content and slavish use of authorities it has its central thesis and perhaps the object of the book is best expressed by its last paragraph:

"To those who can discern the meaning of things it is clear that a new light is dawning. Men are coming to desire a larger knowledge of all other men. Wise men realize that each group has a contribution to make to the world's civilization, and the sooner all groups can be brought to efficiency the sooner will the whole world be blessed with such contributions. Neither individuals nor races work out their destinies alone, but in cooperation."

11-1-47

The book is divided into 17 rather long chapters which include a statement of the "central issue", two chapters on Africa, six chapters on slavery, two chapters on the social conditions of Negroes and then separate chapters on religion, law and education. There follow two chapters on self expression and leadership and one on constructive movements in racial cooperation. The final chapter is a bibliography with notes. One can see that the book is poorly balanced; slavery over-weights it, political development is almost absent and while there is much economic information, economic interpretation is often lacking. ~~Persons who wish to understand Mr. Weatherford's point of view will get a good idea of it from his first chapter.~~

Mr. Weatherford's main authorities are unfortunately Weale's "The Conflict of Color" and Stoddard's "Rising Tide of Color" which, latter he regards as"one of the most thoughtful books". Even when he quotes a

good book like Ellis' "Negro Culture in West Africa" he has a disparaging remark. His comment on Woodson's "Negro in Education" is done in two words while Stoddard's foolishness gets a whole page. The Atlanta University studies have to be mentioned and quoted although without comment, while the silly studies of the Negro done by the Phelps Stokes Fund are spread out in large type. Even Mr. Weatherford, however, can find nothing to say for them.

In addition to these disconcerting authorities the net impression of Weatherford's scheme of treatment is that of a well meaning man who in spite of himself is oleaginous and patronizing. He starts for instance: "I am interested in the Negro not because he is a Negro, but because he is a man. He has a personality just as I have and is capable of becoming a growing and progressing person." (what could be better?) And then he ends with this: "I have known some Negroes whose character was above reproach. Every Southern white man has known at least one such Negro."

There is no doubt but what Weatherford really represents an advance over the conventional Southern attitude. He is distinctly liberal ~~in his attitude~~ toward the Negro and he believes in liberal Southern movements. But beneath the whole argument, old assumptions, old beliefs continually persist. His chapters on Africa, for instance, are painfully inadequate and misleading and leave us with that ancient idea that the black man inherited "a loose moral life," no economic "efficiency" and that ~~their~~ his "laziness" and "emotional nature" ~~is~~ are something to be rid of. Havelock Ellis is not one of his authorities.

On the other hand he has made some researches on American slavery that are of value as, for instance, his stressing of the fact that the first Negroes brought to Virginia were not slaves but servants. He is painfully careful throughout his book to say very little about Reconstruction and the right to vote. Only seven of his five hundred pages are given to this great matter and here he regards the enfranchisement of the Negro as a "colossal blunder". He lays the lack of present

81-1-47

"understanding" between the races to the ballot: "It was just here that Reconstruction did its most deadly work. By setting the white man and the black man in the South in political opposition, there were antagonisms aroused which broke down all confidence and hence destroyed all mutual understanding." Has the world ever known "understanding" between masters and forcibly emancipated slaves?

After this tribute to the conventional Southern perversion of history he admits that it is impossible to stem the rising tide of democracy and suggests, in his brilliant way, higher property and intellectual qualifications for the ballot, in order to eliminate "a great majority of the Negroes and, of course, many of the whites. This is only right."!

On the whole one judges a book like this with favor. It is probably the best thing of its size and character that the average, stay-at-home South has produced about the Negro; but it is far from satisfactory. On the whole the book lacks frankness; it is often double-faced and contradictory; sometimes it is merely mushy; seldom is it strong; it is afraid of conclusions; it continually walks up to some wall of difficulty and then turning mumbly sheers off into vague phrases, meantime apparently losing sight of the wall entirely. In his interpretation of the Negro Mr. Weatherford is continually at fault. He has difficulty understand the self determining, intelligent black man who stands on both of his own feet. He is continually quoting the smoother phrases of the late Booker Washington and the present Dr. Moton. Yet here and there he has a word, a sentence or a paragraph which shows that he realizes more than he always says:

"As never before in his history the Negro is finding self expression. In music, poetry, art, in books and in the press he is saying what he thinks. He is no longer the silent, suffering, cringing person we once knew. He is boldly speaking his mind, and it behooves the American people to give earnest heed to his voice."

W. E. Burghardt DuBois

The net verdict on Weatherford's work must be favorable. It does not represent the heights of Southern white emancipation, for the average stay-at-home effort of the new "inter-racial" class. As such it is the best thing the white South has produced.

61-1-19

The Negro From Africa To America. By W. D. Weatherford, George H. Doran Company.

This is a scrap book of 487 closely printed pages in rather small type. It gives evidence of extended research and hard work but from the very nature of the author's method the general reader will find it almost impossible to read through. It has no style or literary plan but is made up of quotations long and short, or of transcriptions of authors' meanings. Yet Mr. Weatherford's book is not merely a doctor's thesis. With all its cumbersome content and slavish use of authorities it has its central thesis and perhaps the object of the book is best expressed by its last paragraph:

"To those who can discern the meaning of things it is clear that a new light is dawning. Men are coming to desire a larger knowledge of all other men. Wise men realize that each group has a contribution to make to the world's civilization, and the sooner all groups can be brought to efficiency the sooner will the whole world be blessed with such contributions. Neither individuals nor races work out their destinies alone, but in cooperation."

47-1-13

The book is divided into 17 rather long chapters which include a statement of the "central issue", two chapters on Africa, six chapters on slavery, two chapters on the social conditions of Negroes and then separate chapters on religion, law and education. There follow two chapters on self expression and leadership and one on constructive movements in racial cooperation. The final chapter is a bibliography with notes. One can see that the book is poorly balanced; slavery over-weights it, political development is almost absent and while there is much economic information, economic interpretation is often lacking.

Mr. Weatherford's main authorities are unfortunately Weale's "The Conflict of Color" and Stoddard's "Rising Tide of Color" which latter

he regards as "one of the most thoughtful books". Even when he quotes a good book like Ellis' "Negro Culture in West Africa" he has a disparaging remark. His comment on Woodson's "Negro in Education" is done in two words while Stoddard's foolishness gets a whole page. The Atlanta University studies have to be mentioned and quoted although without comment, while the silly studies of the Negro done by the Phelps Stokes Fund are spread out in large type. Even Mr. Weatherford, however, can find nothing to say for them.

In addition to these disconcerting authorities the net impression of Weatherford's scheme of treatment is that of a well meaning man who in spite of himself is oleaginous and patronizing. He starts, for instance: "I am interested in the Negro, not because he is a Negro, but because he is a man. He has a personality just as I have and is capable of becoming a growing and progressing person." What could be better? And then he ends with this: "I have known some Negroes whose character was above reproach. Every Southern white man has known at least one such Negro"!

There is no doubt but what Mr. Weatherford really represents an advance over the conventional Southern attitude. He is distinctly liberal toward the Negro and he believes in liberal Southern movements. But beneath the whole argument, old assumptions, old beliefs continually persist. His chapters on Africa, for instance, are painfully inadequate and misleading and leave us with that ancient idea that the black man inherited "a loose moral life", no economic "efficiency" and that his "laziness" and "emotional nature" are something to be rid of. Havelock Ellis is <u>not</u> one of his authorities. On the other hand he has made some researches on American slavery that are of value as, for instance, his stressing of the fact that the first Negroes brought to Virginia were not slaves but servants.

He is painfully careful throughout his book to say very little

about Reconstruction and the right to vote. Only seven of his five hundred pages are given to this great matter and here he regards the enfranchisement of the Negro as a "colossal blunder". He lays the lack of present "understanding" between the races to the ballot: "It was just here that Reconstruction did its most deadly work. By setting the white man and the black man in the South in political opposition, there were antagonisms aroused which broke down all confidence and hence destroyed all mutual understanding." Has the world ever known "understanding" between masters and forcibly emancipated slaves?

After this tribute to the conventional Southern perversion of history he admits that it is impossible to stem the rising tide of democracy and his brilliant suggestion is higher property and intellectual qualifications for the ballot, in order to eliminate "a great majority of the Negroes and, of course, many of the whites. This is only right."!

47-1-15

On the whole the book lacks frankness; it is often double-faced and contradictory; sometimes it is merely mushy; seldom is it strong; it is afraid of conclusions; it continually walks up to some wall of difficulty and then turning numbly sheers off into vague phrases, meantime apparently losing sight of the wall entirely. In his interpretation of the Negro Mr. Weatherford is continually at fault. He has difficulty in understanding the self determining, intelligent black man who stands on both of his own feet. He is continually quoting the smoother phrases of the late Booker Washington and the present Dr. Moton.

Yet the net verdict on Weatherford's work must be favorable. It does not represent the heights of Southern white emancipation, ~~for~~ but the average stay-at-home effort of the new "inter-racial" class. As such it is the best thing the white South has produced. Here and

there he has a word, a sentence or a paragraph which shows that he realizes more than he always says:

"As never before in his history the Negro is finding self expression. In music, poetry, art, in books and in the press he is saying what he thinks. He is no longer the silent, suffering, cringing person we once knew. He is boldly speaking his mind, and it behooves the American people to give earnest heed to his voice."

W. E. Burghardt DuBois

91-1-16

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This is a scrap book of 487 closely printed pages in rather small type. It gives evidence of extended research and hard work but from the very nature of the authors method the general reader will find it almost impossible to read through. Itnhas no style or literary plan but is made up of long quotations or of transcriptions from authors giving their meaning rather than their exact words. Yet Mr. Weatherford's book is not merely a doctor's thesis. With all its cumbersome content and wide use of authorities it has its central thesis and perhaps the object of the book is best expressed by its last paragraph:

38-12-91

"Conclusions. To those who can discern the meaning of things it is clear that a new light is dawning. Men are coming to desire a larger knowledge of all other men. Wise men realize that each group has a contribution to make to the world's civilization, and the sooner all groups can be brought to efficiency the sooner will the whole world be blessed with such contributions. Neither individuals nor races work out their destinies alone, but in cooperation. Dr. Bliss, of Beirut College, once said, "All the world needs all the rest of the world." Working togehter for the good of all each race may have its individual life and yet live in peace and harmony - yes, in helpfulness to the other races, which lives by its side. It behooves every true lover of his land to strive to know better all its peoples, to help each and all in the struggle upward, envying no man his success, hating none, blessing and blessed by all."

The book is divided into 17 rather long chapters which include a statement of the "central issue", two chapters on Africa, six chapters on slavery, two chapters on the social conditions of Negroes and then separate chapters on religion, law, and education. There follow two chapters on self expression and leadership and one on constructive

movements in racial cooperation. The final chapter is a bibliography with notes. Persons who wish to understand Mr. Weatherford's point of view will get a good idea of it from his first chapter. His authorities here are Weale who wrote "The Conflice of Color" in 1910 and Stoddard's "Rising Tide of Color" 'one of the most thoughtful books'. In addition to these disconcerting authorities the net impression of Weatherford's scheme of treatment is decidedly patronizing. He says for instance: "I am interested in the Negro not because he is a Negro, but because he is a man. He has a personality just as I have and is capable of becoming a growing and progressing person. All men are not born equal. Indeed, no two men are ever exactly equal. Equality is a matter of character and not of birth. The fact that any being has personality means that he may grow in character. I have known some Negroes whose character was above reproach. Everysouthern white man has known at least one such Negro. It is this which these forward movements represent."

38-12-92

There is no doubt but what Weatherford represents an advance over the bourbon southern attitude. He is distinctly liberal in his attitude toward the Negro and he believes in liberal southern movements. But beneath the whole argument he clings to certain old assumptions. His chapters on Africa, for instance, are painfully inadequate and misleading and leave us with that ancient idea that the black man "inherited a loose moral life" and that their "laziness and emotional nature is something to be rid of". His chapter on slavery is long and on the whole fair although of course he is at pains to show the better side of the system. Here and there he has come in his researches across many new matters or things not stressed before as, for instance, the statement, undoubtedly true, that the first Negroes brought to Virginia were not slaves but servants. He is rather careful throughout his book to say very little about reconstruction and the right to vote. He stresses economic and social conditions but has no chapter on political power and

expresses himself only incidentally as for instance when he remarks: That we should have better understanding now than then cannot be doubted, but so far it has not been attained. It was just here that reconstruction did its most deadly work. By setting the white man and the black man in the South in political opposition, there were antagonisms aroused which broke down all confidence and hence destroyed all mutual understanding. To resotre this understanding and bring white men and black men to a real knowledge of each other is perhaps the most fundamental task of our day.

3-12-23

But he acknowledges in his chapter on Negro self determination that it is "impossible to stem the rising tide of "democracy" and suggests higher property and intellectual qualifications for the ballot in order to eliminate "a great majority of the Negroes and of course many of the whites. This is only right."

Mr. Weatherford is a Y.M.C.A. man and he shows a good deal of the somewhat mushy results of his training. He tells of what love is going to do in the settlement of the race problem and in the last part of his book he mentions a notable will where an old ex-slave leaves his money to his old master's son because "Mr. Willy never failed me." He thinks that this shows the growing confidence in the race. On the whole one judges a book like this with favor. It is probably the best thing of its kind and character that the south has produced about the Negro but it is not satisfactory. It lacks frankness, it is afraid of conclusions, it continually walks up to some wall of difficulty and then turning numbly sheers off into vague phrases. Meantime apparently losing sight of the wall entirely. In his interpretation of the Negro Mr. Weatherford is seriously at falut. He cannot understand the self determining, intelligent black man who stands on both of his own feet. He is continually quoting the smoother phrases of the late Booker Washington and the present Dr. Moton. And yet here and there he has a word, a sentence or a paragraph which shows that he realizes more than he

always says.

"As never before in his history the Negro is finding self expression. In music, poetry, art, in books and in the press he is saying what he thinks. He is no longer the silent, suffering, cringing person we once knew. He is boldly speaking his mind, and it behooves the American people to give earnest heed to his voice. The Negro race has come to its own in self expression, and in so doing has proven that it is not a dying race but one filled with the strength of an advancing civilization."

38-12-94

The books which Mr. Weatherford recommends to readers are selected without much care. Weale and Stoddard are among the first. Even when he quotes a good book like Ellis' "Negro Culture in West Africa" he has a disparaging remark. His comment on Woodson's "Negro in Education" is done in two words while Stoddard's foolishness gets a whole page. The Atlanta University studies have to be mentioned and quoted although quite without comment, while the silly studies of the Negro done by the Phelps Stokes Fund are spread out in large type. Even Mr. Weatherford, however, can find nothing to say about them.

Excerpts from Jones, Thomas Jesse.

Education in Africa. 2 vols. N.Y.:

Phelps-Stoke Fund, 1922-1926.

Used in writing review "Education in Africa", The Crisis, Vol. 32, June 1926, pp. 86-89 ?

(P 1-5 MISSING)

T. J. Jones

Education in East Africa Report prepared by Thomas Jesse Jones, Ph.D. Phelps-Stokes Fund. 416 Pages.

"The purpose of the report submitted in this book is to present the conditions of Native education in East Africa, with suggestions for their improvement. Those responsible for appointing the Educational Commission to East Africa have had two ultimate objectives in mind: To help the Natives in the various countries and Colonies visited through encouraging more and better education of the right type, and, as a result, to promote, directly and indirectly, friendly interracial relations."

"Unfortunately, in the past, in Africa as in Europe and in America, the type of education provided has not generally been the type best fitted for the masses of the people." In the

"Probably the most important single task of the Commission to East Africa was to try to find the types of education best fitted to meet the twofold needs of the Negro masses and of the Negro leaders of Africa in the near future. In general, the members of the Commission are convinced that all education must be of a character to draw out the powers of the Native African and to fit him to meet the specific problems and needs of his individual and community life. In this connection, they have been profoundly impressed by the ideals of education developed by General Armstrong at the Hampton Institute in Virginia, immediately after the Civil War."

"I said just now that the most important requisite of our educational system is character training. What is character training? I confess that I have often been baffled in the attempt to define the nebulous curriculum of such a subject, but Dr. Jesse Jones hits the nail on the head. What he practically says is that there is no definite syllabus, but whatever system we adopt, and in every system we adopt, whether in

3d-23-9

infant schools, primary schools, trade schools or secondary schools, we must endeavor to graft the simple virtues on our children. These simple virtues are perseverance, thrift, temperance, self-control, reliability, honesty and respect for parents. As Dr. Jesse Jones says, these virtues cannot be taught out of books; they must develop by sound habits resulting from days, weeks and months of actual practice and repetition."

30-26-13

"In this respect a school is to be considered as a training ground for the larger work of life. The Commission to East Africa is enthusiastic in supporting this type of education for the masses, although recognizing that there must be provided also a training for the leaders which would include the historical, physical and social sciences, and the other disciplines which white civilization has found valuable. In fact, it should be self-evident that there is, and will be increasingly, need for highly trained Native leaders in religion, in education, in engineering, in medicine and in all the professions. The time has passed when the civilized world can say to any people, "Thus far and no further," where education is concerned. The doors of the great universities of Europe and America must be kept open to the rare Native of any nation who is qualified to enter and to profit by the instruction. It is clear, however, that the majority of the Native leaders can be better trained in Africa, where they become accustomed to the conditions with which they will have to cope in after life."

In various portions of the book Portugal and Portuguese colonies are spoken of slightingly. For instance, it is said "there are still labor conditions in certain parts of Africa, especially in the Portuguese colonies, that deserve more serious attention of governments than they have received, but there has been marked progress almost everywhere during the past decade."

Also on Page 5 the "unfortunate condition of the colony" of Portuguese East Africa is noted. "At present, however, the inter-colonial and international influence of Abyssinia is negative. Whatever the present condition of Abyssinia and Portuguese East Africa, it is certain that both of them will in the not distant future increasingly feel the virile forces of East Africa surging all about them."

35-26-14

"An even more emphatic evidence of the lack of a sound policy for the development of the Natives are the persistent and general reports of various forms of forced labor in different parts of the Colony."

"While the main emphasis of this Report falls upon the need for an education adapted to the conditions under which the majority of the African people live today, it must be emphatically stated that the Commission, one of whose members was a highly educated African holding a doctorate of philosophy from Columbia University, recognizes unhesitatingly that with the evolution of civilization in Africa education must include all that has been found necessary elsewhere, including advanced technical and agricultural training and professional knowledge of medicine, law and theology. But it is suggested that the first five objectives, with their vast implications for the welfare of the community, should influence even these and largely determine the type of professional training to be encouraged. The provision for teaching the great modern sciences, which will subsequently become necessary, should not therefore be limited by the traditional emphasis on literary subjects."

"Character development is to be the coloring of every educational activity. Hygiene and health are to be emphasized whenever there is an opportunity whether in the teaching of arithmetic or in the care of the dormitory. Agricultural and industrial skill are to be extolled in the sermon as well as in the field and shop. The

sanctity of the home is to be upheld in public as in private, the spiritual possibilities of recreation are to be presented in the classroom as well as on the playground. Similarly, the higher levels of collegiate and university education are to be rooted in a real regard for character, health, agriculture, industry, the home and play, as well as in the historical and scientific appreciation of the most intricate problems of life. Education is thus to be identical with life itself. It is to have the same elemental simplicity and reality and also the inextricable interdependence of the elements that constitute life."

30-26-15

"In view of the vital importance of religion, it may be helpful to suggest specific questions on the interaction of character and religion. Observation of religious activities in Africa suggests the value of the following type of questions:-Do the Native people understand the relation of religion to their daily activities? How does their conception of this relationship differ from that of their belief in idol or fetish? Has Christianity freed them of superstitious fears and the degrading elements of their customs? Inquire as to the interaction or potential interaction of religion and health, environment, family life and recreation."

"Advanced technical, agricultural and teacher training, and professional knowledge of medicine, law and theology are as essential to the complete school system in East Africa as they are in any other part of the world. It is, of course, true that the present need for this stage of education is very limited."

"Those responsible for educational policies in East Africa should realize that the millions of Native people must have Native leaders. Already unwise and ignorant leaders are teaching false doctrines that cause dissension, irritation and unrest. The Great War started ideas

and movements, suspicions and ambitions, hopes and desires that are extending and deepening among the masses. The increasing entrance of Europeans into the heart of Africa, whether in Government and missions, or as traders and settlers, is working radical changes in the life of the people. Gossip, rumors and propaganda are brought from Europe, Asia and America, and distributed in the huts and kraals of these primitive people. There is a crying need for wise leaders who both understand their own Native people and apprehend somewhat of the real meaning of civilization and Christianity. Such an understanding is by no means easy to obtain. It is a quality of statesmanship that requires the best that education has to impart. High-sounding literary phrases, in whatever language, must not be allowed to pass for education. The transfer of traditional methods that are failing in Europe and America cannot be accepted by Africa in its present acute demand for the realities of education."

"Higher education is also essential to provide knowledge of the physical sciences necessary to explore and exploit the great resources of soil, minerals and animal life in Africa. Chemistry will reveal the quality of soil and minerals. Physics will explain the principles of mechanics. Biology will give an insight into plant and animal life. Thus the Native Africans will not only be freed from the fears of superstitions, but will also be given a command of their environment that will be of value to themselves and to the Colony. The great campaigns for hygiene and sanitation required in Africa cannot be effectively carried on without the aid of a Native leadership trained in the sciences."

"Courses in hygiene, agriculture, industry and recreation will furnish much of the content required in the education of the religious leaders of the people."

"In addition to the types of leadership indirectly but vitally concerned with the character and religious life of the people, there

must also be leadership that is directly concerned with the Churches and the other agencies that explain the religious elements of life, and lead the people in the service of humanity because they are "inspired by the love of God."

30-26-17

"The apex of the educational system should be a central institution of colonial dimensions which would offer higher education to those who can profit by it. The success of the South African Native College in training Natives for professional work and in keeping them in South Africa points to the need for similar institutions elsewhere. It may be a decade or more before such an institution is needed in a colony, but the fact that it is in the scheme of things and will come, when necessary, will go far to create satisfaction among the Natives."

"As yet education in East Africa has not developed sufficiently to warrant the erection of a college in any one colony."

"Liberty, independence and self-determination, with their comparatively unknown or untried experiments, are far more attractive to idealistic temperaments than trusteeship, protectorate and colony, whose failures have been allowed to overshadow their successes. The thought of freedom seems to have far more charm than that of direction and discipline and order. The antagonism to paternalism would almost sweep away the contribution of fatherhood to the development of mankind."

"In Kenya Colony, the principle of trusteeship for the Natives, no less than in the Mandated Territory of Tanganyika, is unassailable. This is the Magna Charta of colonial policy."

"Every effort is being made to train the Natives for skilled occupations. The Natives have both the advantages and dangers of a vigorous, capable, determined European population mastering the natural resources by the machinery and methods of a progressive civilization."

"Colonial service in Africa has evidently attracted an unusually fine type of men. Unfortunately there are occasional exceptions to these high standards of manhood, not only in individual instances, but also in the general levels of colonial powers."

30-26-18

"It has long been the fashion to depreciate and to deprecate and often to condemn the influence of settlers, traders and other people of commercial and financial interests in Africa. The futility and folly of indiscriminate condemnation of these groups in Africa are to be judged on the same basis as the thoughtless criticism of the economic groups in Europe or America. These groups are in Africa for economic profit and for the material development of the country."

"Statistically the millions of Native people as against the mere tens and hundreds of Europeans of all classes in Africa establish the inevitable importance of Africans in all forms of cooperation. There are the African masses and there must be increasingly the African leadership. Native masses and Native leadership are the essential complements of African society. White leadership is a help, and an essential help, but it can never take the place of Native leadership. The inconsistency of Europeans is never more apparent than in their advocacy of racial segregation and at the same time their denial of facilities for the training of Native leaders. Sound policy requires the sincere cooperation of both white and Native leadership supplementing each other for colonial welfare."

"The response of Africans to all forms of training and education is certain evidence that every effort on their behalf is worth while. In America the educational attainments of Negroes are sufficient both in quantity and in quality to convince the most sceptical that education pays from every point of view."

"Missionaries and school authorities are without doubt better acquainted with these limitations of both the quantity and quality of

Native education than any other colonial class."

"The British Government has issued pronouncements of international significance for the complete elimination of any form of forced labor. The Land Tenure Commission has stated the principles to determine the delimitation of Native Reserves so that the Natives may be guaranteed a sufficiency of land, both for their present needs and for their estimated increase for the next generation. It now remains for the Colonial Office and the local Government to make these principles effective."

30-26-19

"With full recognition of the unfortunate and unfair elements of these relationships, it seems certain that the advantages to the Natives have been far greater than the disadvantages. Comparisons of Kenya with other parts of Africa, where non-Africans are not influential, are all favorable to the conditions of Natives in Kenya. In some respects the Colony partakes of the advantages of both non-tropical and of tropical colonies. It has been seen that the educational activities resemble those of non-tropical areas in extent and variety and that the policy to train Natives for skilled industrial pursuits follows the tropical policy."

"The organization of schools on settlers' farms is vital both to the settlers and to the Native workers employed by them. Such schools, properly organized and directed, can be of great value in the increase of agricultural skill and in the maintenance and improvement of the morals and morale of the Natives who are employed in large numbers by the settlers."

<u>Education in Africa</u> Report prepared by Thomas Jesse Jones. Phelps-Stokes Fund. 1922. 323 Pages.

This study was first proposed by the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society and the cooperation of European governments and missions was obtained by J. H. Oldham, secretary of the International Missionary Council.

"The time has passed when the old thesis can be successfully maintained that a curriculum well suited to the needs of a group on a given scale of civilization in one country is necessarily the best for other groups on a different level of advancement in another country or section. This was the natural mistake generally made by New England in dealing with the Negro in the southern states of America immediately after emancipation. For the many as distinct from the few, the results were small in comparison with those that came later based on General Armstrong's vital work at Hampton where education was adapted directly to a people's needs. Here there was real education."

"There are physicians, lawyers and ministers who have completed the requirements of European universities. While the number is small, it is sufficient to prove the capacity of the people. The clerical tasks of government, industry and commerce are very largely entrusted to young African men. The mechanical operations on railroads and in construction are more and more being taken over by African workmen. Every mission gives emphatic testimony to the value of the Native teachers and ministers."

"The wholesale transfer of the educational conventions of Europe and America to the peoples of Africa has certainly not been an act of wisdom, however justly it may be defended as a proof of genuine interest in the Native people. Now that the futility of many of these conventions for advanced social groups has been recognized, is it not imperative that the Africans and their friends shall urge the greater

injustice of applying them to the widely diverse conditions of the primitive groups in Africa? The too frequent charges of the failure of Native education are traceable in part to the lack of educational adaptation to Native life."

"It is significant that some of the Indian leaders of thought have recently charged much of the unrest in India to the fact that the schools have too exclusively prepared the young Indians for literary and clerical occupations to the neglect of the activities that are more fundamental in the economic and social development of their great country. Thus there has been an over-supply of school graduates who are prepared to write and talk, and an under-supply of those who can till the soil and engage in the great and numerous mechanical operations of the country and share in the social improvement required by the masses of the people. Other complaints of African education have come from chiefs who have observed that their youth were estranged from their own people and no longer willing to cooperate in the life of their Native communities."

"The simple virtues urged as educational ends by mission and government teachers are perseverance, thoroughness, order, cleanliness, punctuality, thrift, temperance, self-control, reliability, honesty, and respect for parents."

"The type of organization must be determined by the educational ends to be attained and by the economic, social and educatbnal conditions of the area where the school system is located. The educational ends may be classified as follows:

1. The training of the masses of the people.
2. The education of Native leadershipl
3. The educational preparation of those who must pass the conventional tests required by professional schools."

"Education must be planned with full regard both for the elevation

of the masses and for the development and training of Native leaders. At present many missions do not seem to be conscious of this necessary differentiation. Some have been intent on offering education and religion to the masses of the people seemingly with no provisions for Native leadership. Others are maintaining schools of the so-called "higher types" with little evidence of preparing their students to serve the masses of the people. A fundamental requisite of effective training of the masses is the determination to produce Native leaders of moral force who will help extend education far and wide. Equally fundamental is the requisite that the education of Native leadership shall be definitely rooted in the needs of the masses of the people."

30-26-22

"The colonial chapters of this Report indicate the extent to which governments and missions have succeeded in this great responsibility. As yet they have really made only a beginning."

"In others the proportion of the Native youth in any kind of school is almost negligible. Even on the quantitative test, educational facilities in Africa are really only a promise of what should and what can be done for the masses in this great continent."

"There has also been much confusion as to the place and value of Native leaders in colonial development. The tendency to discount the Native leadership of a primitive people is almost universal. Such depreciation often exists on the part of one civilized group toward another as well as among uncivilized groups in inter-tribal relations. It is not strange that Europeans of education and power should fail to understand the possibilities of Natives as guides of their own people. Some Europeans seem even to resent the suggestion of Native participation in the leadership of their own people. These antagonistic attitudes toward Native leadership and even any degree of education for the Native people are based in part upon the general tendency to undervalue primitive peoples; but they are also due to the type of education that has

been too often attempted in the past. It is difficult to imagine greater errors than those that have been committed in the name of education not only in Africa, but also in Europe and America."

30-26-23

"'Learning by doing' is as vital in the training of teachers as in the preparation of any other group of workers."

"This institution should modify the present course, almost exclusively classical and literary and intended to prepare for an English college, to a course which would provide adequately for physical sciences, including chemistry, physics, biology, physiology and hygiene, and agriculture; social studies, including modern history, economics, and sociology; modern languages; the languages of the aborigines; ethics, psychology, and the art of teaching. Students should be shown how to minister to the community needs of the people by neighborhood activities under the direction of the college. The sympathetic attitude of the African people towards these changes is indicated by appropriations by Africans to found a department of science."

"The course is adapted to the preparation for the University of Durham's Arts course in theology and classics, English, Latin and Greek. The school has been affiliated with Durham University since 1876. Of the 548 pupils, about half have taken a University degree. In 1920 the course for Durham's modern B.A. superseded the old course in litteris antiquis.

Van Vechten, Carl. Nigger Heaven.
N.Y.: A. A. Knopf, 1926.

Review: "Books" The Crisis,
Vol. 33, No. 2, pp. 81-82,
December 1926

7a

BOOKS

Carl Van Vechten's "Nigger Heaven" is a blow in the face. It is an affront to the hospitality of black folk and to the intelligence of white. First; as to its title: My objection is based on no provincial dislike of the nickname. "Nigger" is an English word of wide use and definite connotation. As employed by Conrad, Sheldon, Allen and even Firbank, its use was justifiable. But the phrase, "Nigger Heaven", as applied to Harlem is a misnomer. "Nigger Heaven" does not mean, as Van Vechten once or twice intimates, (pages 15, 199) a haven for Negroes—a city of refuge for dark and tired souls; it means in common parlance, a nasty, sordid corner into which black folk are herded, and yet a place which they in crass ignorance are fools enough to enjoy. Harlem is no such place as that, and no one knows this better than Carl Van Vechten.

36-2-139

But after all, a title is only a title, and a book must be judged eventually by its fidelity to truth and its artistic merit. I find this novel neither truthful nor artistic. It is not a true picture of Harlem life, even allowing for some justifiable impressionistic exaggerations. It is a caricature. It is worse than the truth because it is a mass of half-truths. Probably some time and somewhere in Harlem every incident of the book has happened; and yet the resultant picture built out of these parts is ludricously out of focus and undeniably misleading. The author counts among his friends numbers of Negroes of all classes. He is an authority on dives and cabarets. But he masses this knowledge without rule or reason and seeks to express all of Harlem life in its cabarets.

To him the black cabaret is Harlem; around it all his characters gravitate. Here is their stage of action. Such a theory of Harlem

is nonsense. The overwhelming majority of black folk there never go to cabarets. The average colored man in Harlem is an everyday laborer, attending church, lodge and movie and as conservative and as conventional as ordinary working folk everywhere.

Something they have which is racial, something distinctively negroid can be found; but it is expressed by subtle, almost delicate nuance, and not by the wildly, barbaric drunken orgy in whose details Van Vechten revels. There is laughter, color and spontaneity at Harlem's core, but in the current cabaret financed and supported largely by white New York, this core is so overlaid and enwrapped with cheaper stuff that no one but a fool could mistake it for the genuine exhibition of the spirit of the people.

36-2-140

To all this the author has a right to reply that even if the title is an unhappy catchphrase for penny purposes and his picture of truth untruthful, that his book has a right to be judged primarily as a work of art. Does it please? Does it entertain? Is it a good and human story? In my opinion it is not; and I am one who likes stories and I do not insist that they be written solely for my point of view. "Nigger Heaven" is to me an astonishing and wearisome hodgepodge of laboriously stated facts, quotations and expressions illuminated here and there with something that comes near to being nothing but cheap melodrama. Real human feelings are laughed at. Love is degraded. The love of Byron and Mary is stark cruelty and that of Lasca and Byron is simply nasty. Compare this slum picture with Porgy. In his degradation Porgy is human and palpitating. But in "Nigger Heaven" there is not a single loveable character. There is scarcely a generous impulse or a single beautiful ideal. The characters are singularly wooden and inhuman. Van Vechten is not the great artist who with remorse scalped probes the awful depths of life. To him there are no depths. It is

the surface mud he slops about in. His womens' bodies have no souls; no children palpitate upon his hands; he has never looked upon his dead with bitter tears. Life to him is just one damned orgy after another with hate, hurt, gin and sadism.

Both Langston Hughes and Carl Van Vechten know Harlem cabarets but it is Hughes who whispers

"One said he heard the jazz band sob
When the little dawn was grey".

Van Vechten never heard a sob in a cabaret. All he hears is noise and brawling. Again and again and again with singular lack of invention he reverts to the same climax of two creatures tearing and scratching over "mah man"; lost souls who once had womens' bodies; and to Van Vechten this spells comedy, not tragedy.

39-2-141

I seem to see that Mr. Van Vechten began a good tale with the promising figure of Anatol, but that keeps turning aside to write in from his notebook every fact he has heard about Negroes and their problems; singularly irrelevant quotations, Haitian history, Chestnutt's novels, race-poetry, "blues" written by white folk. Into this mass he drops characters which are in most cases thinly disguises; and those who know the originals have only to compare their life and this death, to realize failure in truth and human interest. The final climax is an utterly senseless murder which drops without preparation or reason from the clouds.

I cannot for the life of me see in this work either sincerity or art, deep thought, or truthful industry. It seems to me that Mr. Van Vechten tried to do something bizarre and he certainly succeeded. I read "Nigger Heaven" and read it through because I had to. But I advise others who are impelled by a sense of duty or curiosity to drop the book gently in the grate and to try the Police Gazette.

Balch, Emily G., ed. Occupied Haiti. N.Y.: Writers' Pub. Co., 1927.

Review: "The Browsing Reader", The Crisis, Vol 34, No. 8, p. 266, October 1927.

B 1 3 4

BROWSING READER

OCCUPIED HAITI

"Occupied Haiti" edited by Emily Greene Balch "being the report of a committee of six disinterested Americans, representing organizations exclusively American, who have personally studied conditions in Haiti, 1926, favor the restoration of the independence of the Negro republic". This is the book for which we all have long been waiting. The facts concerning the American occupation of Haiti have been meager and difficult to get at, and while the excellent work of Mr. Ernest Greening and Mr. J. W. Johnson have thrown a flood of light on Haitian conditions, there has not been until now a single volume which contained the whole story. The pilgrimage to Haiti which resulted in this book was started by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The membership of the Committee were consisted of two colored women, Miss Charlotte Atwood of the Washington Public Schools and Mrs. A. W. Hunton, three white women, Miss Zonia Barber, former Professor in the University of Chicago, Miss Balch, a Professor in Wellesley College and Mrs. J. H. Watson of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Paul H. Douglas of the University of Chicago was the sole male member of the Committee. The report beging with a short history of Haiti, followed by a political history of the occupation. It is a story of inexcuseable aggression, distortion of the truth, cheating and discrimination. "The excuse which is generally given for the American occupation of Haiti is that it was necessary to prevent foreign intervention". This was untrue. German cruisers have been swept from the seas, the French had absolutely no intention of interfering, England was too busy and

36-1-21

"it seems, therefore, that there was virtually no danger of foreign intervention. Nevertheless, Haiti was seized and a treaty forced upon her by armed soldiers. Haiti is now held by American officials receiving double salaries and costing the United States a million dollars a year. The report looks carefully into the economic and financial aspects of the American Occupation and shows the large profits which the National City Bank of New York City is making. There are two chapters on the land, showing how the way has been for driving out the Haitian peasants and monopolizing the land by foreign corporations. A high-priced Director of Agriculture at $10,000 a year has led as yet to no particular results. In general the American Occupation has done little or nothing for education in Haiti. In racial relations the United States has sent the worse class of Southerners to have charge of affairs, while the marines have spread prostitution and veneral disease. Civil liberty is gone. Private letters are ppened, editors are imprisoned and the Committee finally concludes:

36-1-22

"From the point of view of United States interests, in the most "hard-boiled" sense, there is little to be said for the continuance of our Occupation of Haiti. American investments there have in general not proved a source of legitimate profits, but of loss, and there is now nothing to justify, from the selfish point of view, the continued expenditure of United States money in administering the country.

"From the point of view of Haiti's interests, it is not true that we are in Haiti solely as disinterested benefactors, nor that we can show clean hands in our business dealings there. If our officials have tried to benefit the people of Haiti, (as we believe they have), it is also true that the Occupation has cared for American financial interests there, of a none too creditable sort, at the expense of our poor and weak neighbors.

"Happily it is not the case that the United States is confined to the alternative of either occupying Haiti, or else regarding her necessities with indifference and unconcern. It is perfectly possible to be a good neighbor and help Haiti to attain health, education, public improvements and public order, by other less drastic, and ultimately more effective methods than military control.

"The authors of this report believe that the Occupation should be ended for the sake of Haiti, for the sake of the United States, and especially for the sake of good relations among all American republics, and finally because it is in itself an unjustified use of power."

36-1-23

Olivier, Sidney. The Anatomy of African Misery. London: Hogarth Press, 1927.

Review: "Books I Have Read Recently", Amsterdam News, August 22, 1927, p. 4.

By far the most interesting recent book on Africa is "The Anatomy of African Misery" by Lord Olivier. We all talk about South Africa. Some of us recognize it on the map. Others know that there is a Negro problem down there that has some resemblance to ours, but they are not clear as to just how it resembles our problem and how it differs. This book will tell them. The man who wrote it was former Governor of Jamaica. He is not simply a "friend" of the Negro race, he is an intelligent student of their difficulties and in this book of 234 pages published in England he explains the Negro problem of South Africa.

It is a problem that differs in several fundamental respects from our problem in the United States. Instead of having a population predominately white with less than one-tenth of Negro descent, the Union of South Africa has a population predominately black and brown out of which less than 25% are white. The black population for the most part is without education and is only recently getting leadership. This shows that the white people are in great fear of Negroes and this fear is shown in the way in which they are trying to put even the lowest of the whites above the best of the blacks. Lord Olivier says:

The matured and combined result of this economic and political history has been to establish throughout South Africa, but most uncompromisingly in the Bantu lands outside of the Cape Province, colonised by the Boers, a discrimination between white man's status and Kaffir status—and, correspondingly, white man's work and Kaffir's work—the latter including all unskilled manual labour. The white man commands, directs, supervises; the black man works. Further, the employer in all classes, acting in accordance with the essential principles of capitalist economics, has consistently taken advantage

27-4-29

of the cheapness of the subsistence needs of the Kaffir, of his ignorance of the ways of white civilization and of his political impotence to keep down the wages of all unskilled labour to levels at which the white man cannot live on them. Agriculture predominated, and in other nascent industries it could not be permitted that wages should tempt black labour away from the farms."

To all this has been added the great investments in diamonds and gold mines and the consequent exploitation of labor. Here there is a tremendous discrimination in wages:

"The white man's wages, then, for all employments on the Rand, average seven times those of the black, including rations and housing, and in mining work with machines, done by Kaffirs bossed by white men, the proportion is from ten to one upwards. The proportion of the wages of skilled to unskilled labour in England in similar work averages fifteen to eleven—in the engineering trades about fourteen to ten. The high white wages, it is uncompromisingly recognized and stated, can only be paid on condition of natives alone being employed for all unskilled and semi-skilled labour, and being paid at a sweated wage.

The mining industry sets the standard of wages for all White South African skilled labour, and a ratio between white and black wages of from over ten to one down to six to one runs through the whole structure of industry. This direct dependence of the white worker's very high wages (the highest in the Old World) upon the very low wages of the native labourer is the secret of the philosophy of the industrial colour bar, extensively applied previously in practice, and recently embodied in legislation at the demand of the white South African Labour Party."

One can imagine from this the situation in this land and the way it is differing. No wonder that a native South African white author writes:

"The attitude of the colonists is absolutely suicidal.

37-4-80

They rely solely on machine guns for their supremacy. All the labour of the country is performed by natives: the whites are degenerating very quickly; they have been morally defeated by the native's power of suffering, by his tenacity of life, and lastly but most importantly, of the black man's sense of humour."

32-4-31

Buell, Raymond Leslie. The Native Problem in Africa. 2 vols. N.Y.: MacMillan Co., 1928.

Review: "Africa", The World Tomorrow, Vol. II, pp. 420-421, October 1928.

Fragment

natives and native life to this economic régime. The fact is patent that capitalistic industry as organized at present does work and achieve surprisingly successful results in Europe and America. But all men know that these results are becoming in great measure dependent upon the profits of capitalistic industry in Africa, Asia and other parts of the colored world. Especially in Africa, modern industry is ~~not~~ working; untold ill and the difficulty with Mr. Buell's otherwise excellent work, is that he either does not realize this or does not think it wise resolutely to face this aspect of the problem.

30-1-125

The unfortunate results of this point of view show themselves all through the book. Continually, we face the most puzzling impasses; and when Mr. Buell has pointed out the difficulty in one case, in the next case, where this trouble does not appear, some other equally baffling difficulty does show itself. For instance, in Kenya and East Africa the main difficulty would seem to lie in compelling the natives to give up their land and to work for the resident whites. But in West Africa the natives have their land, and compulsory labor is at a minimum. Yet the difficulty there lies in social and industrial leadership. Shall it be that of the dominant whites, minority or of educated natives?

If the dominant whites lead, we have a situation like South Africa travelling backwards from every modern ideal; if a Negro elite is educated, as French Africa has tried to do, this involves a social equality of whites and blacks in government, which Anglo-Saxons, (and Mr. Buell as one), does not like. Moreover, ~~will the~~ can a black elite lift the black mass? The English doubt the results of black leadership of the blacks, but Mr. Buell has to acknowledge that in Liberia there is less tension between the educated blacks

White, Newman I. American Negro Folk Songs. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1928.

Review: Unpublished?

AMERICAN NEGRO FOLK SONGS. By Newman I. White.

Harvard University Press. $5.00.

Reviewed by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.

The significance of the American Negro can be noted by the character of the persons who are making him a study. For a long time only foreign visitors noticed him and his work and his songs. Then the Abolitionists began to study him. Just before the war he began to study himself. After the war, those brought into close contact with him through the schools, edited his songs and contributed to polemical literature.

Today, two sets of persons are studying the American Negro: the Negro himself through his trained intelligensia and the young Southern white man who is becoming aware of the interesting sociological development involved in this contact of races.

Newman White belongs to the second set of students and in this volume he has studied the American Negro folk songs. It is a work of industry and patience done after the most dogged scientific method. It is neither interesting nor readable, but it is a kind of work worth doing if we are to understand the esthetic development of black folk in America.

Naturally, Mr. White apologizes for the South and this somewhat disturbs his scientific calm. He believes that the white South was interested in the religious development of the Negro and that the Negro slave was not always or even usually a child of sorrow. But allowing for all this natural bias, Mr. White has written with poise and knowledge a book which for a long time must remain a landmark for those who study the Negro.

49-33-63

His main thesis is that the American Negro has created a folk song which is not simply the imitation of white music or thoroughly African by heritage. Mr. White has collected nearly some eight hundred songs of all sorts: religious songs, narratives, dance songs, animal songs, work songs, songs about women, songs from the gutter, songs of race consciousness, and "blues". One could almost wish that he had not been so thorough and had sifted out a good deal that seems of little real significance or importance. Especially does one miss in this book the artistic feeling for beauty which must interpret song. And yet this plowing up of the ground must be done by artisan if not by artist and Mr. White's work proves his own dictum that since the World War "A new element had entered into the history of the Negro folk songs. The white man's interest was now for the first time predominantly objective and scientific. No longer patronizing or purely sentimental."

49-23-64

Rough draft of

"Browsing Reader", The Crisis,

Vol. 36, No. 3, pp 87, 98

March 1929.

Browsing Reader

[Crisis]

BROWSING READER

E. C. L. Adams' "Nigger to Nigger". Scribners.

The author of "Congaree Sketches" has given us another volume of the philosophy of Negroes in the Congaree section of South Carolina. The work of Mr. Adams must not be confounded with Harlem cabaret stuff or with the impossible "Rainbow 'Round My Shoulder". The stuff published here is serious and often beautiful and the outlook upon life is everything that a black man could wish. Take, for instance, a bit from "The Yallaw Bastard".

"De door is shet to me. Hemmed in on every side, I has nothin' but dreams. An' my thoughts is floatin' out, floatin' far above de tall tree tops, here an' dere, listenin' to de wind's soft tune above de tree tops an' de clouds. Across de stars dey wander for a lonely moment, an' den back again an' down, down, down into de mire. For de door is shet to me. Hemmed in, hemmed in on every side."

Metfessel and Seashore. "Phonophotography in Folk Music". University of North Carolina Press.

This is an interesting attempt made possible by a grant of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial to photograph Negro songs.

"This group of songs constitutes the first sustained effort to preserve selections from a particular type of folk music by the method of phonophotography. The camera has been substituted for the conventional phonograph, and scientific notation has been substituted for the conventional musical notation.

47-4-174

"In this age of extraordinary spread of civilization into the remotest parts of the earth, primitive folk traits are being obliteratedand lost at an amazing pace. Shall we preserve the native songs of our Indians, our Negroes, our Hawaiians, our Filipinos? Shall the scientific collection of the songs of the most primitive peoples be taken seriously, together with other anthropological collecting? Let us hope that the present trial of instruments and methods of collecting songs in the field may arouse investigators to a recognition of the great value of this type of collections and the necessity of doing it at an early date, unless we shall forever lose the opportunity of recording permanently some of the most interesting expressions of folk life which are now being wiped out by the march of civilization."

We are glad to welcome again the annual "Black Opals", published by young colored writers of Philadelphia and edited by Nellie R. Bright, Arthur H. Fauset, Allan R. Freelon and James H. Young. It consists of three drawings and twenty poems. The poems are of a high order, particularly the opening one by Marjorie Marshall.

Fauset, Jessie. Plum Bun. N.Y.:
Stokes, 1929.

Review: "The Browsing Reader", The Crisis,
Vol. 36, No 3, p. 138
April 1929

Fragment

FAUSET, Jessie

Plum Bun is a work of sincerity and distinction and of extraordinary human interest. It will not interest those looking simply for the filth in Negro life but it will attract and hold those looking for the truth.

10-11-31

Olivier, Sir Sidney. White Capital and Colored Labor. Revised ed. London: Hogarth Press, 1929.

Review: "The Negro in Literature: May to September 1929" The Crisis, Vol. 36, No. 11, pp. 376-377, 392. November 1929

Aptheker # 863

Sir Sidney Olivier's "White Capital and Colored Labor" was a little book published by English Socialist in 1906. It was soon recognized as the best and fairest statement of the problems of the emancipated British Negro and there has long been wide demand for its reprinting. Lord Olivier (as the author is now known) has at last this year brought out a new edition, rewritten and revised. The book is now an octavo of 348 pages published by the Hogarth Press of London at $3.00. In this book the author has formulated the judgments impressed upon him by forty-seven years of close contact with the industrial and social problems of mixed communities of white and colored men in the course of service in the government of Africa and West Indian Colonies and as a Cabinet Minister, the Secretary of State for India.

The book is indispensable to students of Negro problems.

47-5-224

Johnson, James Weldon. Black Manhattan.
N.Y.: A.A. Knopf, 1930.

Review: Rough draft of New York Evening
Post, July 12, 1930, Section 3, p.5.

Marked passages reprinted in "The Browsing
Reader", The Crisis, Vol. 37, No. 9, p. 313,
September 1930.

1933 (1)

Black Manhattan. By James Weldon Johnson. Alfred A. Knopf, Publisher, New York, $2.50.

Mr. Johnson says in his preface: "It has not been my intention to make this book in any strict sense a history." This is true. The book is, in fact, a three-part essay, of which the second part, from chapter seven to chapter eleven, is the most gripping and characteristic.

This is the story of how the flower of Negro art forced itself up from the manure of the New York "Tenderloin". There are few more fascinating stories, and Mr. Johnson tells it from the point of view of one who in its most important years was a part of it; who lived through it and helped to make it; who was personally acquainted with its chief characters, and who felt perhaps more than others, its inner rhythm and meaning.

42-6-98

The first six chapters are historical, bringing together much that is familiar to colored readers but important enough for retelling. It discusses the history of the Negro in Manhattan from the early 17th Century, down until the Civil War, discussing especially Negro education and the growth of Negro journalism.

But this part of the book with its research and figures might have been done by any careful student. With chapter seven, the tempo changes and James Weldon Johnson, the poet and genial good-fellow among men, shakes off the trammels of the historian, and begins to speak with authority and throbbing interest of Harlem:

"Harlem is today the Negro metropolis and as such is everywhere known. In the history of New York the name Harlem has changed from Dutch to Irish to Jewish to Negro; but it is through this last change that it has gained its most widespread fame. Throughout coloured America Harlem is the recognized Negro capital. Indeed, it is Mecca for the sightseer,

the pleasure-seeker, the curious, the adventurous, the enterprising, the ambitious, and the talented of the entire Negro world; for the lure of it has reached down to every island of the Carib Sea and penetrated even into Africa. It is almost as well-known to the white world, for it has been much talked and written about."

Johnson begins his intimate sketch of Harlem with the horseracing of the 80's, the baseball players who followed them, then, the pugilists. This brings him to a description of the black Bohemia of the 90's:

"New York's black Bohemia constituted a part of the famous old Tenderloin; and, naturally, it nourished a number of the ever present vices; chief among them, gambling and prostitution. But it nourished other things; and one of these things was artistic effort. It is in the growth of this artistic effort that we are here interested."

Here in chapter 8, begins the kernel of Johnson's book and the best contribution ever made to the history of Negro art, and especially of the drama. There is the story of the early attempts at dramatic presentation, as early as 1821; an excellent account of Ira Aldridge and the record of the Negro minstrels, white and black. In chapter 9, comes the tale of the singers, the Luca family and the celebrated Sam Lucas, and finally, by way of climax, Williams and Walker, Cole and Johnson, and Ernest Hogan.

Mr. Johnson is at his best in these chapters for a simple reason which he modestly does not mention that it was during the time of these actors, comedians and singers, that he left his law and school-teaching in Florida and came to New York to join his brother, Rosamond Johnson. He furnished the lyrics to many popular songs, and the literary flavor to some of the plays. He was a part of that first climax of Negro art in New York. The story of it is fascinating and complete, and runs through chapters 9, 10 and 11. One sees and lives with the efforts of Will Marion Cook, Abby Mitchel, the "Black Patti", Jesse Shipp, Alexander Rogers, Ada Overton Walker. The story is brought down to our own day

with references to Harry Burleigh, Jim Europe and W. C. Handy, "The father of the blues."

Chapters 12 and 13 go back to history but vivid history because again it was history that Mr. Johnson saw and knew. There is an account of the San Juan Hill riot of 1900 and of the way in which that became part of the warp and woof of the controversy which for years ranged about Booker T. Washington. The whole history of that controversy, naturally, has not been written but those who wish a sane and carefully balanced account should read chapter 12 of Mr. Johnson's book. I had rather dreaded this part of his narrative when I knew that he was going to write it because it is still so delicate and controversial a subject. But I read the chapter last night with a sense of relief and great satisfaction. I do not believe the story of the San Juan Hill riot, the Niagara movement, and the birth of the N. A. A. C. P., could have been more justly written in so short a space.

201-9-44

In this same section of his book Mr. Johnson chronicles the emergence of black Harlem. The way in which through a real estate war the Negro suddenly transported himself from the Tenderloin to one of the best residential sections of the city without riot or bloodshed, but against enormous odds, until at last he built himself a city within a city. Chapter 14 is a description of Harlem. It is almost as good as a visit, careful, discriminating and vivid:

"Within the past ten years Harlem has acquired a world-wide reputation It has gained a place in the list of famous sections of great cities. It is known in Europe and the Orient, and it is talked about by natives in the interior of Africa. It is farthest known as being exotic, colourful and sensuous; a place of laughing, singing, and dancing: a place where life wakes up at night.

"But, of course, no one can seriously think that the two hundred

thousand and more Negroes in Harlem spend their nights on any such pleasance. Of a necessity the vast majority of them are ordinary, hard-working people, who spend their time in just about the same way that other ordinary, hard-working people do. Most of them have never seen the inside of a nightclub. The great bulk of them are confronted with the stern necessity of making a living, of making both ends meet, of finding money to pay the rent and keep the children fed and clothed neatly enough to attend school; their waking hours are almost entirely consumed in this unromantic task."

Having now done his real task, in the last chapters, with one exception, the author wanders, foot-free, and comments on Negro theater and song during the last ten years. The one chapter which is an exception, is chapter 18, which treats of black New York in the world war and of the inter-connected rise of Marcus Garvey. With his comment on the newer Negro plays, even including Green Pastures, there is the story of the literary and artistic emergence of the Negro and an estimate of the younger writers, and all is concluded by this word of the last chapter:

"Harlem is still in the process of making. It is still new and mixed; so mixed that one may get many different views--which is all right so long as one view is not taken to be the whole picture. This many-sided aspect, however, makes it one of the most interesting communities in America. But Harlem is more than a community; it is a large-scale laboratory experiment in the race problem, and from it a good many facts have been found."

All together, this is a book to be read and enjoyed, covering for the most part a field quite new to Americans, and done in genial almost colloquial English, clear in meaning, and exhilarating in tone.

W.E.B. DuBois

1200 words.

Embree, Edwin R. Brown America.

= N.Y.: Viking Press, 1931.

Review: "The Browsing Reader", The Crisis,

Vol. 38, No. 12, p. 430

December 1931.

0 1 3 6

Embree
[1931]

Brown America. The story of a new race. Edwin R. Embree. New York: Viking Press.

Mr. Embree has made a book of the Negro problem interesting because of the novelty of his approach. Born in the South, he knows the kind of talk that Southerners decline to listen to, and, on the other hand, as the grandson of the founder of Berea College, an Abolitionist who was mobbed twenty-two times, Mr. Embree is a Liberal and knows what the South must learn and think about if it is going to be civilized. His approach, therefore, to the main subjects is most interesting. What, for instance, one can say to the South about the Negro in Reconstruction, the question of miscegeneration, the problem of racial absorption and lynching. Mr. Embree's approach to Reconstruction is perhaps the most dramatic thing in the book. Without questioning the questionable assaults of men like Bowers, the author quotes a disgraceful instance of grafting, and then almost as an aside, remarks that this refers to New York City and not to the South. After that, he has a chance to say:

"Whatever their faults and foibles, these Reconstruction legislatures have a good deal to their credit. They instituted school laws with mandatory provisions for control and support and so gave the South its first adequate public school system. They opened the ballot boxes and jury systems to white men who had been debarred previously from an exercise of these functions by property qualifications. They extended local home rule in southern states, abolished the whipping post, branding irons, and stocks, and established precedents of not invading the rights of persons—honorable precedents which have been sadly neglected in modern American practice."

16-11-34

In the matter of race mixture, his very title shows his thesis that a new race is already growing up in the United States compounded of black, white and Indian blood, and gaining a subtle psychology and recognizable racial characteristics. He deliberately turns aside to tell of the struggles of John G. Fee and then gives an excellent account of Negro education, with the quite innocent comment:

"Colored students were, of course, received on equal terms with white. My grandfather even insisted on having at least one Negro on the faculty as an overt evidence of lack of all discrimination. Things went well. The students got along together. Attending the preparatory school as a boy, it never occurred to me that it was anything out of the ordinary to study and recite with Negroes. Some of them were brighter than I was; some of them were duller. It all seemed very natural."

16-11-35

His treatment of Negro health and Negro labor, and especially of the current color discrimination, are all good, and he has a most sympathetic interpretation of Negro music and art. The book ends with a thoughtful note, because after all the logical summuration of his whole argument is that Negroes should be treated as men according to their deserts, and if they are treated as men, there naturally must be social contact and intermingling. But Embree says:

"My fear is not that the Negro will not be absorbed into American life, but that he may be so completely "Americanized" that, ceasing to have any characteristic individuality, he will simply swell the ranks of standardized mediocrity. This nation, in my opinion, can better have a little irregularity, even a little disorderliness and lack of complete prosperity, rather than flatten out into a dull uniformity."

Johnson, James Weldon. Negro Americans, What Now? N.Y. Viking Press, 1934.

Review: "Whither Bound, Negroes?" New York Herald Tribune Books, Vol. 11, No. 11, p. 4 November 18, 1934.

1934 Appeal Herald Future Article Sunday, Nov. 1st.

"Negro Americans, What Now?", by James Weldon Johnson. The Viking Press, 103 pages, $1.25.

37-8-57

James Weldon Johnson, professor of creative literature at Fisk University, formerly Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and before that in the consular service of the United States is an author and publicist whose word merits attention.

Turning from his literary work which has included poetry, history, music and autobiography, Mr. Johnson now addresses himself primarily to the American Negro and asks what he is going to do about his present situation? He does not "devote any part of this booklet to cataloguing the wrongs we suffer, and the humiliations that are put upon us," but asks: "What to do about them?"

The book is in 4 parts; the first part examining the possible choices that are before the Negro; the second, his resources; the third, techniques and policies, followed by the conclusion.

Mr. Johnson points out that the Negro may leave the United States or be forced to leave; that he may attempt physical force by himself or in collusion with the Communists; or he may face the question of isolation or integration, that is, whether he will build up a separate inner organization or seek to integrate himself entirely in national life.

The author points out the power of the Negro: his numerical strength, the Negro church, the Negro press, and numerous other organizations; and suggests that all these organizations ought to be concentrated under a super-power which he thinks might be the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

He is firmly of opinion that of the choices offered the Negro that only integration with the nation is possible, and that all Negro resources should be used to accomplish this.

He is firmly of opinion that of the choices offered the Negro that only integration with the nation is possible, and that all Negro resources should be used to accomplish this.

The technical method should be by education so that the Negro youth would know, first, the world about him, and secondly, his own relation to it and the accomplishments of his race. Then, the education of white people to understand the Negro, the use of politics, labor and business to advance the Negro group and bring that integration into American life. This calls for leadership, for a disposition among young Negroes to choose the proper leader; for patronage of Negro literature and art; and above all, for a million dollars to be used in propaganda.

37-8-58

In this program there is nothing essentially new, although it is put in a fresh and telling way with references to current events and problems.

As a feasible program, it invites criticism from two points of view. First of all, Mr. Johnson fails to realize the vast economic changes through which the world is going today; and secondly, he does not, to my mind, satisfactorily treat the subject of segregation and integration. To take the last first, I am sure that unwittingly, he misinterprets my stand on segregation. I repeat, therefore, a statement which I asked the National Association to adopt a year ago:

"The segreation of human beings purely on a basis of race and color, is not only stupid or unjust, but positively dangerous, since it is a path that leads straight to national jealousies, racial antagonisms, and war.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, therefore, has always opposed the underlying principle of racial segregation, and will oppose it. But, on the other hand, it has with equal clearness recognized that when a group, like the American Negro, suffers continuous and systematic segregation, against which argument and appeal are either useless or slow in effecting changes, that Negro Americans

must make up their minds to associate themselves for their own uplift and self-respect, and to make every effort to build their segregated institutions, like churches, schools and universities, fraternities and business organizations, into just as efficient human organizations as it is possible to make them. And that they should do this, not with the idea of perpetuating artificial separations of mankind, but rather with the distinct object of proving their own efficiency, showing their own ability and discipline, and demonstrating how useless and wasteful race segregation is. Particularly today, in the economic re-building of the nations of the world, the American Negro, while he fights segregation and discrimination in the right to work, must after all work and not allow the segregated situations forced upon him by race prejudice to be used for his separation and starvation."

37-8-59

The Association did not adopt this and yet by no stretch of imagination could this be called a brief in favor of segregation. It is, however, a realistic appraisal of our present condition. I have deep respect for Mr. Johnson when he says: "I will not allow one prejudiced person or one million or one hundred million to blight my life. I will not let prejudice or any of its intended humiliations or injustices bear me down to spiritual defeat." Booker Washington once made a similar statement. And yet the fact is that Mr. Washington, Mr. Johnson and I are quite helpless in the matter. There isn't any doubt about it, whether we will or no, color prejudice in America sears our souls; it shrivels up our finer qualities and provincializes our outlook.

I think Mr. Johnson has escaped this terrible result more than most of us. He remains genial and calm. As for myself, I am perfectly aware that Negro prejudice in America has made me far less a rounded human being that I should have liked to have been. Nevertheless, all Negroes face the fact that even if they want to be integrated in American life, the overwhelming mass of the nation does not want them and in its present spirit will not have them. Therefore, it is wrong to say that we have that possibility of solution before us. We have not. What we have to decide is,

whether we will leave this country or fight for our rights, or join the revolution, or organize ourselves inside the country separately and peaceably as far as such organization is necessary and possible.

Beyond this, we must remember that insofar as Mr. Johnson's solution depends on the accumulation of capital by Negroes and the exploitation of workers, it lags behind the clearer thought of the day. We must as Negroes envisage a mass of people without rich capitalists, with a minimum of privately owned capital, and with a maximum of capital owned by our own group; and we must strive as a group for the right to share in the increasing capital owned by the city, state and nation. Our whole attention has got to be concentrated on this program of poverty and co-operation. It is a difficult one, I freely admit, but the path to it does not lie in a million dollars worth of advertising. It lies in so organizing our power as consumers and our technique as producers that working within the great economic framework of the United States we begin to achieve solidarity with the laboring masses.

37-8-60

Woodson, Carter G. The Negro Professional Man and the Community. Washington, D.C.: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1934.

Review: Unpublished?

Carter G. Woodson: The Negro Professional Man and the Community, with special emphasis on the physician and the lawyer. Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. Washington, 1934.

37-8-23

Free Negroes of the North, and to some extent of the South, furnished a professional class before the war. In the South, the group was naturally handicapped by laws which made it difficult for them to practice.

"Some of the actual figures of that early period will give a better picture of the situation. For example, Boston had two ordained Negro preachers in 1830, Connecticut had twelve such ministers and five musicians in 1850. At that time, Louisiana had one architect, six doctors, four engineers, one minister, four musicians, one music teacher, and fifteen teachers. Most of these were in New Orleans, there being the one architect, four of the six doctors in the state, one of the engineers, the one minister, the four musicians, the one teacher of music, and twelve of the fifteen teachers in that city. In New York City, in 1850, there were nine doctors, three druggists, four lawyers, twenty-one ministers, twenty-four musicians, and eight teachers. (pp. 4-5. Woodson.)

"In South Carolina, a Negro named Caesar, in 1792, practiced so successfully with his herbs and roots as a physician, that the Assembly purchased his fredom and provided him with an annuity." (Woodson, p. 6.)

A Pennsylvania newspaper in 1740, advertises for a runaway Negro, Simon, who can "bleed and draw teeth." (p. 5. Woodson.)

There were a few regularly registered physicians: James Derham in New Orleans, who had a practice of $3,000 a year in 1880.

"Visiting Dr. Derham some time later, a distinguished physician, Dr. Benjamin Rush, made this observation, "I have conversed with him upon most of the acute and epidemic diseases of the country where he lives, and was pleased to find him perfectly acquainted with the modern simple mode of practice on these diseases. I expected to have suggested some new

(Carter G. Woodson: The Negro Professional Man and the Community.)

medicines to him; but he suggested many more to me. He is very modest and engaging in his manners. He speaks French fluently, and has some knowledge of the Spanish language." (p. 7. Woodson.)

37-8-24

Dr. James McCune Smith of New York, studied medicine at the University of Glasgow, and began practicing in New York in 1837. He owned two drugstores, and discussed successfully the Negro deathrate.

There were colored dentists in Savannah and Atlanta before the war, and a pharmasist in Charleston.

"The career of Dr. Thomas Bayne, a noted dentist in the South, is almost romantic. He escaped as a fugitive slave from Norfolk by way of a boat to England, and returned to America at Boston. In that city, he soon acquired what would be considered today a secondary education, and then entered upon the study of dentistry. After completing his course, he practiced a while, but did not find this lucrative enough to resist the temptation to return to Norfolk for a political career immediately after the Civil War. He became one of the sharpest politicians of his time." (p. 9. Woodson.)

Dr. John V. DeGrasse and Dr. Thomas J. White, completed a course in medicine in 1849; and in 1854, Degrasse became a member of the Boston Medical Society. Four or five Negroes studied at the Harvard Medical School before the Civil War, and a number of other medical schools had Negro students. John S. Rock, who was the first Negro admitted to practice before the Supreme Court after the war, practiced both medicine and dentistry before he took his law course. Robert Morris practiced in Boston with great success, and acquired considerable property. ~~With~~ Edwin M. Bannister was one of the founders of the art movement in Rhode Island, which resulted in the School of Design. Edmonia Lewis, became a popular sculptor. Elizabeth Greenfield, began singing in 1851, and Ira

(Carter G. Woodson: The Negro Professional Man and the Community.)

Aldridge, born in 1804, had a distinguished career in England, and on the Continent. "His efforts were crowned with such distinction as the Gold Medal awarded by the King of Prussia, Maltese Cross with a Medal of Merit from the City of Berne, Grand Cross of the Order of Leopold from the Emperor of Austria, and another medal of the Royal Saxe-Ernst House Order from the Royal Academy of England. He was honored, moreover, with membership in the Imperial Academy of Arts and Sciences of St. Petersburg." (pp. 13-14. Woodson.)

37-8-25

In teaching, the Negroes made an early start.

"Some of these outstanding instances are interesting. We hear of the first school in the District of Columbia in 1807, established by George Bell, Nicholas Franklin, and Moses Liverpool; of Henry Smothers' School; of those of Louise Park Costin, Arabella Jones, Mary Wormley, John F. Cook, Benjamin McCoy, James Enoch Ambush, and Dr. John H. Fleet. We see the same sort of effort in Baltimore with Daniel Coker as its first Negro teacher of prominence to proceed independently. We learn, too, of Charles L. Reason in Philadelphia, and of Alexander Crummell in New York City. There were hundreds of Negro teachers in the United States in 1860, and 32,629 children of the free people of color attending school." (p. 15. Woodson.)

Negro ministers distinguished themselves.

"These were such as the unusual Lemuel Haynes, of the Congregational Church serving whites in New England, John Chavis, a preacher to both races in Virginia and North Carolina, the learned Alexander Crummell of the Episcopal Church, the radical Henry Highland Garnett of the Presbyterian Church, and the eloquent Samuel Ringgold Ward of the same connection. In spite of the restrictions at this time in the South, however, George Bentley was preaching to white Baptists in Giles County, Tennessee, and James Willis , another of the same denomination, was serving both races on frontier in Mississippi." (pp. 15-16. Woodson.)

(Carter G. Woodson: The Negro Professional Man and the Community.)

There were a number of Negro newspapers:

"As editors, Negroes of the ante-bellum period had surpassed their records as authors. In 1827, John B. Russworm and Samuel B. Cornish began the publication of The Freedom's Journal, appearing afterward as Rights of All. Ten years later, P. A. Bell was publishing The Weekly Advocate. From 1837 to 1842, Bell and Cornish edited The Colored Man's Journal, while Samuel Ruggles sent from his press The Mirror of Liberty. In 1847, one year after the appearance of Thomas Van Rensselaer's Ram's Horn, Frederick Douglass started The North Star at Rochester, while G. Allen and Henry Highland Garnett were appealing to the country through The National Watchman of Troy, New York. That same year, Martin R. Delany brought out The Pittsburgh Mystery, and others The Elevator at Albany, New York. That At Syracuse appeared The Impartial Citizen, established by Samuel R. Ward in 1848, three years after which L. H. Putnam came before the public in New York City with The Colored Man's Journal. Then came The Philadelphia Freeman, The Philadelphia Citizen, The New York Phalanx, The Baltimore Elevator, and The Cincinnati Central Star. Of a higher order was The Anglo-African, a magazine published in New York in 1859 by Thomas Hamilton, who was succeeded in editorship by Robert Hamilton and Henry Highland Garnett." (p. 17. Woodson.)

37-8-26

Middleton, Lamar. The Rape of Africa.
N.Y.: H. Smith & R. Haas, 1936.

Review: "Stealing a Continent",
The New Republic, Vol. 87,
No 1125, June 24, 1936, p. 210.

Africa

"The Rape of Africa", by Lamar Middleton, Harris and Smith and Robert Haas, New York, 1936. (331 pages.)

Professional historians will not like Mr. Middleton's book. It has long been a point of honor with historians trained in modern seminar methods to allow themselves no expression of moral indignation. They seek the aloofness and imperturbility of the biologist who dissects bugs, or the geologist who hammers stones. The difficulty is, however, that history does not deal simply with bugs and stones, but with human beings, and if it is written honestly and truthfully, it is impossible to be entirely and continuously unperturbed or to avoid sometimes getting plain mad.

Of course, if the indignation precedes a knowledge of the facts, or supplants honest and endless effort to know the truth, history becomes dangerous pasttime. But surely no more dangerous than the attitude of those obvious to human suffering, who write history in terms of material production and military power. If, after studying the history of Africa in the last sixty years, and studying it carefully and exhaustively, a writer can put down these facts with cold detachment, without bias or moral indignation, he is not a human being, and the object of many writers of history seems to be just that: to avoid being human.

47-11-26

"The Rape of Africa" is a horrible tale, even when its worst chapter is left out. Mr. Middleton does not, for instance, attempt to touch the slave trade: that extraordinary and unforgettable degradation of a continent which characterised the centuries that produced Raphael, Luther, Corneille, Shakespeare and Milton; and which witnessed the greatest growth and triumph of the Christian Church.

Mr. Middleton begins with the partition of Africa in 1877 and follows the establishment of the Congo Free State and its aftermath; the seizure of the diamonds and coal of South Africa; the fight over the Nile Valley; the Berlin Conference; the black Mahdi and the loss and re-capture of Khartum. He traces the red path of the British East Africa Company; the Italian-Abyssinian Treaty of Uccialli; the ruthless dreams of Cecil Rhodes; the scramble for Morocco, and ends

it all with the World War and Treaty of Versailles. May we quote one of a score of illustrious facts, in the case of Egypt in 1885:

> "Every political and economic consideration demanded that Britain remain top-dog in Egypt; any ethical consideration of what right England had at all in the country, or for that matter anywhere else in Africa, was of course irrelevant, and in the middle-class mind at home a thought both disloyal and impertinent. With the revealing directness characteristic of the best of his documents, Granville countered the renewed discontent of the Egyptians with the observation that 'it should be made clear to the Egyptian ministers and governors of the provinces that the responsibility which for the time rests on England obliges Her Majesty's Government to insist on the adoption of the policy which they recommend; and that it will be necessary that those ministers and governors who do not follow this course should cease to hold office."

Mr. Middleton comes to the conclusion with which many others have agreed; that the seed of world war was and is today in Africa, and that the reason of it is that the degradation of a race and exploitation of a continent, just as the degradation and exploitation of an industrial class is direct bid for crime and for the envirious fighting and suicide based on the loot of crime.

What we somehow fail to remember is that cruelties and crimes like those perpetuated in Africa are the direct result of that so-called scientific attitude of the writers of history, who tell the story of European imperialism in such a way that the average citizen of England, France and Germany regards it as a fine and glorious thing and a wonderful explanation of civilization.

And Mr. Middleton telling this story, frankly and in popular phrase, with no biting of tongue, gets indignant about it. His indignation rises to a climax in his final words:

> "The drift to war over Africa is unmistakable. That cheering outlook is the result of sixty years of duplicity and chicanery practised by the chancelleries of Europe. If a continent has been stolen from 140,000,000 natives, it is assuaging to remember that the fraud was committed in the holy cause of civilization; and that in compensation the African is tasting the transcendent delights of chain-gangs, taxes, military conscriptions, missionaries, flogging, gin, rum, jack-in-the boxes and other boons of Occidental invention."

I agree with Mr. Middleton. I think he has done a fine job, and I would to God that hundreds of thousands of Americans had the courage at least to read his story.

Dollard, John. Caste and Class in a Southern Town. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937.

Review: "Southern Trauma", North Georgia Review, Vol. 2, Winter 1937-38, pp. 9-10.

North Georgia Review

Caste and Class in a Southern Town. By John Dollard. Published for the Institute of Human Relations by the Yale University Press, 1937. $3.50

Reviewed by W. E. B. Du Bois

The story goes - I cannot vouch for its complete accuracy - that Dr. Hortense Powdermaker of the Yale Institute of Human Relations went to Indianolia, Mississippi, to make a sociological study of race relations taking Dr. John Dollard with her as a co-worker. Mass material was collected but Dr. Dollard, an expert psycho-analyst, got his material together first and rushed publication while the mass of sociological material still remains unpublished. This if true was unfortunate. Dr. Dollard's study is one of the most interesting and penetrating that has been made concerning the South and is marked by courage and real insight; but it lacks the proper sociological background and setting. One learns little about the population of Sunflower County, the progressive changes of its racial divisions, the age and sex classes and especially the basic land work and economic data. It would have been extraordinarily illuminating if this brilliant psycho-analytical interpretation could have been built on a thorough economic foundation.

As it is, the reader finds himself floating a bit in the air despite Dr. Dollard's repeated disclaimers. The tendency in the book is to make this study of a small spot in the Mississippi ~~Delta~~ bottom-land region, symptomatic and characteristic of the Negro population of the United States. Generalizations built on a few interviews with local Negroes almost inevitably tend, in absence of similar studies elsewhere, to become statements concerning the Negro race in Mississippi, the South, the United States, the world.

With this general criticism in mind, what Dr. Dollard has done is to settle down in a little southern town for several months and study caste as a psychic phenomenon in the light of Freudian psychology. He considers the general situation in a group

where there is a small Negro middle class, a large white middle class, practically no hereditary white aristocracy, an overwhelmingly large class of Negro peasants and a large class of competing poor whites.

He frankly faces the matter of bias in the investigator himself and in the testimony which he is collecting. The reader gets the distinct impression that more or less unconsciously the attitudes of the middle class whites weigh largest in his mind and that he is not altogether to be absolved from the very usual and widespread suspicion of the testimony of educated Negroes. Nevertheless his efforts are evidently honest and perhaps he approaches the unbiased scientific attitude as well as one could expect from a person unacquainted with the white South. In such a person astonishment that Civil War animosities still live, is apt to bulk large and this is clear in his chapter on "Attitudes toward the North".

His distinction of class and caste is illuminating and carefully worked out. First, there is a general chapter on the subject and in three following chapters, he takes up the "gains" or social advantages which the white middle class gets in income, sex and prestige. These chapters are the kernel of the book and they give at once the most frank and penetrating analysis of southern mentality which I have ever read. Their message will not be popular and will probably be bitterly resented in the South. They contain on the whole nothing essentially new as far as fact is concerned; but they raise fairly well known facts as to wage, levels of living, treatment, sex commerce and caste restrictions, from the level of the apparently unsupported statement of one observer to the higher plane of adjustment to widely known patterns of psychological reaction; so that their essential truth is recognizable because of their universality. Take, for instance, the matter of sex relations between white and colored people in the South: it has often been said that white men and colored women have contacts and that voluntary contacts of

white women and colored men are not unknown; but what Dollard points out is that these reactions follow human and well known patterns. White men by virtue of their caste position have access to two classes of women and that the very attempt to guard white women draws a burden of sex feeling toward Negro women and arouses in retaliation not only the resentment of Negro men but the jealousy of white women and retaliatory impulses in both and that this complicated interaction explains much of the situation in this little town and in the South.

Other chapters follow: caste in education, politics and religion paint by far the most favorable but by no means satisfactory situation in education and least satisfactory and most paradoxical in politics. Then follows the description of the reaction; the accommodation attitudes and submissions of Negroes; the fact that limited retaliation upon whites increases to a certain extent aggression of Negroes upon Negroes and that white aggression upon Negroes is at bottom a defense of income, of ownership of women and inflated ego carried out by actions which actually carry the war into dark territory for the ultimate sake of white integrity. All this is naturally defended by beliefs whose significance is not that they are true but that they are frantiely stated and believed in: the inherent inferiority of the Negro; in the impossibility of Negro education, and all that.

The gains of lower class Negroes by reason of economic irresponsibility and sex license are noted and the methodology of race prejudice arising from reaction to frustration and aggression and the lifting of tabu on hostilities; and particularly the ease of identification of the victim through color.

In an appendix there is a short study of the poor whites by Leonard W. Doob which is rather too narrow and limited to be particularly illuminating. Dr. Dollard's book marks a distinct advance in the study of the Souther scene. It fails to be completely satisfactory because of lack of underlying and explanatory sociological data; but when we can apply to the Southern situation not only sociological study but psychological interpretation we shall have made a distinct advance toward apprehending the truth.

Gallagher, Buell G. American Caste and the Negro College. N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1938.

review: Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 205, September 1939, p 202.

The Annals, 1939
(?)

Buell G. Gallagher: AMERICAN CASTE AND THE NEGRO COLLEGE

The title of this book does not do it exact justice for it is much more than a discussion of the Negro college. It is an interesting and intelligent estimate of the American caste system with historical and psychological insight. It is a study of education; education in general and the education of the Negro. It is especially a development of the idea of the functional college; that is, of the college which seeks to use education "as the means of critical analysis and the tool of social reconstruction."

Even this summary does not adequately show the wide reading and straight thinking together with practical experience, which has gone into this book. The first chapter poses the question as to what the slightly over one hundred institutions for higher learning of the Negro are going to do with their opportunity. Then comes a study of the nature of prejudice as shown by the historic rise of race feeling in the world and the development of racial antagonism in the United States against the Negro. The third chapter studies prejudice at work and especially the stereotypes and minor difficulties and irritations. The fourth chapter surveys the fully developed color caste system as we have it today, charting it in detail with interesting plans and statistics and making no effort to minimize the facts. With this goes a study of pathological results of caste, and the reaction of the Negro arising from the very fact of segregated training.

This caste system raises dilemmas for both white folk and black which are discussed in the sixth and seventh chapters and in the eighth the matter is summed up in the argument that even the Achilles of prejudice has a vulnerable heel. Then comes the argument of the place and opportunity for a functional college among Negroes as contrasted with the old classical type, the industrial school, the opportunist

program and the school of pure inquiry. There is a strong chapter on democracy as a method of college administration and of the relation of the college to its wider campus of surrounding colored and white folk. A final chapter discusses teaching in a college "without caste".

There are two interesting appendices: one a thought provoking study of the economics of lynching and another a statement as to the so-called intelligence tests. Throughout the book there are all sorts of excursions, illustrations and comparisons, among which stands out the comparison of Odum of 1910 and Odum of 1936. Any one who wishes a discussion of education as it looks to a deeply interested teacher of today and as it is illustrated in the case of one group of Americans, will have here opportunity to read an excellent book on the subject done in vivid English and backed by earnest convictions.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Atlanta University
March 17, 1939

Powdermaker, Hortense. After Freedom.

N.Y.: Viking Press, 1939.

Review: Social Forces, Vol. 18, No. 1

October 1939, pp. 137-139

Review: Social Forces
Vol 18, No. 1, Oct. 1939

W. E. B. Du Bois
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Hortense Powdermaker, AFTER FREEDOM, A cultural Study of the Deep South, New Y[redacted]
Viking Press, 1939. 408 plus xvii pages.

Miss Powdermaker's study of Indianola, Mississippi shows a very complete and thorough digestion of the raw material upon which the study is based. It indicates the newest technique in studying group and cultural problems in this country: first came the statistical study, which tried to count facts but ended usually in a more or less foggy abstraction of figures, some of which were interpreted more or less thoroughly and others left entirely without interpretation. Then came the sociological study with statistical samples which is the prevailing mode today. Miss Powdermaker's study marks the advent of cultural anthropology into the study of the American Negro problem. She attempts "to apply to a segment of contemporary American society the training and methods of a cultural anthropologist and whatever perspective had been gained through field work in civilizations other than our own." She sees "no reason why anthropology should not be used to help make our civilization, as well as savage ones, intelligible." In pursuit of this goal Miss Powdermaker has made a very careful and consistent study, with every effort to suppress bias, sticking almost too straitly to her subject and revealing in the finished story few obtrusions of the mass of irrelevant and contradictory data which she must have collected.

The first query which naturally arises in the mind of the reader is: why there should be two books on this one little center, one by Dollard, a psychological sociologist, and the other by this cultural anthropologist; both agreeing in manner of treatment and in main conclusions; and why we should still lack the factual background which a thorough statistical study might easily supply. Evidently there is here a suppressed story of scholarly bickering which need not detain us and yet intrigues us, and concerning which Miss Powdermaker is rather loftily unconcerned merely remarking that she makes "no references" to Dollard's study, since her

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manuscript was written first. This is a better, clearer study than Dollard's but less human especially in treatment of sex.

Nothing gives more eloquent testimony of the extraordinary atmosphere of fear and even violence that rests upon this community than the care with which the student approach had to be made; the explanations, the warnings; and last but not least, the fact that the author, sensing offense, capitalizes the word white "because the word Negro is capitalized throughout the book."; The book is confined mainly to a consideration of the colored group with only passing reference to the whites, "as a social atmosphere". It is based on repeated interviews with nearly one hundred Negroes over the better part of a year, and on two hundred and fifty-six questionnaires sent out among the whites. After an introduction concerning the approach and method of study, Miss Powdermaker divides her book into six parts: a seventy page study of the general social scene, of which fifty-five pages are devoted to the whites. The rest of the book deals almost exclusively with the Negroes.

The economic background is given sixty-five pages about equally divided between town and plantation. Cotton culture and land ownership are here considered, interrelation of the town and country group stressed, and the fact that the New Deal has brought to this part of Mississippi "the rather incongrous elements of paternal benevolence and revolutionary change."

The Negro family occupies fifty pages with stress upon its predominantly matriarchal type save in the small upper class. "The personnel of these matriarchal families is variable and even casual. Step-children, illegitimate children, adopted children, mingle with the children of the house. No matter how small or how crowded the home is, there is always room for a stray child, an elderly grandmother, an indigent aunt, a homeless friend."

The existence of an upper class is almost ignored by Dollard, but Miss Powdermaker recognizes its significance "This small, exclusive group is regarded with respect and a certain wonder by the rest of the colored population. Middle-class women

who are comparatively uninhibited in their own sexual behavior speak in tones of awe about a woman of the upper class who lives a severely strict life and has never been touched by the breath of scandal. It is in part this wondering respect which enables the upper class to exert an influence in the community far greater than its numbers would seem to warrant. They are leaders of real power."

Ninety-nine pages are given to the Negro church, an unnecessarily long treatment with nothing particular new and yet a subject which would naturally attract an anthropologist. Education, on the other hand, is given only twenty-five pages and treated as a "faith" rather than a fact. Here, however, some figures of encouraging accomplishment are given.

The Negro's response to the whole situation occupies the last fifty pages and is interesting and important. "Among the younger generation, those in their teens, twenties, and thirties, resentment is keen and outspoken. These agree with the middle-aged in feeling that they are equal to the Whites and in desiring equal treatment. They differ in not possessing or wanting to possess the tact and diplomacy of their elders."

The treatment of acculturation is well-done and students will appreciate the answers of the whites to the questionnaires concerning Negroes printed in the appendix. They are informing as well as astonishing. It is, for instance, interesting to note that nearly forty per cent of the whites believed that Negroes "are no different essentially from other people" and that fourteen per cent admit that Negroes are rapidly reaching the cultural and intellectual level of the whites. On the other hand, nearly a quarter of the whites find Negroes "abhorrent"; while three-fourths believe that his place is in manual work and eighty-four per cent think they are inferior to white people in innate capacity.

One finishes Miss Powdermaker's study with the feeling that when in the future we can interpret statistics concerning Negroes with the trained insight of psychologists and anthropologists, eventually in spite of the plight of historical writing, we shall have a clearer picture of the American Negro and stronger incentives to

methods of social uplift.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Atlanta University
April 17, 1939

4-7-12-95

Thompson, Edgar T., ed. Race Relations and the Race Problem. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1939.

Review: Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 207, January 1940, pp. 255-256.

RACE RELATIONS AND THE RACE PROBLEM: A DEFINITION AND AN ANALYSIS

Edgar T. Thompson, Editor

Duke University Press, 1939

This book issued by Duke University emphasizes the fact that Southern white institutions are beginning to become aware that their surrounding problem of race is a dignified and important subject of study. Led by the University of North Carolina some attention is being paid in these institutions to the Negro. The present symposium is contributed to by eleven writers, two of whom are colored, and about half of the whites Northerners. It is a study of the American Negro from the biological, economic and psychological point of view. Perhaps the psychological aspect is the newest and the most important and is illustrated by Copeland's chapter on the Negro as a "Contrast Conception; in Guy Johnson's "Patterns of Race Conflict" and in the study of American "Caste" by Warner and Davis. Robert Park has an interesting study of the general pattern of race relations in ancient and modern times and says that it is the "essence of race relations that they are the relations of strangers," of people thrown together for various reasons who "have not been sufficiently knit together by intermarriage and interbreeding to constitute a single ethnic community", but he believes that "race conflicts in the modern world, which is already or presently will be a single great society, will be more and more in the future confused with, and eventually superseded by, the conflicts of classes."

In the biological field, S. J. Holmes points out that the Negro has survived and improved his health status but that the question of his further survival depends upon the increase of the Negro in country and city. In the Northern city for economic reasons he is not reproducing his numbers. In the Southern country districts he is surpassing the whites but again for economic reasons he is rapidly leaving the country districts.

Reuter and Vance discuss economic aspects, the racial competition for jobs, the decline of the Black Belt. Reuter says "The caste system in view of the relative capacities and

incapacities of the Negroes and poor whites, tends to push the poor whites below the Negroes in the scale - to make of the Negroes a sort of intermediate caste between the levels of the white population."

The most interesting chapter is chapter six by Copeland. The essence of racial antagonism is brought out here historically in an unusually illuminating way. It shows how the social ideology of the white South "has virtually created two sociological races - white and black - two natural groups which cannot be mixed. It makes of the opposition between them an irrevocable conflict. Thus, the ideology "naturalizes" the social order, giving an ultimate sanction to the relative status assumed by the races, and at the same time provides a basis for white-caste cohesion. In the process the Negro is posed as a counter-race, an inner enemy, the antithesis of white society. The name, the antonym of white, denotes a contrast conception."

Other chapters are of no great interest nor do they bring much that is new. Charles Johnson continues to look for salvation in a division of the Negro into economic classes adhering to white capital and labor and thus obscuring caste, but he does not foretell where this class conflict is going to land us.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

47-12-68

Sorokin, Pitirim. Social and Cultural Dynamics, Vol. IV, Basic Problems, Principles and Methods. New York: American Book Company, 1941.

Unpublished ?

Sorokin — undated

I can only judge Sorokin's Social and Cultural Dynamics as set forth in Volume IV Basic Problems, Principles and Methods by looking back over my own intellectual history. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century when I was receiving my education we seemed fairly clear on a basic division in the world between mind and matter; and we assumed, not without argument and some mystification, that mind could and would exercise compelling influence upon matter; that thought stood in causal relationship with the material world. I remember too the pleasurable shock which I got when my attention in college was turned to a direct study of mind and the possibility of actually investigating thought processes and even the ego itself was presented to me. There was, of course, immediately present the basic puzzle as to how far the knower could study and measure knowing and that, if I mistake not, is still a basic paradox in Sorokin's sociology.

We have come far since those days. We have reduced cause to sequence and our study of mind is really an attempt to follow the interaction of individual ~~thoughts~~ elements. One thing I got out of contact with William James and Josiah Royce and that was an approach to a rather pitiless logic when it came to the use of names of things. I remember that when Edward Cummings, the first instructor in Sociology, the humble predecessor of Sorokin, came to Harvard, he lectured to us about "Society" and I immediately took him to task for discussing a mental entity which had no integrating ego. He pushed my argument aside, as I have always thought, rather inadequately. But if we assume that society is not an existence of itself but the total result of individual human thinking and acting; and that thought and action take place in the midst of physical forces and in close connection with them, then we have a basis of inquiry and deduction.

Now comes Mr. Sorokin with a conception of a "pure causal system" and then of a "pure meaningful system" which at first strikes me as a worthwhile restatement of the old mind and matter problem. I am not certain, however, as to the connection

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between these systems and of his conception of "System" itself. His first problem seems to be the question as to how far the happenings in the world are systematic or unorganized and he starts off with an investigation of what he calls the "socio-cultural system" and its properties; and he proposes to investigate the total culture of an area; how that culture changes and why it changes. He fights fierce battles with real and imaginary opponents as to whether the change comes from the physical environment or whether it comes from immanent force within the system. Or to put it another way, whether human action along cultural patterns is determined by the mechanical world or by its own inner rational thinking.

But all this argument leaves unsatisfied. I cannot find out by reading this volume with some care exactly what a "System" is. Perhaps the author would say that for more certain orientation as to his meaning here, I ought to read the three preceeding volumes and doubtless that is true. Nevertheless, there are certain assumptions here concerning systems which, as I see it, no explanations can justify. Sorokin's system seems to be an entity, a reality, a self-sufficing and self-propelling thing, in which he sees thought and force and development and is only exasperated and uncertain because of the amount of action and thought which is not systematic and which forms what he calls a "congeries", an unhappy designation, which somehow means little to me.

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As I see it Sorokin has done a service to modern sociological thought by insisting to great length upon the role of thinking in the world. He stands over against those persons who conceive the world primarily as a mechanical system and would confine its interpretation to a minute emparical examination of the facts of the mechanism, even though with Lundberg they have to express these facts in rather vague psychological form. Yet here is a chance and a chance that is being following up by excellent scholars, of measuring what is actually happening, not only in the so-called physical world, but also in the psychic world; and out of that deducing whatever of rythm and possible law we may. The difficulty and fatal limitation of

this procedure is the rather impatient assumption that in the long run all the facts of the world can be reduced to quantitative measurement; that if this is not true, other facts or imaginings are outside the province of empirical science. This is by far too cavalier an expulsion from the domain of science of purposeful thinking, and of ethics, religion, politics and history as the world long has perceived them. What the empirical scientists, of course, might do in a case like this would be frankly to say that we have a world of mechanical sequence which we can measure quantitatively; but that in that world there is an area (how large or how small we cannot say) where chance rules; that is, where the disposition and allocation of force does not apparently depend on antecedent conditions. The mechanist might properly maintain that this area is small and that it will in time be proven smaller if not apparently non-existent. In which case the paradox of knowing the knowing still persists.

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On the other hand, thinkers like Sorokin, bring to our mind the tremendous meaning of the great developments of human thinking; the sweep of purposive reason and the way in which these thoughts have apparently developed culture and cultural systems. Looking at the world as a whole, the part of it which is of interest to us as living beings and which always has apparently guided most of our thought and action is infinitely larger than the mechanical details of its action; and therefore Sorokin has a right to insist upon the predominant influence and meaning of thought in the world. However, he cannot escape the difficulty of deciding or imagining exactly what the interaction between meaning and motion is. No amount of intricate argument about social systems and cultural systems and the way in which these through their vehicles and agents become fused, offers any escape from the basic paradox. All we can say is this: human thought has, according to age-long assumption and according to our firm conviction today, led to a systematic ordering of human action even in its mechanical aspect; that all human action is not rationally ordered and probably never will be, but so far as it does from time to time more or less

complete systems it is of great interest to study these systems and to see whether or not they themselves in their formation and development tend toward larger rythms and patterns.

On the other hand, it is to my mind lost time to pretend that we can today see those vast patterns, those super-rythms of the imagination of men like Spengler and Sorokin, and thus predicts with anything like scientific accuracy the future of the world. We can see resemblances; we can see repetitions; we can think through vast possibilities; but our basis of fact is too small to call such quesswork, science. This basis of fact can be enlarged; we can know more about the economic thought of today and of the past; we can know more about individual and group psychology; our chemical and biological knowledge is growing. Applying these measurements to human action we can see how the purposive direction of thought is limited and guided. Even in this matter of rational thinking we can do something much better than Sorokin has attempted. It takes a naive mind to base exact measurement of human development upon the Encyclopaedia Britannica. General ideas we may obtain but mathematical measurements never. All this assumption and procedure does not penetrate nor explain the basic question as to how far knowing can know itself and as to what possible causal relation there can be between thought and action.

Nevertheless, frankly facing the paradox, we have a right to assume that thought does do a degree, perhaps to a much smaller degree than we used to say, influence the development of this world; that such influence is shown in meaningful systems of coherent action and that these systems themselves in some dimly comprehended manner may make super-systems of which today we can only dream.

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I have myself on the

Davis, Allison, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner. Deep South. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

Review: Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 209, March 1942, pp. 274-275.

Deep South, A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class. By Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner and Mary R. Gardner. Directed by W. Lloyd Warner. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois. xv plus 558 pp.

This is a study carried out under the auspices of Harvard University and directed by a former professor of Harvard now at the University of Chicago. The field work was done by a colored married couple and white married couple with some other assistance. They lived in the area studied a little over a year and a half and became so far as possible integral members of the social group which they were studying. The study is divided into two parts: the first of which ~~they study of~~ is taken up color caste and the class systems in the white caste and the colored caste. The second and slightly larger part is a study of economic conditions.

In the study of the caste system there is not much that is new but it gains in authority by having its judgments and conclusions confined to a comparatively small area and seeking to make a pretty exhaustive study of the area. The general conclusion is summarized on the last page of the ~~study~~ book:

> Life in the communities of Deep South follows an ordered pattern. The inhabitants live in a social world clearly divided into two ranks, the white caste and the Negro caste. These color-castes share disproportionately in the privileges and obligations of labor, school, and government and participate in separate families, associations, cliques, and churches. Only in the economic sphere do the caste sanctions relax, and then but for a few persons and in limited relationships. Within the castes are social classes, not so rigidly defined as the castes but serving to organize individuals and groups on the basis of "higher" and "lower" status, and thus to restrict intimate social access. Both the caste system and the class system are changing through time; both are responsive to shifts in the economy, in the social dogmas, and in other areas of the social organization. Both are persisting, observable systems, however, recognized by the people who live in the communitites; they form Deep South's mold of existence.

Most of the picture of the white caste is fairly well-known although there are some interesting studies of the movement of people from lower to upper class

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relationships and a new but no very conclusive study of cliques. Chapter nine on social cliques in the colored society is newer material and deserving of study. The maps of the social cliques attempted on pages 212 and 213 are of interest and the attitude of the white people toward Negro social distinctions is interestingly portrayed "The very nature of the caste system is such that white people must, perforce, view Negroes in terms of their relation to that system rather than in relation to the system of social classes. It is far more important to the preservation of white rank for whites to evaluate Negroes as 'uppity' as contrasted with 'good', rather than as 'better class' or 'common class'; except when these class differences are felt to constitute a threat to 'correct' Negro-white Relations. Yet, to the Negro community the distinctions of social class determine thought and action to a high degree."

Stress is put upon the fact that Negroes recognize their own class distinctions and yet in accordance with the democratic ideal try to deny them; that their patterning after the white caste makes social distinctions dependent partly on color and hair and yet this has to be modified by education and income. The study of the economic system is important. It shows that the opportunity for advance on the part of the landless Negro laborer was in this part of the South better before 1885 than since. Today this region is in the grip of the cotton economy and so deeply has this worked upon cultural patterns that no ordinary effort can displace it. These cultural patterns include the intimidation of labor, the disfranchisement of Negroes and the use of arrest and incarceration as a means of social control. Whipping and lynching have played their part here.

As a contribution to our knowledge of sociology and interaction of a small deeply divided human group this book deserves high place.

W. E. B. Du Bois

18 December 1941

46-3-79

Sorokin, Pitirim A. Social and Cultural Dynamics 4 vols. N.Y.: American Book Co., 1937-1941.

Review: "Mr. Sorokin's Systems" by RUSHTON Coulborn and W.E.B. Du Bois
The Journal of Modern History.
Vol. 14, No. 4, December 1942, pp. 500-521.

MR. SOROKIN'S SYSTEMS

Rushton Coulborn and W. E. B. Du Bois

I

Time was when "mind over matter" was the formula which explained the functioning of society and the making of history. For somewhat over a century, ending some seventy-five years ago mind reigned over matter in the minds of men. But then a reaction set in and it continues to this day: men's minds became unsettled and they began to fear that the reign of their minds had been a fantasy of their minds. Losing confidence, some men railed violently against their minds, which is to say, against themselves: Pareto arrived, drawing attention to what he called the "non-logico-experimental" in behavior. Others drew distinctions between the few wise and the many foolish, each such seer overtly or covertly placing himself among the few wise. This influential company was led by Bergson and gained its strength from what had once been thought the aberrations of some of the great German philosophers. And there were some who pinned their hopes not so much to dominance over matter of the rare charismatic mind, as to a mystic union of mind with matter, thought with life; these too could claim Bergson as their leader.

Now comes Mr. Sorokin, offering a full statement, as plain as his terminology permits, of his method of thinking about the functioning of society and the making of history, baring his method for contemplation.[1] He is not un-Bergsonian, but we think he gravitates back toward the dominance of mind in general to an extent which is rare today. For this we like him.

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[1] Pitirim A. Sorokin, Social and Cultural Dynamics Vol. I, Fluctuation of Forms of Art, pp. xx, 745; Vol. II, Fluctuation of Systems of Truth, Ethics and Law pp. xvii, 727; Vol. III, Fluctuation of Social Relationships, War and Revolution, pp. xvii, 636; Basic Problems, Principles and Methods pp. xv, 804. (American Sociology Series; Gen. ed. Kimball Young. New York, Cincinnati &c, 1937-1941. American Book Co.)

He sees the functioning of society and the making of history as man's struggle to know himself and to know the cosmos, passing eternally through a three-fold rhythm of epistemological phases. The process may be described shortly as "Intuition over Sensation, Reason and Matter -- Reason over Intuition, Sensation and Matter -- Sensation over Reason, Intuition and Matter." In-so-far as the process has been successful both society and culture are brigaded into "systems" of persons and things, "agents" and "vehicles", the systems having "meaning" and thus carrying in themselves the causes of social and cultural life. It is important that Sorokin's systems are not directly causal by reason of intrinsic traits of their components (agents and vehicles), as is the case with physical and biological systems; they are causal by reason of meanings assigned to them as systems by social convention, their components' intrinsic qualities being without necessary connection with the meanings. Otherwise Sorokin's systems are like all systems: they are distinguished by interdependence of the parts upon one another and upon the whole, of the whole upon the parts. Sorokin's systems, social and cultural, exist first in the "pure" state; that is, they exist in mind -- whether in the individual mind alone is not perfectly clear. They then acquire their agents and vehicles and thus enter the "empirical" world. But the social-historical process has not been wholly successful and therefore there exist cultural and social "congeries", which are non-system, mere juxtaposition in time and space of persons and things, having no meaningful connection -- absolutely none. Congeries, then, are not causal; they cannot grow or decline. The growth and decline of systems, on the other hand, are the functioning of society and the making of history.

This is a philosophy of history. It is the more important for its obvious activistic significance. If history is the product of man's struggle to know himself and his world, then Sorokin's exposition of man

and his world is a direct contribution in the broadest way to human social vitality. If Sorokin's exposition is wholly correct (which he would be the last to claim), then future history and the successful growth of society will be assured when men behave in the way Sorokin has defined as successful and eschew the behavior which Sorokin regards as unsuccessful. It is to be noted that Sorokin establishes a dichotomy as between men's social and cultural behavior. It is to be noted too that Sorokin's treatment of the place of the individual in society and culture is unusual as a consequence of the distinction between system and congeries. Sorokin allows that the degree of integration of systems varies greatly -- he urges this strongly -- but, to further the purposes (meanings) of society and history, the individual acts 'in system'; if he acts 'in congeries', he is anti-social, anti-historical. The chief lesson to be learned, then, from Sorokin's philosophy of history-- its value as a principle of action and guide to successful social-historical behavior -- is located in the distinction between system and congeries and in the nature, and especially in the manner and degree of integration, of systems.

II

System and congeries at first sight appear to resemble somewhat the Greek <u>polis</u> and <u>idia</u> and, on the positive side, system and <u>polis</u>, there is certainly a real similarity. On the negative, however, although a citizen who concerned himself only with his <u>idia</u> was an idiot, the <u>idia</u> were unquestionably in a systematic relationship with politics, even if the interdependence of the two was loose. What, then, is the absolute congeries, whose components are absolutely and utterly unrelated to one another? When does an individual act wholly alone and isolated -- except indeed when living solitary on an island where there is no society?

Take the limiting case, the case of eremiticism. A hermit is a person who cuts himself off from society and seeks to live alone. He has, of course, his culture, which differs fundamentally from the culture of the society from which he is seeking to secede and this difference is his reason for seeking to secede. As between the culture of the hermit and the culture of the surrounding society there should, by Sorokin's argument, be a congeries-relationship, which is to say, no relationship. And with the next to limiting case, the case of monasticism, there is a group of persons seceding. In the sphere of culture the situation is identical with that of eremiticism. But with monasticism congeries exists, if Sorokin is right, in the social sphere also, for the monks constitute a little society, a social system, as the single hermit does not. Yet is there in reality absolute scission as between the hermit or monks on the one hand and the surrounding society on the other? We think not. Both hermit and monks become examples to other persons: they exhibit -- many of them with positive purpose -- a new system of life, which those adhering to the old system may substitute for the old system. This is not true of every aspect of monastic or eremitic life, but, as against such aspects as are not offered as models, monks at least are prepared to perform for the benefit of the surrounding society certain special functions, the pursuit of scholarship, for example. We think that monks by their special functions and by their example, hermits by their example alone, are 'in system' with the rest of society and not 'in congeries.' The relation of the monks' special functions to the functions of the rest of society is indeed similar to the relation of idia to politics. The limiting case of the hermit, isolating himself from society, becomes the exception which is no exception and so proves the rule of system. Therefore, we believe, Sorokin's congeries is a figment of his brilliant imagination. In real society and culture there

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is no such thing as congeries. It is an interesting concept, valuable in the cognitive process, but true only at a non-existent, mathematical infinity.

Now hermits and monks originate in significant numbers in those periods of history in which a society of one sort of civilization is disintegrating and in some cases giving place to a new society having another sort of civilization. At such a time the systems, cultural and social, of the old society are breaking down, while those of the new society have not yet attained large growth. It is certainly the case then that society and culture are weak and have loosely integrated systems. Thus the true significance of eremitic and monastic life is the looseness of their integration with the surrounding life in a period characterized by loose integration — and, by contrast, the closeness of their internal integration as an example to promote the re-growth of the society into the forms of the new civilization; hence monastic emphasis upon discipline, in part self-discipline, and eremitic emphasis exclusively upon self-discipline. Although, then, Sorokin is here shown to be wrong in his notion of congeries as something which is the direct opposite of system, he is strongly supported in the importance he attaches to system as such.

And yet the importance of system and the fact that its importance has hitherto perhaps been insufficiently realized by social scientists should not lead to the de-humanizing of the social sciences; that is to say, the scholar must not, now that Sorokin has made this matter clear, tend to forget that systems are created by human beings and that those human-beings, the agents of systems, dominate the systems and make and break them. We believe that there is a danger that the scholar may make this error, that Sorokin himself makes it in some measure. The active and dominant part played by hermits and monks, besides advertising the

importance of systems, also shows human beings creating, modifying and destroying systems.

When Sorokin says that certain systems, when transposed into the empirical sphere "...often lose their identity with their pure system and degenerate into something quite different, under the influence of the natural properties and relationship of their vehicles -- including imperfect human beings",[1] we detect in his reasoning a tendency toward the mechanistic, which is not only erroneous in itself, but is at variance with the humanistic basis of Sorokin's theory as stated and applied in other parts of his work. It is probably true that some pure systems -- not, perhaps, that whole class of systems here meant by Sorokin -- are warped in passage into the empirical sphere by "imperfect human beings,' although we think that the epithet 'imperfect' would be more appropriate in theology than in social science; but we do not think that human beings, perfect or imperfect, may with scientific soundness be included among the vehicles. The vehicles, surely, are inanimate, material things, or, if living, not human. A human being in society, on Sorokin's own showing, is an agent. As such, a human being who causes a system to degenerate is playing an active part in society. If the system is in itself valuable to society, then the human being in question may be damaging society, but that phenomenon itself is of great importance and worthy of serious study; to dismiss it as something of the same order as obstruction by vehicles is loose thinking.

In another part of Sorokin's lapse toward mechanism he says "... a mere paper (appointing A to be commander in chief) and an insignificant insigne confer upon an individual a tremendous power; .... harmless energies -- for instance, sound and noise (diplomatic exchange of words

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[1] Ibid., IV, p. 42.

and disagreements -- produce the devastations of war; a little to form the famous Christian "filiogue", split the whole Christian world into the Eastern and Western Christianity; "[1] -- and a number of other such statements. On the rare occasions when such statements as these are true statements of cause and effect they are examples of something which Sorokin a few paragraphs further on correctly identifies as fetishism or idolatry[2] -- in which the symbol is mistaken through stupidity for the fact. Normally symbols are not causes; they are merely vehicles of meanings which become causes, as Sorokin is well aware. Why then the loose thinking of these passages -- passages in which the vital distinction between agent and vehicle is slurred over, the two are equated, the controlling function of the agent is denied and the vehicle is accorded a place in causality which it attains only most exceptionally? The answer is perhaps that Sorokin himself has here lapsed into fetishism: his theory, the vehicle of his mind, has got out of his mind's control and caused him to say things which the proper application of the theory does not allow.

36-4-72

III

Reasons have now been adduced for rejecting Sorokin's congeries, for accepting his view of the importance of system and for avoiding mechanistic misinterpretations of his theory.

It may be argued in reply, however, that the bases of this criticism have been found only in periods of transition from one civilization to another. It is therefore necessary to illustrate the same arguments from a period which is not one of transition. Some further development of the

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[1] Ibid., IV, 40.

[2] Ibid., IV, 43 n. 39.

criticism will appear in this process.

In more normal periods of history the chaotic collapse of systems is not the salient aspect of society and culture. The growth and decline of systems and the substitution for declining systems of new systems at a more or less regular tempo of evolutionary character confront the student instead. In the passage quoted first above Sorokin is explaining what is in fact an early stage in the normal, characteristic evolution of all social and cultural systems, although he professes only to be doing so for complex and delicate systems. The warping of such systems at that stage is done through their infestation with congeries, he says, and presumably the decline and dissolution of systems in the last stages of their evolution is also done through their infestation -- amounting perhaps to swamping -- with congeries. And the congeries are introduced indifferently by vehicles and agents. In the interval between the early and late stages of evolution of a system -- that is, after its passage into empirical existence and before it enters upon its decline -- there is a period, presumably, of positive growth when congeries are not introduced, perhaps some of the earlier congeries are eliminated.

36-4-73

Is not this picture of the social process too simple? Is it not also essentially mechanistic by reason of the congeries concept itself, that concept standing as it does between the human agent and the system? According to Sorokin there is one way and one only in which the agent changes the system at the two crucial stages of the system's existence: he breaks, or annuls absolutely various elements or parts of the system; the only alternative action of the agent must be positive operation of the system. It is obviously true enough that the agent may operate the system positively -- and this is the defense of Sorokin's concept of system as such. But even this is inadequate, leaving the concept of

system incomplete and therefore vague. Neither would it be enough to enlarge the concept by saying that the agent may add to the system or subtract from the system -- and Sorokin, by his congeries, allows only subtraction. The changing of systems is indeed the essence of the normal, evolutionary social and cultural process and for that Sorokin's congeries is really a ridiculous explanation.

The truth seems to be that Sorokin's theory, since his system and congeries pervade it throughout, is not a theory of social and cultural dynamics. Rather it is a theory of social and cultural statics: his concept of system tells much, perhaps all, about an imaginary society which never changes -- a society in which the agents merely operate the systems. When the theory approaches the vital problem of change it collapses. The place of vehicles in the theory appears to be more satisfactory; at least the inorganic function of vehicles can be understood in arithmetical terms. Organic change, however, comes from the agents and the function of agents deserves examination in an example which will also clarify further the function of vehicles.

Consider the Mercantile System of economics. In the minds of its great protagonists, such as J. B. Colbert, a pure system, within Sorokin's meaning of the term, undoubtedly existed. But when the empirical system developed it approximated only roughly to the pure system. The vehicles, that is, the commodities of trade, the ships in the trade, the presence or absence of the precious metals in various places, the suitability of various climates for agriculture or for manufacture -- these did not fit at all easily into the scheme of the pure system. Hence the agents, the myriad human beings operating the system, modified it and the empirical system differed from the pure system. ~~Sorokin's view of breakdown does, of course, include the congeries notion, plainly stated, and there is no question here.~~ The

part played here by the vehicles was entirely passive: they offered inertia to the process theoretically conceived in the pure system. But the agents played an active part; indeed they created something new -- new links or details to take the place of those of the pure system which were incapable of empiricization.

Even the inertia exerted by refractory vehicles is not accurately expressed by the concept of congeries, for congeries, being non-system pure and simple, does not allow for the great quantitative variation of inertia in the cases of various refractory vehicles. As for the creative acts of the agents, they bear no possible relation to the congeries concept, unless it be argued that before the creation of a new link in the system the old link must be broken; and, if this be so, it merely shows once again the utter inadequacy of congeries as a guide to the part played by agents in changing a system.

To pass over for a moment the period of growth of the empirical system, where does disintegration of the system begin? And another question: where does disintegration of the old empirical system cease and empiricization of a new pure system begin? Consider again the same example.

The new pure system which succeeded the Mercantile System was the laissez-faire system of Adam Smith. No great difficulty arises, then, in answering the second question in theoretical terms: as soon as the Mercantilist 'rules of trade' began to be abolished the new system was becoming empirical. And yet this theoretical statement does not correspond with any clear chronology. In the German Zollverein, it is true, there was, in the 'twenties of the nineteenth century, a fairly sharp transition from Mercantilism to laissez-faire. But in England the transition was much slower, and for many decades features of both systems existed side by side, while in Germany there was a sudden reversion in

the 'forties to tariffs which were not unlike some of the Mercantilistic rules of trade. In France true Mercantilism gave place directly, if spasmodically, to protective tariffs without the other rules of trade. Later, in the time of Napoleon III, France tried a partial laissez-faire — and the instances of combination, confusion, reversal of process could be multiplied. Only England tried for a substantial period true laissez-faire, and that during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

36-4-26

To give a single, clear, useful answer in this context to the first of the questions above, using Sorokin's analysis, is almost completely impossible. In the eighteenth century the rules of trade departed so far from their original seventeenth century form as to be scarcely recognizable and it would be just as sensible to argue that eighteenth century recognition (where it occurred) of the right of colonies to manufacture was: (1) disintegration of Mercantilism, which is to say, the appearance of congeries in the old empirical system; or (2) adaptation of the old system to circumstances, which is to say, warping of the old system by passage from the pure to the empirical. It can even be argued (3) that it was the first step toward laissez-faire — an approach to a practical, as distinct from a theoretical, answer to the second question above.

All this confusion can be avoided by rejecting congeries, by distinguishing clearly between agents and vehicles and by viewing the systematic process strictly humanistically. There is in reality no discernible dividing line between the warping and the disintegration or between disintegration and re-integration by the introduction of the new system into empirical existence. Thus the growth period of the first empirical system is likewise comprehended in a humanistic view of the systematic process. It is a single, continuous process: the

agents are confronted with certain vehicles, which may indeed themselves change in a minor measure with the passage of time or at the choice of the agents; the agents construct a pure system and change it step by step in an evolutionary manner; since fitting vehicles to system is a dynamic, not a static, process, the pure system, the theory, is also changed, perhaps not so often as the empirical system, but the two do in practice more or less keep abreast of one another. After all the one is hypothesis and the other the destiny of hypothesis.

We say that the agents construct a pure system and change it step by step. In Sorokin's thought the creation of a new pure system looks at first sight like the act of a single individual; it looks like a Lamarckian "sport" in the social or cultural sphere. And the individuals in question look rather like Bergson's mystics, Nietzsche's supermen, or Schopenhauer's geniuses and saints.[1] The social assignment of meaning to systems, as postulated by Sorokin, is not at all inconsistent with prior creation of the new pure system by charisma and the absence of assignment to the agents of systems of a creative function in them tends to suggest that creation is reserved in Sorokin's mind for the few. Indeed Sorokin does specifically, if not very explicibly, subscribe to charisma as an explanation of the transition from one civilization to another. We do not think there is more than difference of degree between transition from one total civilization to another and transition from one economic system to another; nor do we accept charisma in either. We think on the contrary that in all transitions and in all growth of systems the process of creating the elements of the new pure system is a

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[1] For the critique of Bergson's mystics and of Toynbee's application of Bergson's idea see Coulborn "The Individual and the Growth of Civilizations", Phylon, Vol. I, 69 sqq. For a broader treatment of the idea as used by other contemporaries as well as Toynbee and Bergson see Coulborn "Historian's Consolation in Philosophy," Southern Review, Vol. 7, 40 sqq.

continuous process performed co-operatively by all the agents, just as is true of experimentation with the empirical system. To Colbert and Adam Smith could be added a score of well-known intermediary persons and to that score could be added hundreds of thousands of persons whose names were not recorded in history, but whose thoughts and acts accumulated to make the thoughts and acts of Colbert and Adam Smith possible; and all together were the creators of systems, pure and empirical.

IV

Enquiry must now be directed to the dichotomy of the social and the cultural which Sorokin seeks to set up. A social system is to him any real system, such as the family or the state. A cultural system is, on the other hand, discrete: Language, Science, Religion, Fine Arts and Ethics are his five main cultural systems and all other cultural systems and subsystems are mixtures of these or derivations from them. Thus the system of politics is a derivative of the system of Ethics. It will occur, no doubt, to many readers of Sorokin that the cultural system 'politics' and the social system 'the state' have an obvious connection -- and this is quite clear to Sorokin himself. The state, for Sorokin, is a social system which "bears" the cultural system politics; thus the State is a "specialized" social system while there are other social systems, such as the family, the university and what-not, which are "encyclopaedic", bearing many cultural systems.

Apriori there appears to be nothing wrong with the theoretical concept of cultural systems existing of themselves or with the idea of social systems bearing certain aspects of the culture, either in a specialized or an encyclopaedic manner. We think, however, that always where there is a social system there tends to be a cultural system and

vice versa. Even such a small social system as the family does tend to create its specific culture, different in a few small, perhaps minuscule, ways, from any expressions of the culture to be found elsewhere in the society. Surely, too, there is, for example, a Harvard attitude of mind, which may properly be called a cultural system -- if it be admitted that we have disposed of the absolute congeries postulated by Sorokin. No doubt the Harvard cultural system is poorly integrated; yet we believe that it exists. As between Professors Sorokin and Crane Brinton there may not be much culturally in common and yet we think there is a little: both of them have, for example, confessed to some respect for the ideas of Pareto. And who shall say that, if the one altered his opinion of Pareto, that would have no effect upon the culture of the other? Conversely, it is clear that the existence of a religion tends to produce a church or similar institution. And learned societies, which are social systems, do develop in association with Language, Science, Fine Arts and Ethics,[1] which are cultural systems.

When, however, the relation of total culture to total society arises, Sorokin's views appear to us fantastic. He finds it possible to discover an integrating super-system for the five main systems of culture, but no integrating super-system for social systems, although in some way which he never makes clear the cultural super-system is a super-system for the social systems also. It would be easy to think that this is merely the result of Sorokin's refusal to recognize that where there exists a cultural system there tends also to exist a social system. But this is only a part of his error. His cultural super-

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[1]It is not to be assumed that we accept as correct the particular five main systems of culture which Sorokin postulates.

system itself is, in our opinion, an absurd aberration -- no less forceful term is adequate to qualify it. He says that the five main cultural systems are integrated into what is in effect an attitude of mind; that the prevailing attitude of mind is not stable but passes continuously through a three-fold rhythm, each phase of the rhythm corresponding with one of the three basic methods of knowing. The phases are the ideational, corresponding with intuition; Idealistic, corresponding with reason; and Sensate, corresponding with sense-perception.

These are the three epistemological phases described in the opening of this article as the phases of man's struggle to know himself and to know the cosmos. We will grant at once that the culture of any civilized society does in fact pass through a series of phases in which the three methods of knowing are successively paramount -- Sorokin, himself, does not say that they are more than paramount.[1]

But these three attitudes of mind, based upon the three methods of knowledge are <u>qualities</u> of the culture; they are not systems in Sorokin's use of the word. They bear perhaps a relationship to the culture similar to the relationship the culture bears to the society -- using the words culture and society as Sorokin uses them. If the culture is an attribute of the society, then the prevailing attitude of mind is an attitude of the culture: it is the direction -- the aim -- man gives from time to time to his culture in using it to know himself and to know the cosmos. Without doubt the existence of this three fold epistemological processus is something very important to an understanding of the growth and decline of the culture and of the society that bears it. In this part of his

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[1]He admits, that is to say, that in any one phase the two other methods of knowing exist; but according to him they exist as congeries to the predominating one.

theory Sorokin is indeed contributing to an understanding of the dynamics, as distinct from the statics, of society and culture. He is showing, at any rate in part, how culture and society change, but he is not describing the culture, still less the society, in their static aspect -- and at this point of the argument it is the completion of the static aspect of society and culture which is required.

This large error may be corrected and the omission filled by returning first to the relation of culture to society.

The various detailed cultural systems, main and subsidiary, are, if you like, "borne" by the various detailed social systems in an illogical, unsystematic sort of way, in spite of what we have called (modestly, we think) the "tendency" for social and cultural systems to correspond. But where the total culture and the total society are concerned the correspondence must be complete and exact. Regard the irregularities of correspondence in detail as errors, distortions; these errors are certainly obliterated in the total view. Where the society ceases its culture ceases; where the culture ceases the society ceases.[1] From this it follows that Sorokin is right in his search for unity as between society and culture in his super-system, but wrong in the sort of unity he expects to find. There is no reason why the conceptional distinction between culture and society, if a correct distinction, should not contrive to exist in the super-system. The unity is simply unity in time and space of two things, of which one is an attribute of the other.

We feel convinced that Sorokin's difficulty here is again really, if indirectly, his congeries. Having postulated the existence of congeries,

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[1]For the cessation of the society through thinning out of its culture see the penetrating, if not wholly correct, argument of A. J. Toynbee concerning the linen and lines (A Study of History Vol V. (London, 1939) pp. 208-210.)

he cannot possibly admit that any total society is a system; indeed he had difficulty with the total culture. The total society, particularly our Western Society at the present day, is politically divided into separate sovereignties; its economic system is obviously at sixes and sevens; the once united Christian Church has been rent into scores of sects by schism. Here, if anywhere, then, Sorokin must find congeries dominant over system. It might well be argued against Sorokin that the culture is little better integrated; but the culture, consisting of discrete systems, may also be thought to be less immediately damaged by material and physical disintegration — and this latter was the view Sorokin evidently decided to take. Whereas, for example, liberal political parties, as social systems, are numerous and separate and distinct from one another, the cultural system 'liberalism' may nevertheless be regarded as one system pervading the entire society. This, we think, is the direction of Sorokin's argument. Even in the total culture, however, he has discovered some congeries, which he has acribed to persistence in the age of, say, the Sensate ideology, of fragments of the ideational and the idealistic ideologies. He has finally decided that the congeries in the culture are not numerous and extensive enough to prevent systematization of the major part of the culture, whereas the congeries in the society are such that the society as a whole must be regarded as without system except that reflected upon it by its bearing the culture.

If this be a correct diagnosis of Sorokin's thought on this matter, it becomes clear at once that his difficulty arises once again out of the erroneous concept of absolute congeries. Strike out congeries and it is immediately evident that there is no more impediment to system in the society than in the culture, nor to system in the total society and the total culture than in minor social institutions and minor cultural

28-4-92

fields. Granted, then, that there is system in the total culture and in the total society, before the process of change of these systems is analyzed, the systems themselves ought logically to be identified and described. Yet, since Sorokin has discerned the process of change of the total culture, it may be possible to identify the total culture by searching for the cultural entity which undergoes that process. Our present culture, says Sorokin, is in the Sensate phase; before that it was -- in the Age of Reason and the Renaissance -- in the Idealistic phase; before that it was -- in the Middle Ages, dominated by Christian belief -- in the Ideational phase. What cultural entity, then, began with the Christian Ideation, proceeded through the Idealism of the Renaissance and the Age of Reason and has now reached the Sensatism of great wealth, great buildings and engines, great states and great wars? Answer: the Western Culture. And what total Society bears the Western Culture? Answer: The Western Society which succeeded the Graeco-Roman, or Hellenic Society and still exists today. There is indeed no difficulty in identifying the 'super-systems', cultural and social. They are well known to history, namely the civilisations, Western, Graeco-Roman, Syrian, Minoan, Egyptian, Hindu, Sinic and so on.

V

In the last analysis what value shall be set upon Mr. Sorokin's social theory and philosophy of history? Sorokin comes in an age which has rejected the simple theory of mind over matter; that theory reigned in the Idealistic phase of our civilization. Decadence, though not fully admitted by many scholars to be the fundamental characteristic of our age, oppresses the minds of almost all social scientists -- at least of all those who are awake. Sorokin affirms the decadence of the age, but his congeries, the concept he uses most directly and most generally to explain decadence has been shown to be unreal and futile. And his con-

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cept of system itself is in one direction sufficiently exaggerated to become mechanistic, while that same exaggeration together with failure in several ways to study the process of change as such implies an acceptance of charisma; and in our opinion charisma is the most vicious error, both intellectually and morally, both theoretically and activistically, which infests contemporary philosophy.

But these strictures must not obscure Sorokin's great virtue in studying system, which is to say cause and effect, in social and cultural matters. There are many social scientists, especially historians, who lazily and impertinently say that cause and effect are not their business; there are others who feebly protest that they are incapable of unravelling anything so difficult as cause and effect; there are vast numbers who have but the most naive notions of what is meant by cause and effect. This asinine frivolity -- to pass the mildest kind of judgment upon it--must cease if the decadence of the age is not to become definitive and irreversible. We think that Sorokin's meaningful-causal system is in essence correct, if its exaggeration be avoided and if it be conceived of in truly dynamic terms. Hence Sorokin makes a real contribution to the needs of the age and puts to shame the triflers.

36-4-83

And this is not all. The processus Ideational -- Idealistic -- Sensate in the life of civilizations is a great discovery even if Sorokin did seek to make of it something which it is not. It will be a fitting end to this article and a proper tribute to Sorokin as a scholar to enquire a little further into it with a view to showing its true place in

in the interpretation of history, since Sorokin himself has so astonishingly misapplied it.[1]

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[1] In Social and Cultural Dynamics the processus has been fully tested only for the Graeco-Roman and Western Civilizations, but Sorokin supposes that it could also be tested successfully for all other civilisations. See Vol. II, p. 122., Vol. III, p. 131 and Vol. IV, pp. 424-425 and 770-773. Since Sorokin steadfastly refuses to recognise a civilization as a system, he is precluded from discussing the question whether in a single civilisation the processus is passed through once or more than once; he even avoids treatment of the three phases of the processus considered together. But he is unable to avoid the statement, repeated several times, that the Graeco-Roman and Western cultures have passed through the processus (rhythm) "at least" twice. It is a temptation to the critic to think that he brigaded the two civilisations together and added the phrase "at least" deliberately in order to keep vague the relation of the processus to the civilization whose existence he desires to deny. But this may not be just to Sorokin. There is a case for considering the Graeco-Roman and Western Civilizations as one -- also a case for considering them as three; a little light is shed on these questions in the text below ad fin. But it is improbable that Sorokin's "at least" is explained by doubt about the unity or duality of the Graeco-Roman and Western cultures. It is possibly explained by lurking doubts connected with the obvious fact that in any one phase of the processus the modes of thought of the other phases do find expression, sometimes rather insistently, for a limited period in limited places. Sorokin has, in fact, attempted to explain this difficulty in Vol. IV, pp. 145-155 and the attempt is worthy of serious consideration. Perhaps more light is shed on the difficulty, however, by Toynbee's doctrine of Withdrawal and Return (See A Study of History, Vol. III, pp. 248-376.) According to Toynbee, a single region or nation of a civilised society sometimes cuts itself adrift to a large extent from the rest of the society (Withdrawal) in order to evolve a solution to a particular historic problem, after which it is again merged in the general society, bringing the solution with it (Return). In Withdrawal, we suggest, such a region or nation may well pass, in so far as the problem with which it is grappling is concerned, into the next, or even the third, phase of the processus; on Return it will be drawn back into the dominant phase of the moment. We are disposed to think that Withdrawal and Return is both a much more frequent and at the same time a much more partial and particular phenomenon than it is described by Toynbee; that is to say, that it is really concerned, not with the major aspects of the society's life, but with minor and partial aspects and that in this sense it occurs constantly and so explains the constant local and temporary appearance of Idealism in the Ideational phase of a civilization, Sensation in the Idealistic phase and so on. We do not think this alters the fact that each civilisation in its total career passes once through each phase of Sorokin's processus.

36-4-84

It is really a pity that Sorokin so railed at Toynbee, Speyler, Mauss, Florus and other scholars whose theories are based upon recognition of civilisations as the intelligible units for historical study, for, if he could but have reconciled himself to their views, he must himself have seen that he was in reality making a great expansion and confirmation of their theories. It is our duty to reconcile Sorokin with these, his natural intellectual brothers. We must therefore point out — and this for the last time — that his congeries conceals the systematic, dynamic, connection between the three phases of his processus and the like connection between the mode of thought characteristic of the dominant phase and the two 'recessive' modes of thought.

It is true that at a given moment of time there may be a total culture, a super-system which is predominantly Ideational, Idealistic or Sensate. It is not true that, for example, at a moment when the culture is predominantly Ideational minor systems of an Idealistic and of a Sensate character exist in congeries to — that is, in total scission from — the predominant Ideational super-system. Surely no human mind can think in terms of ideation, which is to say, intuition or belief, alone; to attain, develop and defend the belief there must be some sense-perception and some reasoning. In other words the mind must employ — in systematic relation with one another — all three methods of cognition. It is perfectly true that one of the three methods may predominate over the other two: a man may start with his belief, supporting it with certain things he perceives sensually and knitting his sense-perceptions to his beliefs with a structure of reason; or he may start with ratiocination, but that ratiocination must make use of some things ascertained by the senses and it will inevitably lead to certain conclusions which are beliefs (and one of them in this case is surely a faith

in reason); or a man may start with sense-perception and attune his mind to an all-embracing sensitivity to the world about him, but he cannot thereafter avoid reflection and reasoning about the multifarious sense-impressions he absorbs and that reasoning will lead him to some conclusions, at least to a general attitude toward life, which is his belief. Here, then, are three different approaches toward life, all of which make use of the three methods of knowing, but with different emphases.

We think Sorokin is right in supposing that the culture of any civilized people is dominated successively by each one of these three different approaches to life. But because to Sorokin the three phases are in congeries with one another he cannot say that the processus from one to another is systematic -- which to our way of thinking is axiomatic. Yet we think that he does subscribe to every essential point in the argument which would establish system in relationship of the phases, avoiding only the word systematic.[1] We would be prepared to say, further, that the processus is universal for all civilizations, which Sorokin, pressed by his critics, does not venture to say. As to whether it is eternal, which Sorokin also forbears to say, it is rather coeval with those societies and cultures which are properly to be described as civilized.

The intrinsically systematic relationship of the successive phases may be illustrated by a short enquiry into the transition from Ideational to Idealistic. Men of faith who predominate in the Ideational phase cannot, as has been shown, avoid reason and sense-perception in development of their faith. In the course of time, supposing the factual content of the faith to be unvarying, men will nevertheless differ with

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[1] See in particular, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 423-432.

one another in the way in which they apply their reason to support their faith and the very fact that the faith itself cannot be modified will cause men's minds to become more and more absorbed in their controversies about its support in terms of reason. Inevitably there comes a day when controversy has become so important to them that some of them break the uniformity of the faith itself in order the better to defend a certain structure of reasoning. From that day the faith ceases to be inviolable and is progressively penetrated more and more by ideals derived from the reasoning process itself. Thus the Idealistic phase is reached. And analogously the Sensate phase is reached after the Idealistic phase.

So, in the history of Sinic Civilization, from early Chou times all Chinese accepted one faith in a certain optimum form of society, but they soon began to differ as to how best to prove by reason that this was in fact the optimum form of society. Their controversies eventually became so important that history records for us the names of the more famous doctors and some of their doctrines: Confucious and Mencius, Chuang Tzu and other Taoists, the devoters of Fa Chia, in all the so-called "humdred schools." But in the age of the hundred schools each school had its own ideals which had penetrated and modified the original faith, so that it was no longer unquestioned. The transition from Ideationalism to Idealism had occurred.

In our own Western Civilization the contrast between the proofs of the Christian faith offered in terms of reason by Thomas Aquinas and by such of his successors as Duns Scotus provoked men like Marsiglio and, still more, Wyclif and Hus, to attempt modifications of the faith itself. The transition from Ideationalism to Idealism was beginning. It lasted through the Reformation and was perhaps complete only with the one full-blooded Idealism of Rousseau.

We think, then, that we have shown the relation of Sorokin's threefold processus to the vitalistic or humanistic theories of civilization held by Toynbee, Spengler and others. But there is one special problem in these theories upon which the processus has an important bearing: it is the problem of what happens when one civilization perishes and another succeeds it. It has been shown that in the Idealistic phase of a civilisation the beliefs which were unquestioned in the Ideational phase are penetrated and transformed by idealism arising out of the dominant process of reasoning. Whether reason thus tends to destroy or to purify the beliefs there is not space here to consider, but we do suggest that a modified version of the beliefs survives the Idealistic phase.

In the Sensate phase the same beliefs have been attenuated, whether by damage or by purifying, sufficiently to make possible their substantial transformation into different beliefs, or indeed their entire destruction and replacement by new beliefs; once again, it is not possible here to go into the question whether the process of the Sensate phase ought to be considered a merely negative process by comparison with the positive processes of the Ideational and Idealistic phases. The upshot of this argument is that when there appears a substantial and systematic body of new beliefs there is a new civilization and the old civilization is ended. A caution should be entered here: history suggests that when one civilization ends and another succeeds it there is not only common ground -- common beliefs - between the two,[1] but also that the amount of common ground varies greatly in different cases of transition. The triumph of Christianity between the first and fifth centuries A.D., for

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[1] A. J. Toynbee in his A Study of History (Vol. I, London, 1934, pp. 130 sqq) draws attention to this fact with his theory of Apparentation and Affiliation. Important as Toynbee's contribution to the subject is, it must be noted that it gives no way of measuring the closeness of relationship between two civilizations.

example, constitutes a vastly greater contrast as between Hellenic and Western Civilization than the contrast between the first and second Chinese civilizations which was generated by the changes which occurred between 221 and 589 A.D.

It is remarkable and not to be forgotten in assessing Sorokin as a scholar that every point in the above critical examination of his three-fold processus and its correct use in the interpretation of history is to be found in his own argument, either stated or implied, even though some points are distorted by his errors. This is true even of the suggestion that the Sensate phase is negative. We are entitled to conclude therefore that his congeries and other errors are no more than aberrations, such as any strenuous thinker may commit out of the very strain of his creative thinking. The aberrations have not vitated Sorokin's creative thinking. The value of that thinking is there for those with the ability to find it. They are perhaps few, as Sorokin rather plainly hints. But Sorokin himself ranks with Toynbee, Bergson, Croce and the few other great contemporary social scientists. Mr. Sorokin too is among the prophets.

36-4-89

Woodson, Carter G., ed. Works of Francis James Grimke. 4 vols. Washington, D.C.: Associated Pub., 1942.

Review: The United States: 1865-1900, Vol. 3, January 1944 - December 1944. Pp. 83-85.

Dr. Woodson, the founder and editor of the Journal of Negro History has put America under obligation by his editing and publishing of the works of Francis J. Grimke, Washington, 1942. The publication is in four volumes containing his addresses, his sermons, his essays and letters.

Mr. Grimke was not a man widely known outside of his particular circle of associates in the Presbyterian Church, but he was an extraordinary and influential character. Like so many so-called American Negroes he was a Southern white man, the son of one of the most prominent of the families of South Carolina, with a small amount of Negro blood on his mulatto mother's side. He legally was born a slave and was left by his father as the property of the father's eldest son. Eventually that son tried to sell the boy into slavery and young Grimke ran away and became valet to a white rebel officer in the Civil War. He finally came North. He was a student at Lincoln University and Princeton Theological Seminary. Eventually he was ordained as a Presbyterian minister.

For more than forty years he was pastor of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington which was a group of intelligent, well-educated colored people and formed for nearly a half century one of the most interesting groups of the sort in the United States. Here Dr. Grimke was not only a minister, but a friend, a guide and an extraordinary example of what a social leader may be. In character he was puritanic, and austere and yet a most kindly and thoughtful man. He had great courage and was outspoken even to his cost.

As a result in his sermons and writings there was almost no phase of the problem of races in the United States which he did

not touch and there were few of the leaders among the colored people whom he did not personally know. In addition to that he was brought into more or less direct connection with the white leaders of religion and social life throughout the United States.

It is difficult to make any small selection of his works which would be characteristic. In his addresses he touches the lives of Bishop Payne, Alexander Cromwell, Fredrick Douglass, and also of white leaders like Garrison, Whittier, and John Brown. He criticizes the press, he excoriates mob violence and lynching, he exposes the hypocrasies of the pulpit and harangues political parties. He ceaselessly demands equality of rights and bewails race prejudice.

His criticizm of the visit of Billy Sunday to Washington may still be read; "He was brought here by the whites for the benefit of the whites and if he has helped them in anyway, let us be thankful, for they needed help from some source." He gave special sermons for his flock on the training of children, on marriage, on true womanhood, and on the home. His thoughts and meditations, while deeply religious and even theological, show particularly purity and unselfishness of spirit.

Perhaps his letters will best show his value to this generation. He corresponded with Edward Blyden of West Africa, with Richard Greener, the first Negro graduate of Harvard, with George Downing, William H. Crogman, Booker T. Washington, and Robert Moton. He was vividly alive to all current events and to all changes in the aspects of the race problem. But above all he was an understanding and deeply sympathetic friend to a large group of people in Washington and throughout the country on whom the burden of race discrimination added to human and family problems of all kinds made their lives most difficult and discouraging.

46-6-65

It was for instance, Dr. Grimke who married Fredrick Douglass to his white wife, Helen M. ~~Pickford~~ Pitts, and who defended and deeply admired both of them. Of William Jennings Bryan, he wrote; "One of the things I have long held against Mr. Bryan is the fact that he has never so far as I know had anything to say on the Negro question." Perhaps as his last words it may be appropiate to quote Volume IV:

Washington, D. C., April 2, 1926.

Editor of THE CAPITAL CITY PRESBYTERIAN:

...You won't like what I have said, I know, but whether you like it or not, it deals with an evil, which, as Christian men you ought to face, and deal with, not as your prejudices dictate, but as the religion which you profess and the Master whom you are serving require it to be dealt with. The fact that race prejudice cropped out in connection with a communion service, in the very presence, as it were, of the suffering and death of the Lord Jesus Christ who died to destroy all enmities, to break down all walls of segregation and to make us brethren, makes it all the more glaring and reprehensible.

Yours for a Christianity pure and undefiled,

Francis J. Grimke.

1/6-6-66

Wright, Richard. Black Boy: A Record of Childhood and Youth. N.Y.: Harper & Bros., 1945.

Review: "Richard Wright Looks Back" New York Herald Tribune Books, Vol. 21, No. 28, March 4, 1945, p. 2.

Rough draft

For New York Herald Tribune

Black Boy
A Record of Childhood and Youth
By Richard Wright
Harper and Brothers, 228 pp.

Arranged by later

This is a difficult book to read. It tells a harsh and forbidding story and makes one wonder just exactly what its relation to truth is. The title "A Record of Childhood and Youth" makes one at first think that the story is autobiographical. It probably is, at least in part. But mainly it is probably intended to be fiction or fictionalized biography. At any rate the reader must regard it as creative writing rather than simply a record of life. Consequently he must ask: How far has the artist achieved the impression that he set out to make? The result to my mind is not successful. It is overdrawn. It is terrible, whether or not it is true. As an artist certainly the writer ought to have lightened his picture even if simply to make the shadows darker and more horrible. As it is, one reads and re-reads this novel with the growing realization that there is not a single lovable person within its pages. Everybody is wrong: white people and black people, ministers and teachers, old people and young people.

The hero which Wright draws, and maybe it is himself, is in his childhood a loathsome brat, fowl-mouthed and ~~bitter~~ a drunkard. The family which he paints is a distressing aggregation. Even toward his mother he never expresses love or affection. Sometimes he comes almost to sympathy. He wonders why this poor woman, deserted by her husband, toiling and baffled, broken by paralysis and disappointment should suffer as she does. But his wonder is intellectual inability to explain the suffering. It doesn't seem for a moment to be personal sorrow at this poor, bowed figure of pain and ignorance. The father is painted as gross and bestial with little of human sensibility. The grandmother is a religious fanatic, apparently sincere but ~~terrible~~ brutal. He fights with his aunt. And here again the artist in Wright seems to fail. He repeats the same incident of fighting his aunt with a knife to keep her from beating him. He tells the tale of his grandfather: a disappointed veteran of the Civil War, but tells it without sympathy. The Negroes whom he paints have almost no redeeming qualities. Some work hard, some are sly, many are resentful; but there is none who is ambitious, successful or really intelligent.

After this sordid, shadowy picture, we gradually come upon the solution. The hero is interested in himself, is tremendously self-centered to the exclusion of everybody and everything. The suffering of others is put down simply as a measure of his own suffering and resentment. There is scarcely a ray of light in his childhood: he is hungry, he is beaten, he is cold and unsheltered. Above all, a naturally shy and introverted personality is forced back upon itself until he becomes almost psychopathic. The world is himself and his suffering. He hates and distrusts it. He says "I was rapidly learning to distrust everything and everybody."

He writes of a mother who wanted him to marry her daughter "The main value in their lives was simple, clean, good living and when they thought they had found those same qualities in one of their race, they instinctively embraced him, liked him, and asked no questions. But such simple unaffected trust flabbergasted me. It was impossible!"

He tells of his own pitiful confusion when as an imaginative, eager child he could not speak his thought:"I knew how to write as well as any pupil in the classroom, and no doubt I could read better than any of them, and I could talk fluently and expressively when I was sure of myself. Then why did strange faces make me freeze? I sat with my ears and neck burning, hearing the pupils whisper about me, hating myself, hating them."

Then here and there for a moment, he forgets his role as artist and becomes commentator and prophet. Born on a plantation, living in Elaine, Arkansas and the slums of Memphis, he knows the whole Negro race!"After I had outlived the shocks of childhood, after the habit of reflextion had been born in me, I used to mull over the strange absence of real kindness in Negroes, how unstable was our tenderness, how lacking in genuine passion we were, how void of great hope, how timid our joy, how bare our traditions, how hollow our memories, how lacking we were in those intangible sentiments that bind man to man, and how shallow was even our despair."

Not only is there this misjudgment of black folk and the difficult repulsive characters among them that he is thrown with, but the same thing takes place with white folk. There is not a single broadminded, openhearted white person in his book ~~that he ever comes across~~. One or two start out seemingly willing to be decent, but as he says of one white family for whom he

worked "They cursed each other in an amazingly offhand manner and nobody seemed to mind. As they hurled invectives, they barely looked at each other. I was tense each moment, trying to anticipate their wishes and avoid a curse, and I did not suspect that the tension I had begun to feel that morning would lift itself into the passion of my life."

From the world of whites and the world of blacks he grows up curiously segregated "I knew of no Negroes who read the books I liked, and I wondered if any Negroes ever thought of them. I knew that there were Negro doctors, lawyers, newspapermen, but I never saw any of them."

36-6-35

One rises from the reading of such a book with mixed thought. Richard Wright uses vigorously and straightforward English; often there is real beauty in his words even when they are mingled with sadism "There was the disdain that filled me as I tortured a delicate, blue-pink crawfish that huddled fearfully in the mudsill of a rusty tin can. There was the aching glory in masses of clouds burning gold and purple from an invisible sun. There was the liquid alarm I saw in the blood-red glare of the sun's afterglow mirrored in the squared panes of whitewashed frame houses. There was the languor I felt when I heard green leaves rustling with a rainlike sound."

Yet at the result one is baffled. Evidently this is an historical record, Bad as the world is, such concentrated meanness, filth and despair never completely filled it or any particular part of it. But if the book is meant to be a creative picture and a warning, even then, it misses its possible success because it is so patently and terribly overdrawn. Nothing that Wright says is in itself unbelieveable or impossible; it is the total picture that is false.

Aptheker, Herbert. To Be Free: Studies in American Negro History. N.Y.: International Publishers, 1948.

Review: "Freedom's Partisans" Masses & Mainstream Vol. 1, No. 4, June 1948, pp. 76-79.

Reviewed for --- Masses and Mainstream, 1948

35-2-335

To Be Free: Studies in American Negro History. By Herbert Aptheker. International Publishers. $2.75.

In this small book, Herbert Aptheker has made some of the most important of the new contributions to the history of the Negro in America. As he says in his introduction:

> The Negro's past runs through the warp and woof of the fabric that is America. His history must be understood not only because it is the history of some fifteen million American citizens, but also because American life as a whole cannot be understood without knowing that history.

And he goes on to remark that what is needed now is prolonged and rigorous research into the still largely untapped source materials. Nothing can replace this basic procedure, if Negro history is to be lifted above the level of fantasy, mythology, wish-fulfillment and bigotry. This book makes a notable contribution and touches and changed many aspects of heretofore received Negro history.

First, it shows that the Maroons, the guerilla movement of slave rebels which we think of as being confined to the West Indies and Central America, were really prevalent in the United States during the whole period of slavery. Then he takes up the extent to which slaves bought their freedom, and the legal basis of this curious procedure. He traces in the Abolition movement the rise of militancy, which culminated with John Brown and the Civil War, and show how far the idea of fighting for freedom was prevalent, both among Negroes and whites. He examines the reports of Negro casualties in the Civil War, and shows how they have been underestimated and why the casualties were so great. The author makes some inquiry as to the number of Negroes in the Union Navy, and has an interesting chapter on the effort at organization among Negroes during

the year 1865. His book ends with a study of the almost urknown Negro leader in Mississippi, Charles Caldwell. It will be seen that here is a series of studies throwing new light upon American Negro history.

The number of groups of Negroes, who in the South itself, in its swamps, and mountains, fought continuously for freedom from 1672 to 1864 is astonishing and contradicts "the ancient cliche still reiterated that American Negro slavery was characterized by placidity." The figures about the buying of freedom by slaves are interesting and especially the fact that the slave code recognised certain rights of property among Negroes in nearly all of the colonies, and that from the earliest days an astonishing number of Negroes bought their freedom. For instance, it was said in 1830 that of the Negroes in Cincinnati 476 had purchased themselves at an average of $450 each, representing a total expenditure of almost $250,000,000.

Mr. Aptheker names a number of persons who bought themselves and others. Alethia Turner, once a slave of Thomas Jefferson, bought herself, her sister, ten children and five grandchildren at a cost of $5,250. John C. Stanley, a free Negro of North Carolina, bought and paid for 23 persons. Sometimes Negroes raised this money by lectures in the North, and many of the most distinguished Negro leaders, like Richard Allen, Fanny Coppin, and James Dorham had their freedom bought and paid for by themselves or their friends.

The story of militancy in Abolitionism is of great interest. Even among Quakers resistance to slavery was tolerated. In New England and the rest of the United States at the time of the Haitian Revolution, among white people North and South, and Negroes like Horton, Young and David Walker, fighting for freedom was defended. William Lloyd Garrison advocated it time and time again as did Theodore Parker, David Bugrles, Congressman Giddings, Henry Highland Garnett, until the climax was reached in the martyrdom of John Brown, the insurrectionary movement among Negroes during the Civil War, and their acceptance as recognised soldiers.

Mr. Aptheker points out that the usually received figures as to losses among Negro soldiers during the Civil War need revision. In addition to soldiers, an estimate says that something like 200,000 to 250,000 men and women were in the army's ranks as workers and spies of some sort. In the Union Navy, an estimate made in 1902 says that the number of Negroes enlisted was 29,411.

Most interesting in the book is the account of conventions which took place among Southern Negroes in 1865, in practically every Southern state. They made intelligent demands, rejecting colonization, welcoming the support of white allies, and protesting against unfair labor practices. They asked for the right to vote, to testify in courts, to own land, and to obtain an education, to bear arms, to receive better wages and to eliminat all invidious distinctions based upon race.

The book closes with the remarkable martyrdom of Charles Caldwell, who fought inconspicuously but consistently for freedom and stood up to white men as only a brave black man could do. The whites, said his widow, marcher into her house and went where his and his brother's dead bodies lay and cursed them, and danced, and threw open the windows and sung their songs and challenged the dead to get up and meet them.

This is an inspiring book. It is small enough to be read of an evening, but its carefully arranged notes and references may well be the starting point to a new series of studies of the role of the Negro in American history.

W. E. B. DuBois

35-2-336

Torrence, Ridgely. The Story of John Hope. N.Y.: Macmillan, 1948.

Review: "John Hope: Scholar and Gentleman" The Crisis, Vol. 55, No. 9, September 1948, pp. 270-271.

Written for The Crisis. Submitted, August 6, 1948 (By request)

B66E review

BOOK REVIEW

The Story of John Hope. By Ridgley Torrence. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. ~~$4.00~~ $5.00, pp. 398

35-2-337

Among the men I have known, John Hope was probably my closest friend. We were born in the same year; we met in 1896 when we were twenty-eight years old, and our friendship lasted until his death in 1936. In a very real sense it still lasts.

Among my many unrealized literary plans was the idea of a tripartite life of John Hope, Henry Hunt, and Charles Young, three great and good men with whom I had long and intimate acquaintance. As I read The Story of John Hope, I am not so sure that I should have undertaken any of these biographies. I was too near the woods in which I and they wandered to estimate the broader outlines of the forest. Certainly, in the case of Hope, my emphasis would have been different from that of Torrence, and probably for the general reader less interesting. I would have touched less heavily on the ancestry. Curiously enough, as much as we talked and confided in each other, I knew almost nothing of Hope's forebears. Among us of mingled bloods in America there are subjects we do not discuss. That poignant picture of three generations of women, whom the laws of this Christian democracy would not permit to marry the fathers of their children, would have turned my pen to flame. It is astonishing to learn how cynically Southern whites, close friends of his father, robbed the colored family; but it is a bit surprising to find thrifty and pious Scotch, equally ready to forget blood and decency. I [illegible] a single member of family or

friends left progeny as noble as John Hope. But I am glad that Torrence did it. I am glad that in so many other matters he dwelt on aspects of Hope's life and on groups of facts which few have before this realized. The biography has involved a mass of material and long months of painstaking inquiry and devoted labor.

Turning from the task of the biographer, and thinking of his subject, it is heartbreaking to remember how much of Hope's time and effort went to earning the right to study. It seems almost incredible to learn of a bright Negro boy actually starving to death at Brown University in the last decade of the nineteenth century; and to follow John Hope in his search to support himself in school by menial service, dogged ever by the anomaly of his white face. Torrence does not over-emphasize, as many have done, this contradiction of appearance and racial identity.

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There was nothing extraordinary in Hope's being a Negro. He did not consciously choose to be a Negro. He was a Negro. Because being a Negro, or a German, or a Chinese is primarily a matter of friends, surroundings, habits of life; and not merely a question of appearance or biology. For a boy raised to regard himself as colored; to have colored relatives, friends, and neighbors; always to have been taught to look upon "whites" as mainly belonging to an alien, antagonistic body of human beings, for such a boy to desert his folk even in spirit and loyalty, much less in physical withdrawal, would have been more unnatural than to remain true to his race despite appearance. To white people, naturally a course of action, thus natural and expected, seemed inexplicable, if not Quixotic. We, within the Veil, see analogous phenomena in reverse: obviously negroid folk who by action and choice are white.

The life of John Hope fell into five distinctly marked parts: his childhood and youth in Augusta, Georgia---a period so marked that a standing student joke used to be Hope's, "When I was in Augusta...;" his New

England education; his teaching at Nashville; his long service at Morehouse College; his presidency of Atlanta University. In this biography the Augusta life is very completely covered. His school experience at Groton and Brown is well done, with much new information sensed but not known. To think of a man as popular and well-bred as Hope never being invited to join a fraternity. What insufferable little snobs these hypocritical New Englanders were. At nearly the same time I was at Harvard, but, of course, as an outspoken fighter of white folk I was scarcely even aware that there were any fraternities; I was more interested in scholastic philosophy. Hope was a genial, kind-hearted gentleman---what difference did that make?

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Again, the decision of Hope to go South to work was quite natural. Where else would a man normally choose to work save among his own? The little college where he began his teaching career, I knew well; often I had visited its lovely campus, some six or eight years before Hope went there. It was a mission school, well-run, but poverty stricken, with no prospects of real help. It died eventually after long, cruel years of suffering. It was fortunate that Hope's loyalty did not keep him there.

The real life of John Hope was at Morehouse College in the years from 1898 to 1929. I went to Atlanta in 1896, and from then until 1910, Hope and I were weekly, often daily companions. Even after I left for New York in 1910, we corresponded often and met two or three times a year. These were the high years in the lives of both of us; years of dreams and adventure, of experimenting and daring. We were foils for each other---Hope with his deliberation, his sympathy, his human insight; I with my energy and hurry to get things done. Hope was painfully conscientious; he labored and sweated with his decisions in fear lest he was wronging somebody. He was shy and selfishly modest. I can sympathize with Mrs. Hope when I read how he agonized and delayed over proposing, and even when accepted, warned of how worthless a fellow she might be choosing. With us were Hugh Proctor, a bit pompous

and orthodox, but effective; Dr. William Penn, who kept us all well and laughing; and George Towns, of even and kindly temper, but wide knowledge of all happenings round-about.

In the period 1910-1929, I saw the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People born and broadening, but Atlanta University, my second interest, dying from lack of funds. I saw the Money Masters supporting Tuskegee, and then turning to Morehouse. I was desperately afraid that Hope would fall completely into their net. But when he came to Harpers Ferry, to that epoch-making second meeting of the Niagara Movement, I knew that he had escaped. The merger of Morehouse, Spelman, and Atlanta into the new Atlanta University in 1929 had my enthusiastic support.

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My chief criticism of the Torrence biography would be failure entirely to grasp the meaning and bitter problems of the life of John Hope from 1929 to 1936. I understand, in part, why Torrence did not emphasize this period as much as it deserved. It was a very difficult period in the world, in Atlanta, in Hope's heart. Perhaps the whole story can never be told. One part, however, Torrence has stressed and that is Hope's world travel. This was a godsend for the biographer, for it documented a period when documents on many matters of high importance failed, or could not be used. His correspondence on these trips reveal a Hope which even I did not know fully. Much of his repressed inner life was poured forth here more fully than elsewhere. I touched this part of his life only once, and that was when we were together in France in 1918, just after the armistice. We wandered together in Paris and on shattered battlefields; we planned the first Pan-African Congress.

My contacts with Hope, after my return to Atlanta in 1934, were disappointing. He was busy, terribly and inexcusably busy; he was not well. I had returned from a great tourney, to sit apart and aloft, and dream again as we had dreamed a quarter century before. It was not to be. I seemed

scarcely to have arrived; I seemed hardly to have greeted him anew---then he was dead. I was ready to believe that if John Hope and I could have worked unhampered at Atlanta University from 1934 to this day, we might have transformed the South. Probably I was crazy. At any rate, I am very glad that so competent an artist as Ridgley Torrence has painted the picture of John Hope so faithfully, and perhaps as clearly as could be expected, so that I and all men may never forget his lineaments.

W. E. B. DuBois

35-2-341

Weaver, Richard M. Ideas Have Consequences. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948.

Review: "Is Man Free?" Scientific Monthly, Vol. 66, May 1948, pp. 432-433.

WEB DuBois reviewed for Scientific Monthly, mailed, March 1, 1948

Book Reviews

Published May, 1948 pp 432-433
Vol. 66, No. 5

Ideas Have Consequences. By Richard M. Weaver. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948. Pp. 190.

The thesis of this book is: The world is intelligible. Man is free. Those consequences which we are today expiating are the product not of biological or other necessity, but of unintelligent choices. We see hecatombs of slaughter; entire nations desolated by war; half of mankind looking upon the other half as criminal. Western man has made an evil decision which has become the cause of other evil decisions.

The author is evidently a man of religious convictions, trained in metaphysics which were used to call philosophy. He dislikes the specialism and "fragmentation" of modern science; believes that "democracy" has replaced Faith and Authority and tried to substitute equalitarianism for the Gentleman of high ideals; for these reasons modern civilization has failed.

The author's development of this thesis runs as follows: There is a source of Truth higher than man. The denial of everything transcending experience is the denial of Truth. There is no knowledge at the level of sensation. Science, the careful study of nature, denies the transcendental and leads men to regard nature as a self-regulating mechanism. Religion, therefore, becomes ambiguous and man, instead of being divine protagonist in a great drama, becomes merely a wealth-seeking, wealth-consuming animal.

Having asserted this thesis, Mr. Weaver, without pausing to prove it or to concede that it needs proof, launches into a devastating attack upon modern civilization:

> Man becomes a fatalist: his life is practiced without theory; his institutions crumble; wars must be fought, but immersion in matter unfits him to deal with problems of matter.
>
> In the Middle Ages the philosophic doctor was the possessor of the highest learning. He was succeeded by the Gentleman, the idealist. The American South cherished this ideal and gave it fresh strength.
>
> The world today has no use for a liberally educated class, because generalization has been abandoned for specialization.

45-2-49

Ideas which have their origin in the periphery of knowledge are false and stand in the way of integration of knowledge.

Modern thought keeps the individual busy with induction and running away from first principles.

Man is told that knowledge is power and knowledge consists of a great many small things. He is left swamped with multiplicities and no longer sees his way.

The final degradation of the Baconian philosophy is that knowledge becomes power in the service of appetite.

Comfort becomes a goal when distinctions of rank are abolished and privileges destroyed.

The author's chief wrath falls especially on democracy:

Equality is a disorganizing concept.

Equalitarian democracy lacks authority; education has no aim; homo sapiens becomes homo faber.

No man was ever created free and no two men were ever created equal.

Democracy does not recognize worth but demands conformity. Democracies if logical should choose rulers by lot.

If democracy cannot exist without education, this means democracy cannot exist without aristocracy.

Programs like the four freedoms codify error.

Having now laid down his thesis, and having indicted modern civilization, and especially democracy, as the cause, Mr. Weaver turns to remedies:

Consciously, Man has three levels of thought: immediate needs; general beliefs; a metaphysical dream of the world.

Logic depends upon dream; reason depends on faith.

Man can know and can will.

We must drive a wedge between the material and the transcendental.

Some source of authority must be found; the only source is knowledge and knowledge means distinction and hierarchy.

Modern man is impious.

Every attack upon religion is an attack upon mind.

Optimism will prevail until the world admits tragedy and cannot admit tragedy until it distinguishes between good and evil.

Coming to particulars, the author says:

> The right of private property is the last right remaining. Private property is the last domain of privacy. We must have small properties, independent farms.
>
> The state is not responsible for the poor or the criminal.
>
> Woman will regain her superiority when she finds privacy in the home.

One reads a book like this with a certain amazement and impatience. The author tends to aphorism and brilliance of phrase, so that I have quoted largely verbatim, and still realize that phrases taken out of context may be misleading. Yet the main thesis is clear: Man has the power to control this world and has deliberately turned from Truth to error and landed us in a mess. The less spectacular fact is that man assumes that his ideas and wishes have influence on the course of history, and human beings have usually worked on this assumption; but of course scientific proof of this assumption is impossible. Moreover, the bald statement that there is a source of truth higher than sensation, which man has deliberately ignored, simply goes beyond any known facts.

There was a time in this world when a single mind like that of Aristotle could comprehend most known knowledge; but it is not the fault of the modern world but rather its glory that the vast accumulations of knowledge are such that no single mind dare assume it is master of them. The result, as Mr. Weaver reiterates, is unfortunate; but this is no deliberate fault, but a situation to which we must give increasing thought. It will avail us nothing to toss away our hard-won knowledge and go off on a spree of unproven "Faith."

It is timely to rail at our assumptions of progress and power; but to regard the mediaeval gentleman, or his successor the Southern slaveholder, as better than the follower of modern democracy is nonsense. Our democracy is indeed pitiful in its accomplishment, but that is chiefly because we have not tried it, and not because human equality is not a defensible concept. The doctrine of equality does not deny authority nor hierarchy, based on knowledge or moral character; but it does deny that the peasants of France belonged

35-2-42

45-2-51

permanently in the gutter, just because some jackass happened to be his father's son. Equality does not mean that slaves should rule Southern white men; but it does deny that a white man should own me body and soul, just because he can spout Cicero.

When the author raves of the age of faith, the Cathedral builders, and the complacent mediaeval doctors of philosophy, he forgets of what a small segment of the nation he is talking; he ignores the abject poverty, ignorance and degradation of most Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans, and regards a handful of aristocrats as the whole nation. It is better that the majority of men should have food and shelter, even if they yet lack commonsense. The doctrine of equality aims to loose wasted ability, so that out of a far vaster sample of mankind than any previous age has used, we may in time achieve leadership, reverence, and authority based on fact, and not on chance and exploitation.

W. E. B. DuBois

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Book Review W E B DuBois scientific monthly Received 3-1-48

"IDEAS HAVE CONSEQUENCES" by Richard M. Weaver. University of Chicago Press, 1948

190 pp.

The thesis of this book is ~~(copy A)~~

The author is evidently a man of religious convictions, trained in metaphysics which we used to call philosophy. He dislikes the specialism and "fragmentation" of modern science; believes that "democracy" has replaced Faith and Authority and tried to substitute equalitarianism for the Gentleman of high ideals; for these reasons modern civilization has failed

His development of this thesis runs as follows:

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The denial of everything transcending experience is the denial of Truth

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Having asserted this thesis, Mr. Weaver, without pausing to prove it or to concede that it needs proof, launches into a devastating attack upon modern civilization.

Man becomes a fatalist: his life is practice without theory; his institutions crumble; wars must be fought, but immersion in matter unfits him to deal with problems of matter

~~There are no goals of labor like that of the cathedral-builders~~

~~Wars now are not crusades but jobs~~

In the Middle Ages the philosophic doctor was the possessor of the highest learning. He was succeeded by the Gentleman, the idealist. The American South cherished this ideal and gave it fresh strength

The world today has no use for a liberally educated class, because generalization has been abandoned for specialization

~~Wisdom not popularity qualifies for rule as the atomic bomb proves~~

Ideas which have their origin in the periphery of knowledge, are false and stand in the way of integration of knowledge

~~Egotism guides Art and Work and abhors discipline and form~~

Modern thought keeps the individual busy with induction and running away from first first principles

Man is told that knowledge is power and knowledge consists of a great many small things. He is left swamped with multiplicities and no longer sees his way.

35-2-331

The world is intelligible. Man is free. Those consequences which we are expiating, are the product not of biological or other necessity, but of unintelligent choices. Today

We have for many years moved with a brash confidence, that mankind has achieved a position of independence which rendered the ancient restraints needless.

We see hecatombs of slaughter; entire nations desolated by war; half of mankind looking upon the other half as criminal

Western man has made an evil decision, which has become the cause of other evil decisions

The final degradation of the Baconian philosophy is that knowledge becomes power in the service of appetite

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~~Teh inability of pure democracy to stand for something intelligible leaves it merely a verbal deception~~

35-2-332

Democracy does not recognize worth but demands conformity. Democracies if logical should choose rulers by lot.

If democracy cannot exist without education, this means democracy cannot exist without aristocracy

Programs like the four freedoms codify error

Having now laid down his thesis, and having indicted modern civilization, and especially democracy, as the cause, Mr. Weaver turns to remedies:

Consciously, Man has three levels of thought: immediate needs; general beliefs; a metaphysical dream of the world
Logic depends upon dream; reason depends on faith

Man can know and can will
We must drive a wedge between the material and the transcendental

Some source of authority must be found; the only source is knowledge and knowledge means distinction and hierarchy

Modern man is impious

Ever y attack upon religion is an attack upon mind

Optimism will prevail until the world admits tragedy and cannot admit tragedy until it distinguishes between good and evil

~~There is no knowledge at the level of sensation~~

Coming to particulars, the authors says:

The right of private property is the last ~~metaphysical~~ right remaining.

Private property is the last domain of privacy

We must have small properties, independent farms

The state is not responsible for the poor or the criminal

Woman will regain her superiority when she finds privacy in the home

35-2-933

One reads a book like this with a certain amazement and impatience. The author tends to aphorism and brilliance of phrase, so that I have quoted largely verbatim, and still realize that phrases taken out of context may be misleading. Yet the main thesis is clear: Man has the power to control this world and has deliberately turned from Truth to error and landed us in a mess. The less spectacular fact is that man assumes that his ideas and wishes have ~~some~~ influence on the course of history, and human beings have usually worked on this assumption; but of course scientific proof of this assumption is impossible. Moreover the bald statement that there is a source of truth higher than sensation, which man has deliberately ignored, simply goes beyond any known facts. There was a time in this world when a single mind like that of Aristotle could comprehend most known knowledge, but it is not the fault of the modern ~~world~~ but rather its glory world, that the vast accumulations of knowledge are such that no single mind dare assume it is master of Chem. ~~It~~ The result, as Mr. Weaver reiterates, is ~~disastrous~~ unfortunate, but this is no deliberate fault, but ~~it is~~ a situation to which we must give increasing thought. It will avail us nothing to toss away our hard-won knowledge and go off on a spree of unproven "Faith".

It is timely to rail at our assumptions of progress and power, but to regard the mediaeval gentleman, or his successor the Southern slaveholder, as better than the modern democracy is nonsense. Our democracy is indeed pitiful in its accomplishment, but that is chiefly because we have not tried it, and not because human equality is not a defensible concept. The doctrine of equality does not deny authority nor hierarchy, based on knowledge or moral character; but it does deny that the peasants of France belonged permanently in the gutter, just because some jackass happened to be his fathers son. Equality does not mean that slaves should rule Southern white men; but it does deny that a white man should own me body and soul, just because he can spout Cicero

When the author raves of the ~~ix~~ age of faith, the Cathredral-builders

and the complacent mediaeval doctors of philosophy, he forgets what a small segment of the nation he is talking of; he ignores the abject poverty, ignorance and degradation of most Englishmen, Frenchmen and Germans, and regards a handful of ~~chance~~ aristocrats as the whole nation. It is better that the majority of men should have food and shelter even if they yet lack commonsense. The doctrine of equality aims to loose wasted ability, so that out of a far vaster sample of mankind, than any previous age has used, we may in time achieve leadership, reverence and authority based, on fact and not on chance and exploitation

W. E. B. DuBois

35-2-334

Gandhi's Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth by M. K. Gandhi, Public Affairs Press.

Sent to Masses and Mainstream
Unpublished

Reviewed for Masses & Mainstream, Fall, 1948 mjc

35-2-342

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We see, in his years from birth in 1869 through High School in 1884, a shy, lonely, sensitive boy seeking to understand himself and the world and calling the elusive inner self,--God.

He was deeply imaginative: "I used to be haunted by the fear of thieves, ghosts, and serpents. I did not dare to stir out of doors at night. Darkness was a terror to me. It was almost impossible for me to sleep in the dark, as I would imagine ghosts coming from one direction, thieves from another and serpents from a third."

35-2-343

His unconscious thought was strongly influenced by his caste and family. Foremost was his pious mother, who observed meticulously all the religious customs of his clan, fasting frequently. There was the strictly honest father from whom Gandhi learned that lying and stealing were cardinal sins; and there was the refusal of the clan ever to eat meat, arising partly from love of animals and partly from obscurer reasons. Above all child marriage, which made this boy a husband at thirteen, probably so surfeited his natural appetites that they appeared as evil in themselves and made him vow celibacy at the age of 37 and regard pleasures of palate and taste as sources of temptation and evil; and sacrifice and self-denial as an end in themselves.

His days of education in an Indian college, for a year, and three years in England were times when his inherited beliefs were put to severe test. He was never what one would call today, a broadly educated man. He studied literature, and knew a few books intimately like Tolstoi's KINGDOM OF GOD, Ruskin's UNTO THIS LAST" and more especially the Hindu BHAGAVADGITA, which became his bible. He knew little or nothing of Latin or Greek,

nothing of the European Renaissance, nothing of romance nor fiction and not much poetry. Above all he studied almost modern science although he mentions a course in chemistry. On the other hand, education to him meant character-training; inculcation of good habits and high thoughts; it meant religion, in the sense of seeking by devout introspection and broad human contact, the truth of the world and particularly of one's inner self.

What I want to achieve,--what I have been striving and pining to achieve these thirty years,--is self-realization, to see God face to face, to attain MOKSHA.

es-2-344

His autobiography therefore becomes a catalog of inner questionings and struggles; soul-tearing conflicts and hesitances, which left him pitifully in doubt or devotedly determined. This was shown in college both in India and England, and came to crisis over the matter of eating meat. Back beyond memory it had been to him a sin to eat meat. Then came the days of reform in India and the stirring toward escape from the British yoke. Students sang:

> Behold the mighty Englishman
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Gandhi experimented with eating meat and drinking; he sought to become an English "gentleman" in dress and habit; but this was against his inherited customs, his vows and his income. He had promised his mother that if she would consent to his going to England, he would not eat meat, nor touch women, nor drink wine. But beyond this, if he was to be true to himself-- to this inner

self which was God and Truth,--he could not afford expensive top-hats, dancing lessons or even tram-rides. He must buckle down to a simple, inexpensive life, walking instead of riding, cooking his own meals and studying hard. He was not a bright, quick student and was handicapped by his indifferent Indian preparation. Never-the-less, in England he spent no time on broad preparation in classics, mathematics and science, but hurried to the study of law, as soon as he had passed his matriculation examination. He was finally called to the bar in 1891. Meantime he was disciplining himself for life; he tried public speaking to advocate vegetarianism, but was not successful; he experimented with his diet; he sought inner truth and avoided all deception.

35-2-335

In 1891, he faced life at the age of 24 by returning to India. He faced the porblem of oppression and of finding an attitude toward it while earning a living. He was a lawyer, but no speaker and with no experience. He began practice in his birthplace and then moved to the largest city of Bombay, meeting problems of whether it was right to pay fees for procuring clients and just what the relation of his work was toward guilt and injustice; and meeting unjust British officials. In the midst of these struggles and problems, added to the fact of very small income and the open opposition of half his caste, still unreconciled to his trip to England, came the call to Africa. There for the main part of 12 years he was destined to find his inner soul and forge his weapons for attacking human oppression.

It was no accident that Africa not Asia, showed Gandhi his way. That old and tragic continent was, in the closing years of the nineteenth century, the critical center of the triumphant imperialism of expanding Europe. Here with gold, diamonds and slaves, Europe was collecting the finance capital and gathering the raw materials and buying the tools and machinery to forge her chains across the whole world. In India, the British grip of an older century was so firm, and set there seemed no crevice in its armor open to attack. There was a sort of helpless fatalism even among leading Indians. When Gandhi wrote a note of protest against insult and assault, an old lawyer said: 'Such things are the common experience of many vakils and barristers. He is still fresh from England, and hot-blooded. He does not know British officers. If he would earn something and have an easy time here, let him tear up the note and pocket the insult!'

35-2-336

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35-2-337

to the supreme court despite opposition; he sent petitions to the legislature and formed the Natal Indian Congress, working also for sanitation and education among the Indians. He settled the problem of taking money for this public service by refusing to accept anything but expenses outside his law income for actual cases. Especially he frowned on excessive propaganda and over-statement. He worked and talked with the whites, seeking inter-racial understanding. To the suprise of all he won his agitation and stopped the movement for disfranchisement. He now saw a life work in South Africa and returned to India to bring his family, lingering there six months to tell India of the struggles of their fellows in South Africa.

The result was that when he returned to South Africa with his family, he was beaten by a mob and nearly lynched in resentment against his stories of injustice. This experience clarified his thinking about force in human relations. He refused to prosecute his assailants despite the backing of the British Colonial Office. He declared in his own mind and action against violence as a weapon of social progress. Beyond this he began to gird himself for work by taking a step toward the simple life: doing his own laundry and cutting his own hair, after white barbers refused. He attacked the problem of education his own and other Indian children and yielded to his life-long like of nursing and healing by working a short time each day in a hospital. His close contact with poor indentured Indians brought him nearer the problem of poverty and closer to the ideal of celibacy, so as to leave time and thought for public service.

Now however came one of those contradictory occurrences which so often faced Gandhi with reality and made him readjust his ethical and religious theories. The Boer War broke out. Gandhi's sympathies were with the Boers. But he was a British subject and believed the British Empire a benefit to the world. But he still repudiated force as a method of progress. After long thought and self-examination, he compromised. He offered to help England in the war, but not by fighting, rather by organizing an ambulance corps. He collected a body of 1100 men who served six months after reluctant permission was secured. Their work impressed England and South Africa; and Indians believed that their grievances in South Africa would now be redressed. He had now been in South Africa six years and decided he was needed in India. He was sent home with tears and a mass of gifts which he decided not to keep. Despite his wife's protest, he turned them into a trust fund for community service.

35-2-338

In India, Gandhi began that service which in the end was his salvation and his greatest gift to man. He studied Man. He travelled all over India and travelled in the dirty, crowded third-class so as to meet and know the masses. Probably no modern leader ever had so complete and intimate contact with and knowledge of the great mass of his fellows as Mohandas Gandhi. From 1901 to the end of his days he was almost continuously moving about India in every part and every city, in pilgrimage, investigation and study, in conference and conversation, until he became a social

institution personally known to three hundred million people. There was nothing to equal this in the world's history; and the power and influence thus gained, enabled Gandhi to influence the men and inaugurate action to an extent seldom known before. Whatever Gandhi lacked in broad education in the humanities and science he more than made up in his knowledge of mankind, his mastery of Sociology.

35-2-339

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35-2-340

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35-2-341

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GANDHI'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

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38-13-53

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88-13-55

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38-13-56

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38-1360

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38-13-61

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W. E. B. Du Bois

38-1362

BIOGRAPHY OF GANDHI

(Copy pages 3,4,--Passages marked in red) Copy page 5. Pages 6,7,8.)

The Gandhi's were originally grocers but for three generations were Prime Ministers in several Indian States. The grandfather was a man of principle. He had four sons by his first wife and two by his second. The fifth of these sons was Karamchand Gandhi, who was the father of Mohandas Gandhi. His father married four times , his wives' dying in succession. He had by his marriages; three daughters, and three sons of which Mohandas was the youngest. The father was truthful, brave and generous but short-tempered,--" He might have been even given to carnal pleasures for he married a fourth time when he was over 40; but he was incorruptible and had earned a name for strict impartially"

23.38-68

He left little property and had no education beyond the fifth grade. The outstanding impression of Gandhi's mother was that of saintliness. She was deeply religious and carried out faithfully her daily prayers. She was especially faithful in fasting and fasted often. Gandhi was born October 2, 1869 at Porbandar in Eastern India on the shore of the Arabian sea. "I recollect having been put to school, it was with some difficulty that I got through the multiplication tables." (copy page 15) Copy page 18.

He was betrothed 3 times although he did not know of it, but two of the girls died and therefore he was betrothed a third time in his seventh year and married in his thirteenth. The marriage included elaborate ceremonies and considerable expenditure . It was only through preparations for the event that his attention was brought to it . "I do not think it meant to me anything more than the prospect of good clothes to wear, drum beating, marriage processions, rich dinners and a strange girl to play with ." He says that the sex impulse came later. copy page 20.

His wife was illiterate, he was anxious to teach her, but said that lust left no time, and at any rate teaching had to be done against her will.

In Hindu society, the custom of child-marriage mitigated to some extent because the young people do not live together long. The child-wife spends more than half her time in her own family. In Hindu society marriage and study go hand-in-hand. Gandhi had no great regard for his ability and was astonished if he won prizes or scholarships, but he was very jealous of his character, and the least little blimish drew tears. He took no part in any of the games, principally because his sinus. Once he was unjustly accused of lying which deeply pained him until the matter was explained. He says good handwriting is a necessary part of education. One of his first moral battles was with regard to meat and wine. He was told, we are a weak people because we do not eat meat the English are able to rule over us because they are meat-eaters . (page33)

In his plan abhorrent meat-eating more than perhaps any other part of India, this was the tradition in which he was born and bred. He knew that his parents would be shocked to death if they knew that he had eaten meat. He ate meat on several occasions and then declared that he would not eat meat ? but only openly and until he could do that he would abstain from it.

23-38-69

He tells of one incident with women (copy page 37) He was a suspicious husband. A Hindu wife may not seek divorce from the law court. Law has no remedy for her . I have never desired to smoke and have always regarded the habit of smoking as barbarous, dirty, and harmful.. Once he stole a little money and then confessed in writing to his father with great humility . He asked punichment and pledged himself never to steal in the future. (page 42) He liked to nurse the sick and nurse his father in his last illness; but there again never forgave himself because he was absent, in bed with his wife at the actual time of his fathers' death. (pages 45,46)

He came to tolerate all religion except Christianity because Christian ministers used to stand on a corner and abuse the Hindus for their Gods. He came to think of christianity as a religion that compelled people to wear European clothes, eat meat and drink liquor. He passed a matriculation

examination in 1887 and then there was a question as to whether he should study law or medicine. Finally it was decided that he should take law in England, but his clan objected, both to the journey and to English customs. Finally he went and swore an oath not to touch wine, woman, or meat. After that his mother gave permission. He left his wife and baby and started for Bombay. Meantime the people of his caste had a meeting and said that within their opinion the proposal to go to England was not proper, that religion forbade voyages abroad. On his determination to go, he was pronounced an outcast. He landed in England, late in September in a white flannel suit In England he tried to be a gentleman, in dress and custom, he took dancing lessons, he had new clothes made including a chimney pot hat, and an evening suit. He began experiments in diatetics and expecially in vegetarianism (copy 82) It was only afterward in South Africa that he got over this sinus, although never completely. It was impossible to speak impromptu. The hesitancy in speech, once an annoyance became a pleasure, it taught him economy of words . "My sinus has been in reality my shield and buckler it has allowed me to grow, it has helped me in my discernment of truth."

23-88-70

Forty years ago there were few Indian students in England, it was a practice for them to pretend they were bachelors even though they were married this pretense he also practised but finally made very abject apology to his hostess and the young lady with whom he had been going out . He tried reading the bible but could not get through the whole testament. The new teatament, especially the sermon on the mountain went straight to his heart. He compared it with the Gita. In 1890 he attended a vegetarian conference in Portsmouth which was a seaboard city of loose morals, here again he was tempted , (copy page 95,96)

He attended the great exibihition at Paris in 1890 and saw the Eiffel Tower (page 103) He passed his examinations and was called to the bar June 10, 1891

and on June 12, sailed for home. He found it difficult to practice and was torn with doubts and anxiety. "A great Indian lawyer assured me it takes no unusual skill to be an ordinary lawyer. Common honesty and industry, are enough to enable him to make a living . He made one close friend and says of him (page 113) He found on his return that his caste was divided into two camps: one who wanted to readmit him and the other in getting him out. He did not try to seek admission to the section that wanted to keep him out and avoided their rules on excummication ; according to these none of my realtions, neither my sister nor brother-in-law can entertain me, and he could not drink water at their houses . In this way he retained the affection of both camps but one part of the general body still regarded him as an excummicate- copy page 116, copy page 118.

He began the practice of law in Bombay and also started the study of Indian law . He refused to pay commission to agents for getting his cases and in that way lost many. In one case he tried to cross examine a witness but was too timid and gave up the case. He was, however, successful in drafting memorials. He tried to get a job teaching English, but was refused because he did not have a graduate degree. His Bombay office closed after six months . Leaving Bombay he went to Rajkot, near his birthplace and there got on moderately well drafting applications and memorials. He earned about $90.00 a month but he had to compromise on the matter of getting------

While here he became painfully conscious of the attitude of British officals. At one time presuming upon his acquaintance with an offical in England he tried to have an interview and was forcably ejected. He wrote a note of protest but an Indian friend said to him (copy page 126)

Next he got an offer to represent a firm in South Africa. He was to be gone not more than a year and have his return fare and five hundred dollars with board. (copy page 130) He went to South Africa in April 1893, on the

23-38-71

way he stoped at Lamu, in Kenya and saw the Indian clerks, "I also saw the Africans and tried to acquaint myself with their ways of life which interested me very much ." He stoped at Zanzibar and was taken by the captain to a Negro house of ill-fame. We were each shown into a room, I simply stood there dumb with shame, Heaven knows what the poor woman must have thought of me ." He landed at Durban and came to be known eventually as "the coolie barrister" There came some moral questions as to wearing the turban. On his way to Pretoria he was put off the train on account of color. Indians travelling first or second class had to expect trouble from the officals and white passengers. Further on the way he had trouble about seats on account of color discrimination. There he was again told of color discrimination.

(copy 146) Gandhi, however, protested and naturally got a first class ticket to Pretoria . In Pretoria he had to search for a stopping place- (copy 149) His christian friend, remonstrated with him for wearing a necklace, because ~~of~~ the superstition contained them . However he refused to discard it. It was put around his neck by his mother as a matter of love, what christian wanted to convince him that salvation was impossible unless I ~~x~~ accepted christianity, which represented the truth, and that my sins would not be washed away except by the intercession of Jesus, that all good works were useless. Gandhi answered-~~x~~ (page 156) He began to organize the Indians of the Transvaal, and attempted his first public speeches. He suggested the formation of an association to approach the authorities in respect to the hardships of Indians--(copy page 160)

The Orange Free State there was discriminatory legislation, especially there and in the Transvaal in regard to poll tax. He had difficulty about ? and once was pushed and kicked into the street for walking on the sidewalk. (copy page 163) He stayed a year in the Transvaal, the religious

spirit within him became a living force and he acquired a knowledge of legal practice, finally a case in which he was taking part was compromised advantageously . "My joy was boundless, I had learned the true practice of law, I had learned to find out the better side of human nature and to enter mens' hearts." He attended one Christian convention and his white companion had a hard time because of Gandhi-- his colored companion, there again he could not believe that Jesus was the only incarnate Son of God, if God could have sons, all of us were his sons . He returned to Durban and began to make preparations to return home, but became interested in the fight of the Indians in Natal to elect members to the Natal legislative assembly. He was asked to stay and help the fight and agreed to so long as he was not paid fees for public work. (copy 175)

28-38-73

A petition was written out and published against the proposed bill to disfranchise Indians. Nevertheless the bill was passed and it was decided to send a monster petition to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London Ten thousand signarutes were obtained in a fortnight. The petition recieved the support of the London Times and other papers. It was now necessary for him to stay and continue his work in Natal, but he insisted not to accept any salary for public work and to have for his support a gaurantee of private law work. This was gauranteed and he settled in Natal. When he applied for admissio as an advocate to the Supreme Court, this was held up by the law society, who did not want colored people admitted as lawyers; after a considerable agitation he was admitted by the chief Justice, but had to take off his turban. Of this compromise he says (page 184) His practice as a lawyer was subordinate occupation , his chief work was the formation of the Natal Indian Congress, May 22, 1894 he learned at the outset not to carry on public work with borrowed money, the accounts of the Natal Indian Congress were carefully kept .

The Colonial born Indian Educational Association was formed under the auspices of the Congress. Another feature of the Congress was propaganda

acquaintaing the people of South Africa and England and India with the real state of things in Natal. All this activity won the Indians numerous friends in South Africa and obtained active sympathy of all parties in India. (page 19

In this case, as he worked not to punish the empolyer but to get a new employer for the coolie after release, he succeeded and this case came to be widely known. A regular stream of indentured laborers began to pour into Gandhi's office. They usually came hat-in-hand, this hurt Gandhi, he said (page 192) In 1894 the government sought to impose an annual tax of £25 on indentured Indians , if they refused to return to India after their indenture had expired or refused to renew the indenture. The Indian Viceroy disapproved the £25 tax, but agreed to a poll tax of £3, which was too great for large families . A fierce campaign was organized against this tax, but it was 20 years before the fight succeeded in getting the tax remedied but as Gandhi says "the truth triumphs in the end" (copy 197) He again came in contact with Indians and pointed out that Buddha loved all living beings but one fails to notice this in the life of Jesus. As a house-holder he has difficulty with servants , I have never known how to keep anyone as a servant, in one case, a trusted servant brought catasrophe to the house and Gandhi had to discharge him.

He stayed 3 years in South Africa and in 1896 asked to go home for 6 months. He had established a fairly good practice; so he made up his mind to go home, fetch his wife and children and return to settle in South Africa. He began studying native languages as it was a conviction that Indians ought to speak their own tongue. He says that the fight in South Africa was made by illiterate people, the fight was for the poor and the poor took their full share of it. One of his first efforts was to publish a clean pamphlet in which he drew a purposely subdued picture of the condition of Indians in South Africa. The language I used was more moderate than in pamphlets which he had referred to before, as I knew that things heard out from a distance appeared bigger than they are. The plague broke out in Bombay, and there was panic.

23-3-74

Gandhi was put on a committee to look into sanitary conditions and he laid a special emphasis on the cleanliness of latrines and made inspection on every street; he found among the well-to-do much ~~exxx~~ carelessness, (copy page 211) copy page 212)

He nursed his sick brother- in-law night and day and at the same time trying to keep up his work . His aptitude for nursing gradually developed into a passion, so that it often led him to neglect his work .. He attended a public meeting in Bombay, but found himself unable to read the speech that he had written, loud enough for people to hear . Another person read it and the audience listened with applause to what he said about South Africa, . He went to Poona and Bombay and met the great leader Gokhale, he spoke singularly on the situation in South Africa. There were of course, differences of opinion about South Africa in India among the Indians. He proceeded to Madras, the audience listened with great attention (copy page 222)

23-38-25

From Madras, he went to Calcutta in the extreme east of India, a white friend ~~xxxxx~~ invited him to the Bengal Club, without realizing that Indians could not enter the drawing room of the club. He tried to arrange a public meeting, but before this was done he was recalled to Durban , South Africa, where parliament was to open in January. He sailed in December with his wife and two sons and a nephew; there was a wild storm at sea, but that was nothing to the storm which arose when he tried to land at Durban, they were kept a long time in harbour by quarentine rules and effort was made to get him to return to India (copy page 233) The charges against him was that in India I had made unmerited condemnation of the Natal whites and that I was trying to bring in two ship loads of passengers to settle. He spoke to the ~~x~~ captain and other officers (copy 234, 235)

After 23 days the ships were permitted to enter the harbor and the passengers to land; but a mob was awaiting and youngsters recognized Gandhi. He was surrounded in the house where he had taken refuge, outside the people

sang "Hang old Gandhi on the sour apple tree". He was nearly lynched.

Finally he was spirited away to a place of safety. The Secretary of State for Colonies asked the Natal government to prosecute the assailants but Gandhi said, " I do not want to prosecute anyone"and he refused to do so. This refusal produced a profound impression upon the whites of Durban. After three or four days, Gandhi settled down in his house and began his practice. He went about raising funds for the Natal Indian Congress and succeeded. He was, however, convinced that it was not good to run public institutions on permanent funds, it should be conducted with the approval and from the funds of the public ; and when it ceases to have public support it causes dislike to exist. (copy page 244)

23-38-76

Gandhi had landed at Durban in January 1897, first of all he had difficulty about educating his children. They might have gone to a European school but that would have been a matter of favor as other Indian children could not go there so he refused. (copy page 246, 248)

Gandhi progressed with his profession but now wanted to simplify his life He wanted humanitarian work of a permanent nature, and gave several hours a day as nurse in the hospital. He helped deliver his wife's last child and said (copy page 251)

He now began to consider seriously the matter of celibacy (page 253) The final resolution came in 1906 when he was 37 years old, (page 256, 257,258, 259) He had started in earlier life on a life of ease and comfort but then began to cut down expenses, he began to do his own laundry, just as he freed himself from the slavery of the washerwoman, he threw off his dependence on the barber. This was brought about first by the refusal of a South African barber to serve him (copy 263) When the Boer War opened, his sympathy was with the Boers, but his loyalty to British rule drove him to participation with the British. He felt that he could demand his rights as a British citizen. It was his duty to help defend the British Empire, he therefore collected as many comrades as possible and got their servances accepted as an ambulance corps.

The corps was 1,100 strong with 40 leaders, about 300 were free Indians and the rest indentured servants. The work was much applauded. The Indian community became better organized, Gandhi got in closer touch with the indentured Indians, and united Hindus, Mohammedians, Christians, and others. Everybody believed that the Indian grievances were now sure to be redressed.

The weak points among the Indians was their lack of sanitation. They were slovenly in their habits and their houses and surroundings were not kept clean. Gandhi started to correct this, and the Indian community began to recognize the necessity of keeping their houses clean; also he gained the esteam of the authorities. They saw that although I made it my business to ventilate grievances and press for rights, I was no less keen and insistent upon self purification (copy 268)

On release from war duty, again he returned to India, there was plenty still to be done in South Africa, "but I was afraid that my main business might become merely money making ". A large number of gifts were poured upon him when he left in 1899, and after severe thought and disagreement with his wife he decided that he could not keep the things, therefore the gifts received in 1896 and 1901 were all returned and a trust scheme was prepared so that the money could be used for the service of the community (copy page 272)

In India he spent some time in going about the country, and in 1901 met with the Indian Congress at Calcutta; this was his first experience with the Congress. There he wanted to emphaisze conditions in South Africa, but an influential friend said, "We will pass your resolution, but what rights have we in our own country, so long as we have no power here, you cannot fare better in the colonies."

23-38-77

At the congress he came across problems of untouchability and the lack of sanitation, and the unwillingness of many of the visitors to help clean up the place . (copy 275) Gandhi helped in clerical ways ~~xxxxxx~~ with the Congress, came to know its working and met most of the leaders. He was oppressed by the way in which the English language displaced the native tongue. His resolution went through unanimously, but he was not satisfied because there was lack of discussion and understanding. His own speech was short and unsatisfactory, but the fact that the Congress had endorsed the South African resolution gave him some satisfaction.

He stayed in Calcutta a month and saw the Durbar of the Viceroy. He was oppressed by the fact that they wore jewels and ornamentations in order to carry favor with the English. (284) He spent considerable time with Takhale, and had great regard for him. He was affronted at the sacrifice of sheep at the Kali temple and said (290, 293) He made the long journey from Calcutta to Rajkot, some fifteen hundred miles through the heart of India traveling third class, (294) Not only were the railway authorities indifferent but the people themselves were careless with rubbish on the floor, smoking everywhere,betel nuts and tobacco chewing, shouting and yelling and using foul language, (205)

23-32-78

Gandhi was seriously ill in 1918-19 and had to give up third class travel but that was a matter of constant pain and shame. He went on a pilgrimage at Benares and greatly pained at the dirt, the flies, and the noise, there was not atmosphere of meditation and communion , save in a few cases. Cunning shipkeepers were selling sweets and toys . I went to the Well of Knowledge, I searched here for God but failed to find him, I was not, therefore, in a particular good mood. The priest in charge swore at him when he gave only a small coin. "This insult will take you straight to hell, said the priest , . This did not perturb me .

He settled in Bombay at the invitation of Gokhale for public work and some law practice, but finally set up his office at Rajkot, where he went to school

as a child. He complained at the of the English officials . The assistants court toured the country but made the clients incur double expenses and often if was hard for them to find a place to live . He complained to the officials with no results . How could a man have an idea of the hardships of poor India, one accustomed to measure things in gold soverigns, could not calculate in tiny bits of copper.

Finally he removed his office to Bombay, his second son, ten years of age had formerly had small pox and now a severe attack of typhoid and pneumonia. The doctor ordered eggs and chicken broth, but there came the usual moral battle with Gandhi. Gandhi won, refused the food and used the hydropathic treatment. Today he says the son is the healthiest of my boys, who can say whether his recovery was due to God's grace or the careful dietary and nursing? For my part I was sure that God had saved my honour.

23-38-29

A cable came from South Africa asking him to come because Chamberlain was expected. He went promptly, but this involved separation from his wife and children. " I think it is wrong to expect certainties in this world, where all else but God that is truth is an uncertainty. The quest for that truth is the SUMMUM BONUM of life." Chamberlain had come to South Africa to get a gift of £35,000,000 from them, consequently he was not disposed to interfere in the Indian question.

The Indians taunted him, at your insistence this community helped in the war and see the result now , but Gandhi said, I do not regret my advice , I maintain that we did well in taking part in the war. The fact that Mr. Chamberlain refused to see Mr. Gandhi and the offical in charge insulted him, were he said nothing in the face of the humiliation of the whole community.

Therefore he set up his office in Johannesburg and was admitted to the Transvaal Supreme Court. There came then the problem of saving. He had hitherto the spirit of self sacrifice tempered by the desire to lay up somethingfor the future. He was induced to take out an insurance policy in an American company

for $3,000. He now concluded that he would have to stay a long time in South Africa and decided to keep the family there and earn enough to support them. He decided that his widow would be supported by the clan and that in getting my life insured I had robbed my wife and children of their self reliance Why should they not be expected to take care of themselves? What happens to the families of the numberless poor in the world? Why should I now count myself as one of them.

He came now under the influence of theosophy, but did not become a member. The chief thing about theosophy was to cultivate and promote the idea of brotherhood. He started reading Hindu philosophy especially on tendencies caused by previous birth and re-birth. He especially read and committed to memory the Bhagadaedevita. It became an infallible guide of conduct, especially its teaching about non-possession of property and equability under insult. Property should not be regarded as one's own, but simply something held as a trustee. He therefore allowed the insurance policy to elapse, convinced that God who created my wife and children as well as myself would take care of them. His brother, head of the clan , was distressed but later convinced of Gandhi's correctness. Sacrifice and simplicity were now being realized and the passion power of vegetarianism as a mission. He loaned some of the funds entrusted to him to promote a vegetarian restaurant, they were lost and he made up the deficit from the funds which he had on hand, he realized that he had been wrong.

He did not incur debt which he abhorred, but also realized that reforming zeal (?) ought not to make him exceed his limits . He experimented with his diet; instead of having three meals and afternoon tea, he dropped the breakfast and tried baths, and other earth and water treatments. I believe that man has little need to drug himself. He wrote a book against milk, advocating a diet of sun-baked fruit and nuts, restraint of sexual and other passions becomes easy for a man who lives off such food. Nevertheless on a recruiting campaign he became ill and finally was induced to take goat's milk; and therefore, unwillingly modified some of his anti-milk attitude.

He then began to collect evidence against the Asiatic department in Johannesburg, alleging bribary on the part of persons admitted. He put the matter before the police commissioner, who was a just man, he knew that it was difficult in South Africa to get a white jury to convict a white man against a colored man; but he was willing to try.

There was strong evidence againce the officals but the jury acquitted them Nevertheless, eventually they were kept out of the Asiatic department, which was an indirect victory. (copy page 337, 338)

He realtes another disagreement with his wife concerning the cleaning of night-vessels in guests' rooms. He threatened to put her out of the house because she did not do this work cheerfully. (page 339) This was in 1896, in 1906 he says that with the gradual disappearance in me of the carnal appetite my domestic life became and is becoming more and more peaceful, sweet and happy (page 340)

Of God,Gandhi says, "I have not seen Him, neither have I known Him. I have made the world's faith in God my own, and as my faith is ineffaceable, I regard that faith as amounting to experience. However, as it may be said that to describe faith as experience is totamper with truth, it may perhaps be more corrent to say that I have no word for characterizing my belief in God.

Writing my biography is in itself one of the experiments with truth. He spends as much as $375.00 a month supporting The Journal of Indian Opinion, The South African Indian lived in Ghettoes where sanitation was neglected. So far as white citizens were concerned, large amounts were spent for the preservation of their health. The result was the plague among the Indians. The people were in terrible fright.

Influenced by Ruskin's UNTO THIS LAST, he understood the teaching to be that the good of the individual is contained in the good of all. That a lawyer's warok has the s me value as the barbers'. that a life of labour is a life worth living. This last was new and he immediately proceeded to put into practice. He therefore began the experiment of living with a group on a farm and publishing the paper there. This Phoenix settlement was sta ted in 1904, he meant to gradually give up his practice and live at the settlement entirely earning his livlihood by manual work , but as a matter of fact could only stay there for brief periods .

He gave up all hope now of returning to India and sent for his wife and children. His third son broke his arm on the journey and there was the usual controversy as to healing; which Gandhi undertook himself and was successful. In the light of Ruskin's teaching, he began to decrease the expenses of living using as little furniture as possible, bringing children under that discipline. Making their own bread. He writes as to sacrifice the literary education of the children. He talked to them and walked with them, if he had had a little more time he could have given them an ideal education, as a result his eldest son often complained of his lack of education . Then there was the problem of whether the children should be educated in English or in the vernacular.

He said thatthough his sons had suffered for want of a full literary education, they do know their mother-tongue.

He looked into the matter of the so-called Zulu rebellion in Natal. He believed then that the British Empire existed for the welfare of the world and offered his services on the ambulance corps . On reaching the scene of the rebellion, I saw there was nothing to justify the name. There was no resistence. Simply a Zulu chief had advised non-payment of a new tax. My heart was with the Zulu and he and the Indians nursed the wounded, who were not wounded in battle but by flogging and inattention. This rebellion was full of new expereinces, it was not a war but a man-hunt. Thereupon he

decided that he could not live both after the flesh and the spirit and took the final vow of celibacy. Then came the period of PASSIVE RESISTENCE and the inventi n of a phrase to indicate it . The history of thie Passive Resistence is the history of the remainder of his life in South Africa, Fasting and diet now played a more important part in his life; and he was bothered by the fact that fasting itself might make the food yield greater relish. His object was to achieve restraint and conquest of the palate. One should eat, not in order to please the palate, but just to keep the body going. His wife nearly died but stood with him in refusing to take beef tea after an operation.

His first experience of jail life came in 1908, just about the time when Gandhi gave up milk and cereals and started on the experiment of a fruit diet; he commenced fasting as a means of self-restraint. He never felt the need of text books in literary training, children take in more and with less labor than through their to their ears eyes. Spiritual training is of the most important . He made the children memorize and recite hymns and read to them from books on moral training, but was satisfied that as physical training was to be imparted through physical exercise, and intellectual through intellectual exercise, so the training of the spirit was possible only through the exercise ing of the spirit, and that depended on the life and character of the teacher.

Once he struck a recalcitrant pupil and was very penitent. I repent that violence. I am afraid I exhibited before him that day not the spirit, but the brute in me.

When two inmates of his settlement had moral relapse, he undertook to fast for seven days as a penitence for it . (page 420)

At the conclusion of the non-violent struggle in 1914 , Gokhale asked him to return to India by way of London, on the way he and his English friend threw away into the sea two costly binoculars, because of discussion as to whether such costly instruments should be retained. (page 422)

He reached London two days after war had been declared in August 1914, he felt that the Indians in England ought to do their bit in war and therefore

volunteered for ambulance work. In India his attitude was questioned (page 427,428) However, even in offering to serve in the war he had to make use of non-violence, non-cooperation when the officer over his ambulance corps gave orders which the Indian thought were beyond his power, the result was inclusive as Gandhi was sick . There was a controversy on milk before he got well he compromised for a while by taking some other food beside fruit and nuts but no milk.

He then returned to India and noticed a kind of distance between the English and Indian passengers which he had not observed before . He reached Bombay after an exile of ten years. In practicing law in South Africa, Gandhi never lied and never knowingly took an unjust case . In one instance when a mistake on the part of his own client was discovered, he insisted on confessing it but nevertheless won his case. When he returned to Bombay he found that his farm group was in the village of Tagore. The Indians objected to Gandhi's willingness to compromise; on landing in Bombay he changed his clothes to the Indian shirt and dhoti, and traveled third class. Officals looked upon third class passengers not as fellow men but as so many sheep , talked to them contemptiously and brooked no reply or argument. Among the farm group he advocated and practised self help with teachers and students . He continued to have difficulty as third calss passenger and complained about it.

Gokhale died and his companions were divided as to admiting Gandhi . Finally he did not become formerly a member but worked with them without bitterness . On the boat to Rangoon, in Burma he was a deck passenger and appealed against the stink and filth . In 1915 he attended the Kumbha fair, held every 12 years . The journey there from Calcutta was trying. Seventeen hundred thousand people were on this pilgrimage. They could not all be hypocrits or merely sight-seers. Countless numbers among them must have gone there to earn merit and for self purification . It is difficult, if not impossible to say to what extent this kind of faith uplifts the soul.

Gandhi was not sure whether it was right or wrong to visit Hardvar and therefore pledged himself in penance while in India never to take more than five articles of food/in 24 hours, and never eat after dark. He had an argument with the priest about certain external symbols of Hinduism, like the sacred thread which he did not wear . He refused to wear the threat but again grew the lock of hair which was in question. He founded a non-cooperative colony in 1915 at Ahmedabad, and met there the problem of untouchability , admiting one untouchable family .

All had their meals in a common kitchen and lived as one family . This raised a storm, but funds came in . In 1916 came the effort to do away with the tax on indentured emigrants from Natal. Evantual abolition was promised. Gandhi started agitation for immediate abolition, he held large meeting all over India with secret service men following him, the third class travel was trying; fianlly the agitation won and indentured emigration from India was stopped. In 1917 came the fight on the Indigo plantations. It was a long fight and when Gandhi was ordered out of the province he refused to go.

23-38-25

(copy 505,506)

The case was eventually withdrawn and this was the first great ~~xi~~ victory for civil disobedience; Gandhi refused to take any pay for his services and the small expenses were contributed. Crowds of peasants proceeded to make complaints . Gandhi tried to win the planters over by pleading with them and by gentleness, he saw the need of village and started primary schools. They lasted for a time but finally were given up. His hope of putting this constructive work on a permanent footing was not fulfilled. Then came the quention of the position of labor in Ahmedabad , especially in the mills owned by Indians. Gandhi advised the laborers ~~Indians~~ to go on strike without violence without molesting scabs, without depending on alms .

Meantime he tells of refusal to kill snakes in his rural colony, for 25 years in a ~~x~~ fairly regular practice of not killing, there was complete

immunity form harm. A weaving shed was begun in the colony,the mill hands kept their strike for two weeks with restraint and monster daily meetings . Then they began to show signs of flagging. Gandhi met it by declaring a fast unless the strikers should rally again I will not touch any food. He tried to set the mill-owners at ease, saying there was not any necessity for them to withdraw from thier positions: The fast was not against them . Finally an atmosphere of good will was created and a settlement was reached after a 21 days strike. (copy page 530) After the strike of the mill hands came the Kheda struggle . This was on account of a famine and a demand for suspension of taxes could the people could recover.

23-32-26

The Governor would not listen and the people led by Gandhi delcared that they would not pay the government the full or remaining revenue for the year. And that the government could take whatever legal steps they wished . The government hesitated and then began to use coercion and began to seize the cattle and other movables. The final result was a compromise where the poorer people were going to be given immunity and the richer ones made to pay. It turned out however, that very few of the peasants were judged to be poor ; so that while a triumph of non-violent cooperation was celebrated it was not a complete triumph.

The home rule agitation touched the peasants but the Kheda campaign compelled the educated public workers to establish contact with the actual life of the peasant. A war conference was called at Delhi. Leaders of Mohammedanists were not invited and Gandhi protested beginning his fight to unite Mohammedans and Hindus . There were other difficulties with regard to the secret treaties between England and Italy, but finally Gandhi took part in the conference , supported the resolution on recrituing; but he found that the people were unwilling to cooperate and would not even furnish carts, so that the leaders of the campaign had to walk 20 miles a day often . They

said you are a votery of non-violence, how could you ask us to take up arms? (copy 547) (copy 549)

Gandhi nearly ruined his health during the recruiting campaign and again had controversy concerning (?) food. While he was sick the war ended and the recruiting stopped to his great relief . At the beginning of the protest against the Rowlatt bills Gandhi succumbed to the physician and took goats' milk. I adhered to the letter of my vow and sacrificed its spirit.(557)

He called a meeting with regard to the Rowlatt bills and began agitation. He addressed letters to the Viceroy . It was difficult to know how to offer civil disobedience against the Rowlatt bill when it was finally passed, but he finally decided upon a general hartal --that is a day of fasting and praying for 24 hours . It was observed on the 6th of April all over India and opposition to the small (?) tax was fixed upon as another weapon . Prohibited literature was sold, Gandhi was arrested, but there was riots and disturbances and marshal law, finally finding that the laborers would not keep the peace Gandhi suspended non-violence and cooperation,(copy 574,575,) (copy 589, 599, 607,615,616)

23-82-7

Hughes, Langston and Arna Bontemps, eds.

The Poetry of the Negro. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday + Co., 1949.

Review: Liberty Book News, New York, March 1949

January 21, 1949

Mailed to Liberty Book Club

Poets are the makers of language. Language is a main part of culture. Poets then are the ones who try, often unsuccessfully to voice the inner life of a group, a nation or an age, and make clear the reality behind the everyday, unlovely truth. It is not easy to do this; but once done successfully in any age or situation, the result is deathless. The millions of Africans transported to the Americas in the 15th, 16th 17th and especially the 18th centuries, became the foundation of a world revolution that differentiates the modern from all previous worlds. The full expression of their experience would be an extraordinary and revealing feat of literature. The suffering, the illiteracy, the enforced silence, has made this almost impossible.

35 - 3 - 262

But one hundred Negroes writing over the lapse of two hundred years have tried to make this tragedy and comedy understandable. This task has been difficult. Many Americans of education are scarcely aware of these attempts; and a history of American lietrature might, and often does ignore them. But the Liberty Book Club knows their meaning and recognizes its value. It has therefore chosen "The Poetry of the Negro," a definitive anthology edited by Langston Hughes and Arna Bontemps as its February choice. I think the choice was a happy one.

There are in these pages, some poems of which no man of culture in the 20th century can be ignorant: "O black and unknown bards;" Little brown baby"; "Song of the Son"; "I too sing America"; "Yet do I marvel"; and the bitter cry: "If we must die!" There are others that strike not so much with beauty as with truth; there is the elaborated hidden thought; the gay dance of words to placate the mighty; and the head turned away as if to avoid the too obvious. There are messages from the Caribbean and South America; and a few voices from those white folk who looked on and understood: Walt Whitman; William Blake, William Wordsworth and

Elizabeth Barret Browning. All this makes a good book.

The value of an anthology like this lies in its success in extracting from a wide volume of writing, the significant voices and phrases which carry a real message. Not all rhyme is poetry, nor all short lines and turgent adjectives. But when in any literature there can be found depth of feeling and revelation of souls in strife, revolt or laughter, there is something to be preserved and made part of the nations message to man. Despite long effort to ignore the words of American Negroes and discount their experience, no honest heart can read this anthology and deny that this is an integral part of American life which can never be forgotten nor left to die. This book should be widely read.

35-3-263

Linton, Ralph, ed. Most of the World: The Peoples of Africa, Latin America, and the East Today. N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1949.

Review: Science and Society, Vol. 13, No. 4, Fall 1949, pp. 365-368.

W. E. B. Book Reviews
1949

Ralph Lincoln, Editor, MOST OF THE WORLD: The Peoples of Africa, Latin America and the East today. New York University Press, 1949, $5.50 917 pages.

35-3-257

This is a large book, almost too large for convenient handling or reading but bears upon a subject which has a certain unity and ought to be treated; perhaps today it is best to attempt it in one volume.

The subject is the plight of those peoples who are not recognized as part of European civilization. These peoples include the whole of Africa; the so-called Middle East; India and China and Japan; South America, although, the southern part has been omitted. Central America and Mexico and logically the West Indies, but they are not included for reasons not disclosed.

The primary difficulty in a treatise of this sort, written by fifteen different scholars, is to get a factual and sympathetic statement concerning these different areas, and at the same time scholarly and objective conclusions.

The results of the effort in this case have not been uniformly happy. It goes without saying that an American scholar has certain inborn prejudices concerning South America, Asia and Africa which make it difficult for him to be fair or to have the basic knowledge to interpret a different culture.

Raymond Kennedy seems to have done this successfully in the chapter on Southeast Asia and Indonesia. But on the other hand, Meyerhoff, who surveys the natural resources of the world, cannot escapt the conviction that the value of a land and people consists mainly in what they can export to Europe; and too, he has a touch of the current Red scare. John Gillen in Mestizo America aboids the Negro problem. To him, the problem of South America is chiefly that of Indians and whites; and although he mentions the Negro here and there, he does not really face that problem. That is the reason, perhaps that the Caribbean area is omitted since the Negro

35-3-258

cannot be ignored there.

The study of Brazil by Charles Wagley is also a study of an outsider but one who evidently has broad knowledge of his subject and a more thoroughgoing understanding ans sympathy with the problems of Brazil. He does not hesitate to face and discuss the Negro problem. It is as good a st dy as an outsider could have made and probably more intelligible to Americans than a Brazilian might have made.

On the other hand, the study of China by a Chinese scholar, L. K, Hfu, is not at all satisfactory to the reader. It is curiously confusing in detail and largely ign res the current revol tion of the Communists. Perhaps it was written a little too early to record an unexpected Communists' success.

The study of Race Relations and policies in Southern and Eastern Africa by H. J. Simmons, a white South African, is nothing less than a disaster. He is in no sense a scholar and despite evident effort cannot put himself in the position of a Negro or even of a European who believes in world democracy. His thesis is that the white settlers and their future prospects are of paramount importance to the natives, notwithstanding the fact that these natives outnumber the whites five or six to one. He assumes that white domination is certain to continue and therefore inevitable race discrimination. He finally lands himself into this curious contradiction: there are limits to the extent to which mass depression of the Africans can be migigated by a transfer of income from the privileged whites; therefore the social service needed by the Negroes can only be obtained if the structure of society is modified so as to allow the non-European to develop and apply his abilities; which the whites will not allow. There are African scholars in South Africa and white scholars with more courage than this author. It is too bad that their abilities were not used.

35-3-259

William R. Bascom treats West and Central Africa. He is an American who has spent four years off and on in Africa, and thereby has imbibed the British attitude; so that he says, quite naively, that the section on West and Central Africa was mimeographed by the author and forwarded "to the governments concerned for comment." But the comment of black folk was not asked. In West and Central Africa there are a considerable number of Negro scholars and college trained men, some from the best English and American universities. Apparently thier knowledge has not been called for, and certainly the bibliography shows little use of their work. This is unfortunate since this part of Africa is the yeast which may revivify the black continent.

The author repeats the legend of Liberia being ruled by American Negroes, which is not true; the rulers of Liberia today without exception are all of native descent and while some of them have, some half dozen generations back blood of immigrants who came from America in the early 19th century, all of these have for generations inter-married with the native stock and themselves in many cases, were not American Negroes of long settlement. What you have in Liberia is the over-lordship of a small educated and well-to-do portion of the population; but that group is not predominently American.

North Africa, by Carlton S. Coon, is not a very successful study, nor does Mr. Coon seem to know his subjects well enough to interpret at once Morocco, Algeria, Tunesia and Libya to the public. He leaves out the large Negro infiltration into North Africa almost entirely, making practically no mention of it even in Morocco. He writes as a traveler and observer rather than as a scholar who knows the cultural background and history.

The story of the Middle East is pieced together by two American scholars

35-3-260

with considerable skill. One gets an unusually good picture of the diversity of the interests and cultures here, and that makes the omission of a map the more inexplicible. The schematic drawings are good but could be better understood with a map. Here again, however, the Negro element in Egypt and Arabia is played down or omitted and this cannot be done if one is to understand the cultural inter-action between Africa and the East. One would never remember from this treatment that black Sultans sat on the throne of Egypt between the day of the Crusades and the Suez Canal.

The chapter on India and Pakistan is well done by American scholars long resident in the East and who base their study upon a wide use of Indian scholarship. It is one of the best statements of the problems of India extant.

The section on Japan and the Japanese is not satisfactory and does not impress one as a thoroughgoing study of the objects and cultural status of the Japanese in the later 19th and early 20th centuries. It does have a very good description of their everyday life.

On the whole then, here is a timely book which students of current world problems and especially of democracy should read. The latest figures concerning production, education, and social services can be found here better given that in most other available books. Then too, these problems of these peoples outside of the main current of civilization are here emphasized in the way necessary for our understanding. There is much to criticize in the various chapters but also much to praise. It is on the cultural side--that is those imponderable things, difficult to count, concerning attitude toward life, the effect of suppression and insult, the meaning of being outside the world and looked upon as valuable only for a few peoples of the European West, in this matter the book leaves much to be desired.

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Perhaps it is a counsel of perfection to think that predominently American scholarship could accomplish such a thing for the world. What is needed is the use of native scholarship and at the same time the rare ability of a native to make himself clear to an American audience.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Kluckhohn, Clyde. Mirror for Man: The Relation of Anthropology to Modern Life. N.Y.: Whittlesey House, 1949.

Review: Sent to Johannesburg Star but not published?

c. 1949

Mailed to Miss Ann Goodman of THE STAR
January 17, 1949

Mirror for Man

The Relation of Anthropology to Modern Life

By

Clyde Kluckhohn. Whittlesey House, 1949 313 pp.

This is a book of three hundred pages, written interestingly for the layman rather than for professionals. It is composed of ten chapters, and treats customs, excavation, physical measurement, the conception of race, the place of language in understanding individuals, and the general work of the anthropologist in our own nation and in the world.

35 - 3 - 01

The author's conception of the field of anthropology is admittedly broad, and sociologists, psychologists, historians, economists and political scientists would probably find difficulty in agreeing with his scope and definition; but as he himself says, this is comparatively of minor importance and a problem to be settled in the future rather than now.

Today it is of interest to remember that human customs are important. They indicate a way in which a group of people deal with life and that way is their "culture." So that culture is a way of knowledge stored up for future use and Americans are at a period in their history when, faced with the facts of cultural differences, they are having difficulty in assimilating this knowledge.

Archeology and the study of pre-historic man lead us through various physical measurements to considering heredity and interpreting human evolution which as the author emphasizes cannot be interpreted today solely in terms of the survival of the fittest.

The fifth chapter will be of interest to most Americans. The number of races has been variously estimated from two to two hundred, and as the author says there is no field of science where misunderstandings among

educated people are so flagrant and so serious. Some differences among men, particularly differences in skin color, hair form and nose shape, lead to differences of treatment and of estimate; this fact is to be noticed especially in the 19th century; it did not play so great a part earlier. Why is this?

35-3-02

The authors' explanation is not altogether convincing. He attributes the interest in racial differences to the advance and popularity of biological science and emphasizes the fact that it is not only biological heredity but social conditions that determines the personality and individuality of human beings; and because an individual inherits biologically it does not mean that the whole group to which we belong inherits in the same way. As he says, there is no Aryan race; there are Aryan languages. There is no Italian race, there is an Italian nation. There is no Jewish race, there is a Jewish religion and Jewish culture. All human populations are too mixed and variable to be grouped definitely into biological races. Nevertheless there are different stocks of human beings as shown by physical differences, although these differences do not prove that the variants also share mental and emotional capacities. One anthropologist says that less than one per cent of the total number of genes is involved in the differenciation between the two distant races. But in this explanation of the influence of biological science in race controversy, as it seems to me, the author leaves out the economic influences; he is rather critical of Marxian philosophy.

To my mind, nothing substanciates Marx better than the influence of economics on race theory. It was the African slave trade and the vast industry and economy built upon it through slavery in America that formed the economic basis of race difference. Income depended on having the Negro inferior. Religion, science and art bowed to income. The world changed from regarding Negroes as heathens to regarding a black skin as sufficient

35-3-03

reason for slavery. On this the cotton kingdom was built and from the cotton kingdom came capitalism and from capitalism the fixed inferiority of Negroes. The American Civil War made the first attack on this concept. Failure to realize this is a serious defect of this otherwise excellent book.

In the final chapters the author touches the work of anthropologists and should add sociologists and psychologists, as engineers in industry and directors of industrial policies. As men of all nations struggle to adjust themselves to the new demands of the international situation, they steadily modify their conceptions of themselves and of others; slowly but surely a new social order and new personalities will emerge from the process. For American culture the author has hopes. "It will be the fault not of Angels, but of ourselves if our problems are not for a large part resolved, given our biological and material wealth and our adapted genius." And finally looking at the world he says, "human life should remain as a home of many rooms; but the world with all its variousness can still be one in its allegiance to the elementary common purposes shared by all people."

W. E. B. Du Bois

Foner, Philip S., ed. The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass. Vols. I and II. N.Y.: International Pub., 1950.

Review: "A People's Leader", Masses & Mainstream, Vol. 3, May 1950, pp. 86-89.

Del Bois Book Review

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS

BY

PHILIP S. FONER

Volume I, Early Years

Volume II, Pre-Civil War Decade--1850-1860

International Publishers, $4.50 per volume

Philip Foner's "Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass", puts all America under deep obligations. The first two volumes reveal a scholarly, painstaking work, which is in happy contrast to the neglect of Douglass by American historians. Foner says in the preface to his first volume:

insert

James Ford Rhodes' HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES devotes seven volumes to the period 1850-1870. Yet Rhodes leaves even the careful student with the impression that Douglass was just another of the many minor figures with which this exhaustive work is filled. John B. McMaster treats Douglass even more casually in the ten volumes of his, HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, referring to him only once briefly and then not even taking the trouble to spell his name correctly. Edward Channing's six volumes had little room for mention and none for interpretation of Douglass' role. Professor Dwight L. Dumond of the University of Michigan, in his book, THE ANTI-SLAVERY ORIGINS OF THE CIVIL WAR, finds space to present obscure white Abolitionists like Augustus Wattles and Calvin Waterbury, but Douglass is not so much as mentioned.

It has been difficult for America to see Frederick Douglass in his correct prospective: he was a Negro and therefore set in a special category; he was certainly an unusual Negro, but how was one to compare him with white folk? There were no accepted standards of comparison. Of course his

49-32-8

remarkable gift of speech brought from the first enthusiastic prase. An editor describing a Providence, Rhode Island, meeting in 1841, said:

inset

The fugitive Douglass was up when we entered. This is an extraordinary man. He was cut out for a hero. In a rising for Liberty he would have been a Toussaint or a Hamilton. He has the 'heart to conceive, the head to contrive, and the hand to execute!' A commanding person over six feet, we should say, in height, and of most many proportions. His head would strike a phrenologist amid a sea of them in Exeter Hall, and his voice would ring like a trumpet in the field. Let the South congratulate herself that he is a fugitive. It would not have been safe for her if he had remained about the plantation a year or two longer...As a speaker he has few equals. It is not declamation--but oratory power of debate. He has wit, argument, sarcasm, pathos--all that first rate men show in their master efforts. His voice is highly melodious and rich, and his enunciation quite elegant, and yet he has been but two or three years out of the house of bondage.

The recognition of his powers of oratory continued, especially in Ireland, Scotland and England. But oratory is in a sense superficial; what was the man beneath. Foner traces his intellectual growth, with perhaps not enough emphasis on the continuous study that gave Douglass more than a college training in seven years from his learning to read. The European trip broadened and matured him. He was glad to see the birthplace of Robert Burns:

inset

But never could I have had the opinion of the man or his genius, which I now entertain, without my present knowledge of the country, to which he belonged--the times in which he lived, and the broad Scotch tongue in which he wrote.

He was revolted by the misery of the Irish:

inset

I spent nearly six weeks in Doblin, and the scenes I there witnessed were such as to make me "blush, and hang my head to think myself a man." I speak truly when I say, I dreaded to go out of the house. The streets were almost literally alive with beggars, displaying the greatest wretchedness--some of them mere stumps of men, without feet, without legs, without hands, without arms--and others still more horribly deformed.

Soon he was developing to a man who could see the evils of the world and not simply the plight of his own people:

inset

...though I am more closely connected and identified with one class of outraged, oppressed and enslaved people, I cannot allow myself to be insensible to the wrongs and sufferings of any part of the great family of man. I am not only an American slave, but a man, and as such, am bound to use my powers for the welfare of the whole human brotherhood.

Particularly was his growth helped by meeting men and being treated as an equal. He talked and ate with some of the great figures of his day and returned to the United States, not a Negro, but a world citizen.

Douglass' return ~~to the United States~~ emphasised this anomaly in his independence of thought and action. It was difficult for his former associates in the Abolition cause to accept their adopted freedman as a fellow travellor with his own ideas of program. In Foner's volumes one can follow the details of his life and compare them with what he was thinking and saying. ~~Foner has followed out~~ many points in Douglass' life hitherto not clear ~~and then~~ are shown, his own thought in letters and editorials. Those of us who have always thought of Douglass principly as a speaker will be amazed at the virility and clarity of his writing.

49-32-10

Frederick Douglass' editorials, speeches, and letters in the ten-year period covered by this volume are among the most penetrating and eloquent of any ~~A~~merican. They stamp him as one of the greatest minds of his time, a master strategist and tactician, and a people's leader of superb statesmanship. Here is the mature Douglass, seasoned in ten years of activity in the two-front struggle against slavery in the South and against every form of prejudice and discrimination in the ~~N~~orth.

He grew as he worked and wrote: from the lecture platform he went into the editor's chair; he assumed more and more leadership of the Free Negroes, a difficult and intelligent group. From his outlook as an abolitionist he wrote:

> Standing as we do upon the watch-tower of human freedom, we can not be deterred from an expression of our approbation of any movement, however humble, to improve and elevate the character of any members of the human family.

He was active in the crusade against alcohol; he announced himself a Chartist and endorsed the land reform momement, declaring that "the welfare of the world demands the abrogation of monopolis." "What justice is there," he asked, "in the general Government giving away, as it does, the millions upon millions of acres of public lands, to aid soulless railroad corporations to get rich?"

He opposed capital punichment and was a pioneer for Women's Rights and dared attend that conference at Seneca Falls in 1848 with Lucretia Mott. But above all he ever continued the foe of slavery, ~~but~~ And always, ~~wise~~ too clearer and clearer as to the course of battle against it:

> This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, and it may be both moral and physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what any pwople will quietly submit to and you have found out the exact measure of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them, and these will continue till they are resisted with either words or blows, or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress.

This line of thinking brought his break with Garrison which Foner follows with careful analysis. Douglass changed gradually from moral suasion to fighting and scared Boston in 1849 when he said: "I should welcome the intelligence tomorrow, should it come, that the slaves had risen in the South, and that the sable arms which had been engaged in beautifying and adorning the South, were engaged in spreading death and devastation."

Yet it was Garrison who was intransigeant: Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote to Garrison=Concerning Douglass':

> I was much gratified with the growth and development both of his mind and heart. I am satisfied that his change of sentiments was not a mere political one but a genuine growth of his own conviction. A vigorous reflective mind like his cast among those holding new sentiments is naturally led to modified views.

Garrison was not moved and hit distinctly below the belt; but Douglass moved on into politics; into both the Free Soil and Liberty Parties and finally with some reluctance, voted with the Republicans. He listened sympathetically to John Brown and wrote:

> To have been acquainted with John Brown, shared his counsels, enjoyed his confidence, and sympathized with the great objects of his

life and death, I esteem as among the highest privileges of my life. And so he moved into the great decade of the Civil War where Foner's third volume will follow him. These first two volumes are clear, exhausive and convincing. The figure of a great man rises from them.

Sachs, E. S. *The Choice Before South Africa.* N.Y.: Philosophical Library, 1952.

Review: *Science and Society*, Vol. 17, No. 3, Summer 1953, pp. 269-270.

[Rough draft]

The Choice Before South Africa, by E.S. Sachs, New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. $5.75. pp. ix, 220.

This book today has peculiar value because it is written by a labor leader of Boer descent who has been persecuted for his leadership and particularly for his liberalism toward the native workers. He says frankly:

"South Africa will either carry through a democratic revolution, or within a generation it will become a nation of poor whites and starving blacks. It is clear that oppressed colonial people must be accorded full democratic rights, or they will take them by force....

"The whole African Continent is awakening. In the East, West, South and in Central Africa we are witnessing events which a few years ago seemed inconceivable."

This does not mean that Mr. Sachs is not loyal to his country and to the Africaans group; but as a labor leader he sees as they do not the utter impossibility of the present policy led by Malan.

The book has a preface by Tom Driberg, Member of the Labor minority in the present British parliament, and an introduction which is a sort of apologia for Sach's career. It points out, "While the civilised world is trying to formulate a 'Charter of Human Rights' the Nationalist Government has imposed upon the people of South Africa a 'Charter of Inhuman Wrongs', and explains that normally Sachs has devoted his time and energy to the needs of 20,000 garment workers, the trade union of which he is secretary, and to helping as he can other trade unions, and the trade union movement as a whole. He has had to resist all sorts of attacks by the present government against his union and against him. Their favorite method is to call him a "Communist" and arrest him on all sorts of charges; but he insists: "I write because I love South Africa and all her people, and because I wish to see South Africa

46-11-104

a great nation."

The book is divided into three parts: the first explains historically the rise of Africaans nationalism; the second goes into the present economic life; and the third outlines the relation of trade unions and the labor movement to the government. He explains that in South Africa there is a pyramid of racial hatred which is terrifying. "Almost everyone hates and is hated in turn. Not only is there deep-rooted enmity between English and Afrikanders, between Europeans and non-Europeans, but even among the non-Europeans themselves there is much racial discord, the Colored people looking down upon the Bantu and many of the Bantu looking with contempt upon the Colored people. Many Indians, themselves subject to most terrible persecution, regard the other non-Europeans as inferiors, while some Colored and Bantu people consider the Indians as aliens."

He insists that the English-Boer Wars were "a great outrage in human history", and outlines the attempted revolution of the Boers against the British Empire in 1914. The rise of the Nationalist Party and the doctrine of race segregation followed, and a long history of outrages against the native workers. He declares that the Nationalist government has destroyed all safety valves and explosion is inevitable. The attempt of the Nationalist Party is to impute all difficulties to one set of problems which they cover with the slogan "Kaffir-coolie-Communist".

He gives credit to many South African liberals but declares that they have not tried to establish close contact with the trade unions and other worker's organizations. He especially criticises the role of the church and the extraordinary reaction of the Dutch church.

Exploiting the wave of anti-Communism which is sweeping the world,

291-11-47

South Africa passed an Act which includes a definition of "Communist" wide enough to embrace any liberal who advocates racial tolerance, and any trade unionist who urges higher wages for the workers.

The great injustice in South Africa lies in depriving the native of his land and restricting him in such a way that he must work for the white farmers at low wages; or if he goes to the city and works in manufacturing he must suffer discrimination in housing, wages and treatment.

In the trade union movement Sachs contends that there has not been that complete exclusion of colored and native workers by the white trade unionists that the world has been given to believe. While most of the unions do exclude non-Europeans, nevertheless there has been some sympathy and cooperation, and despite the law some of the unions have colored members. He goes over the disheartening history of strikes on the part of the non-Europeans, and points out that the methods used by the Nazis in Germany were identical in every respect to those used by enemies of trade unions in South Africa.

Many times Mr. Sachs has been arrested and accused, and many times has secured damages for libel. A Commission of Inquiry wasted over $15,000 of his union's money in legal costs and finally found Sachs guilty because he "had on a certain occasion at a conference invited the delegates who were of different races to his home where he entertained them together."

The present Nationalist Party which is ruling South Africa did not go into office by a majority of votes, but because the country was gerrymandered in favor of the farmers as against the city dwellers. Thus they gained control by a vote of 442,000 against an opposition of over 515,000.

He says, finally, "We oppress the non-European people, humiliate and dispossess them, and then become terrified of the 'black menace'. Anyone who is not a fool or a political knave and is possessed of ordinary intelligence

40-11-109

will readily grasp the simple truth that the way to remove the fear of the 'black menace' is to stop oppressing and humiliating the non-European people. The millions of non-Europeans do not want to dominate the Europeans. They want land, education, work, decent living standards, and democratic rights for themselves. In the state of ignorance and confusion which prevails, most Europeans erroneously maintain that if the Natives are granted democratic rights and since the Native people are a majority, they will behave towards the Europeans as the Europeans behave towards them."

W.E.B. Du Bois January 1953

611-11-24

The Choice Before South Africa, by E. S. Sachs, New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. $5.75. pp. ix, 220.

This book today has peculiar value because it is written by a labor leader of Boer descent who has been persecuted for his leadership and particularly for his liberalism toward the native workers. He says frankly,

"South Africa will either carry through a democratic revolution, or within a generation it will become a nation of poor whites and starving blacks. It is clear that oppressed colonial people must be accorded full democratic rights, or they will take them by force... Once people are forced into the position of having to fight for democratic rights, those who sit in the saddle of reaction find themselves in an extremely uncomfortable position...

"The whole African Continent is awakening. In the East, West, South and in Central Africa we are witnessing events which a few years ago seemed inconceivable."

This does not mean that Mr. Sachs is not loyal to his ~~kixkxy~~ country and to the Afric~~xxx~~ AANS group, but as a labor leader he sees as they do not the utter impossibility of the present policy led by Malan.

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but he insists!

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The book is divided into three parts: the first explains the rise of Afrikaans nationalism historically; the second goes into the present economic life; and the third specifically outlines the relation of the trade unions and the labor movement to the government. He explains that in South Africa there is a pyramid of racial hatred which is terrifying. "Almost everyone hates and is hated in turn. Not only is there deep-rooted enmity between English and Afrikaners, between Europeans and and non-Europeans, but even among the non-Europeans themselves there is much racial discord, the Coloured people looking down upon the Bantu and many of the Bantu looking with contempt upon the Colored people. Many Indians, themselves subject to most terrible persecution, regard the other non-Europeans as inferiors, while some Coloured and Bantu people consider the Indians as aliens."

36-11-48

He insists that the English-Boer Wars were [illegible] and "a great outrage in human history", and outlines the attempted revolution of the Boers against the British Empire in 1914, and then outlines the rise of the Nationalist Party and the doctrine of race segregation and blood and the long history of outrages against the native workers. He declares that the Nationalist government has destroyed all safety valves and explosion is inevitable. The attempt of the Nationalist Party to impute all difficulties to one set of problems which they cover with the slogan "Kaffir-coolie-Communist"

He gives credit to many South African liberals but declares that they have not tried to establish close contact with the trade unions and other worker's organizations. He especially criticizes the role of the church and the extraordinary reaction of the Dutch church.

Exploiting the wave of anti-Communism which is sweeping the world South Africa passed an Act which includes a definition of Communist wide enough to

embrace any liberal who advocates racial tolerance, and any trade unionist who urges higher wages for the workers.

His outline of the conomic development of the country is revealing, showing the overwhelming majority of 9,045,659 native, colored and Asiatics, of whom 2,372,690 are seeking to exercise absolute rule.

He shows how the mining economy has is gradually yielding to the new industries and that this might revolutionize the country if it were allowed to develop normally.

The great injustice is depriving the native of his land and restricting him in such a way that he must work for the white farmers at low wages, or if he goes to the city and works in manufacturing he must suffer discrimination in housing, wages and treatment.

In the trade union movement Sachs contends that there has not been that complete exclusion of colored and native workers by the white trade unionists that the world has been given to believe. While most of the unions do exclude non-Europeans, nevertheless there has been some sympathy and cooperation and despite the law some of the unions have colored members. He goes over the disheartening history of strikes on the part of the non-Europeans and points out that the methods used by the Nazis in Germany were identical in every respect to those used by enemies of trade unions in South Africa.

Many times Mr. Sachs has been arrested and accused, and many times has secured damages for libel. A Commission of Inquiry wasted over $15,000 of the Union's money in legal costs and finally found Sachs guilty because he "had on a certain occasion at a conference invited the delgates who were of different races to his home where he entertained them together."

~~He shows that~~ The present Nationalist Party which is ruling South Africa did not go into office by the majority of votes but because the country was gerrymandered in favor of the farmers as against the city dwellers. Thus they gained control by a vote of 442,000 against an opposition of 515,000.

He ~~shows~~ says finally, "We oppress the non-European people, humiliate and dispossess them and then become terrified of the 'black menace'. Anyone who is not a fool or a political knave and is possessed of ordinary intelligence will readily grasp the simple truth that the way to remove the fear of the 'black meance' is to stop oppressing and humiliating the non-European people. The millions of non-Europeans do not want to dominate the Europeans. They want land, education, work, decent living standards and democratic rights for themselves. In the state of ignorance and confusion which prevails, most Europeans erroneously maintain that if the Natives are granted democratic rights and since the Native people are a majority, they will behave towards the Europeans as the Europeans behave towards them."

W.E.B. Du Bois January 1953

36-11-86

Taruc, Luis. Born of the People.

N.Y.: International Pub., 1953.

Review: "Of a Man Born of the People", National Guardian, Vol. 5, No. 33, June 8, 1953, p. 6.

May 1953

TARUC OF THE HUKBALAHAPS

by W.E.B. Du Bois

Born of the People. By Luis Taruc. With a Foreword by Paul Robeson. International Publishers, New York, 1953. 286 Pages with glossary and biographical notes.

There is a widely believed legend that the treatment of the peoples of the Phillipines by the United States has been an ideal case of contact between a white industrial nation and a colored colonial people, with philanthropy, missions and education. This autobiography of a Phillipino peasant, Luis Taruc, is bitter proof to the contrary.

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Our own historical annals should have taught us this long ago. The description of the United States as a colonial power of the classic type is not a Russian lie. As early as 1889 our liberal newspaper editor, William Allen White, wrote in his Emporia Gazette: "Only Anglo-Saxons can govern themselves... It is the Anglo-Saxon manifest destiny to go forth as the world conqueror. He will take possession of the islands of the sea - this is what fate holds for the chosen people." Young Senator Beveridge echoed this in his first speech: "The Philippines are ours forever... And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. The Pacific is the ocean of the commerce of the future and most future wars will be conflicts for commerce... We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustees under God, of the civilisation of the world... that power is and will forever be the American Republic..."

Thus we made our debut as Colonial Imperialists, and Taruc tells us to what ends we have come. He is the son of Phillipino peasants, born in Papanga in 1913. He was "born of the people", a serf of the landlord. "Perhaps the biggest fact in my life was the landlord. When I was still

crawling in the dust of the barrio street, I remember the landlords coming into the barrio, shouting 'Hoy, Punetal (Hey, you so-and-so) and making the peasants run to carry out their demands. Our people would have to catch the fattest hen, get milk and eggs, and bring the biggest fish to the landlord. If they delayed, or perhaps did not do things to the landlord's liking, they were fined, or given extra work. In an extreme case they might be evicted. And where would they go for justice? The landlord owned the barrio. He was the justice, too."

His grandfathers had owned land but the landgrabbers got it. His father's only defense was "his goodness". He was "so soft-spoken, so humble, so kind," who would never think of harming anyone. Luis grew up resentful. "I saw that you need more than a good heart, that you need a good head, if you must fight for your rights. I determined to study, to gain knowledge, to know how to fight if I had to." His schooling was a grim fight with starvation, but he finished High School in 1932, in the midst of depression, with hunger strikes. He tried to enter the law school at the University of Manila, and to support himself he dug ditches until his strength failed. He returned to his peasant home to work as a tailor. When the Americans had come to oust the Spaniards, all had hoped for democracy and land reform. But laborers were still getting five cents a day, and the American Sugar Trust was in the saddle.

Taruc dreamed of becoming Robin Hood. He heard of Socialism and Communism and listened to their speakers. When he himself began to speak publicly he found himself talking Socialism before he quite knew what it meant. Strikes and disorder spread. "The tide that reached Pampanga was now sweeping the whole world. It was the anti-fascist spirit of the people.

Filipino peasants and workers, as well as the industrial workers of other nations, were awake to the menace of fascism. From our fields we had watched the Spanish people in their heroic single-handed struggle to the death against Hitler, Mussolini and Franco, and the unquenchable struggle of the Chinese people against the Japanese agressors." In December, 1941, when the Japanese attacked, the peasants offered help. "Labor battalions were organized to cooperate with the American and Philippine armies. Casto Alejandrino, the Socialist mayor of Arayat, contacted by the U.S. engineers, promised 5,000 workers in twenty-four hours. The entire number was organised in less than that time." ~~They helped to construct defenses and camouflaged positions from Concepcion to Candaba."~~

The Communist Party, to which Taruc now belonged, asked:
1. National unity for an Anti-Japanese United Front; all able-bodied citizens to fight or work; all the rich to contribute their wealth, and the intellectuals their knowledge; death to traitors, and the establishment of free governments in the liberated areas; the people should be armed; and the Communist Party pledged loyalty to the cause of democracy and to the governments of the Philippines and the United States.

When finally the Americans withdrew there began the long struggle of the Philippine peasants against Japan. This was the birth of what came to be called the Hukbalahap movement. It was not altogether a new thing. The tide of revolution in the Philippine islands goes back a long time, through two hundred recorded uprisings and revolts, sometimes against foreign oppression, sometimes against their own tyrants.

For three long years the struggle kept up, not simply against Japanese but against Philippines who sold out to the enemy and to the landlords;

and above all against American influence and even American troops. For Americans were working in the guerilla movement but they demanded a special place and exceptional treatment. They wanted sugar, milk and chickens. They could not conceive of themselves on a par with the people.

The story of this fight of the Hukbalahaps is a saga of classic proportions, which must be read in Taruc's autobiography to be appreciated. A people's army grew and spread, it fought and failed and fought and was victorious. It saved the Philippines from complete conquest by Japan, and yet when "liberation" came from the returning Americans, Taruc and the guerillas found the Americans suspicious enemies rathern than friends.

"It was in barrio San Jose Matulid, Mexico, Pampanga, that I first saw American soldiers— on January 28. We met them with a large banner inscribed, 'Welcome American Soldiers,' and signed, 'Hukbalahap.' The Americans were young, well-fed in appearance, and very self-confident. They had everything we had dreamed of for the past three years: new, modern guns, inexhaustible ammunition, armored vehicles, medicine, clothing, and supplies. In that barrio, as in every barrio of Central Luzon, the people took them into their homes, fed them, treated them as liberators."

Gradually the mask was thrown aside. The American army did not propose to encourage Philippine rebellion against authority. They did not wish to furnish the guerillas arms, or let them retain those which they were using. When the first set conference came they gave Taruc and his fellow fighters "a very cool reception. The first thing they said was that they didn't like 'civilians with guns.'" Taruc adds, "All the way back to San Fernando I thought about the years of struggle, the lives spent, the suffering, to obtain and to use those guns against the enemy of the Americans as well as of the Filipinos."

"Our disappointment on that occasion, deep as it was, did not prepare us for the horror, the terror, and the persecution that was to follow." We trusted the Americans, although many of their representatives had given us good reason not to. In our united front frame of mind, we thought of them as allies in a war against a fascist enemy. We had not even considered that our allies themselves would turn to using fascist methods.

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"On February 5, our squadrons in Manila, where the battle was still at its height, were suddenly ordered disarmed by the American army. Astonished, our comrades refused. Instead they packed up and started back to Luzon. Just beyond the city our squadrons were halted and disarmed at the point of guns by American MP's under the personal authority of Colonel Eaton, whom I had met and spoken to only a few days before in Calasiao. Two squadrons were disarmed in Obando and another at Meycauayan. Our comrades were stunned. Some of the GI's with whom they had fought side by side into Manila were present and cried when they witnessed what was happening; others gripped our comrades' hands and said it was all a mistake, the arms were sure to be returned in a couple of days."

Instead of that, 109 members of one squadron were forced to dig their graves and then shot and clubbed to death.

The Philippines were then finally re-organized under Roxas, and Philippine independence proclaimed July 4th, 1946. Reaction had a free hand, and a pacification campaign was started, which meant that the Hukbalahaps were now the hunted bandits. All sorts of charges were made against them, and on testimony of the landlords the jails were crowded with these captured fighters.

Roxas tried to make compromise with Taruc, who was offered a seat in Congress and many personal opportunities for gain. These he refused. There followed a campaign of suppression, of persecution, starting with Roxas and continuing with his successor, Quirino. "The Spanish execution squads, the butcheries carried out by the American army when it crushed the first Philippine Republic, even the terrors of the Japanese, were all exceeded by the orgy of killing, torture, burning and looting that was let loose upon Central Luon. It will remain forever an ugly stain upon our nation. In every town the jails overflowed with arrested peasants. Zoning was carried out in many barrios, and everyone suspected of being an active Huk or PKM was dragged off to the MP prisons, beaten and tortured."

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Roxas paid his debt to the Americans by accepting the Bell Act, which allowed American goods of any kind and in any quantity to enter the Philippines free, while only a few Philippine raw materials under quota could be sent to the United States. The value of the pesa was fixed to that of the American dollar, andAmerican capitalists had the right to enter the Philippines without restriction to participate in any business including public facilities, on an equal basis with the Philippines, and to exploit natural resources. In addition to this, American military forces were given the right to maintain bases in the country for a period of 99 years. American officers were to train Philippine forces.

Roxas died in 1948 at a United States Army air base, and the Vice President, Quirino, succeeded him. He tried again to compromise with the Hukbalahaps and conferred with Taruc in Manila. Taruc was allowed the seat in Congress to which he had been previously elected, but soon the terror launched by Quirino exceeded that of Roxas, with murder,

torture, rape. So the battle still goes on, and as Taruc says:

"How, then, does American imperialism affect our people? For over half a century the Philippines has become largely the private landed estate of a handful of big businessmen who live ten thousand miles away in the United States. They acquired possession by taking us away from a previous owner, Spain, as the spoils of war in 1898, and they made sure of their possession by using the iron fist in 1899 to crush with blood our revolutionary movement for real independence. Since then, posing as our friends and benefactors, they have robbed and plundered our wealth, and they held back the achievement of our democracy and freedom. When they pretended to give us independence, in 1946, it was only as a smokescreen to hide an even greater domination."

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Despite the American education, one half the Philippines are still illiterate, and large numbers of the rest can hardly read or write. Tuberculosis and beri beri are widespread. The Philippine moves about in an American made world. He grows pineapples and sends it to California to be canned. He grows coconut and then buys toilet soap made in New Jersey out of coconut oil. He uses sugar grown at home and refined in America.

But Taruc and his followers still fight. The last words of his book are:

"The final pages of this book are being written in a very small nipa hut, somewhere on the slope of a mountain above the central plain of the island of Luzon. It is a temporary shelter, newly built, and it may have to be abandoned quickly, perhaps today, perhaps this afternoon. Perhaps even as I sit here writing, an alarm will come. The enemy is not far away.

"Here in this small hut on the side of a mountain, looking out upon the soil that bred me, upon the land of the people of whom I was born, I complete this book, which is more their record than mine. The struggle of which I have written, and to which I have tried to contribute, is still not completed, but it will be, and the people will triumph."

36-11-94

Quarles, Benjamin. The Negro in the Civil War. Boston: Little, Brown + Co., 1953.

Review: Liberty Book News, December 1953.

Du Bois, Oct. 13, 1953
Liberty Book Club

The Negro and the Civil War, by Benjamin Quarles. Little Brown & Co., Boston
379 pgs. $5.

There have been several attempts, most of them right after the Civil War, to tell the story of the Negroes' participation in that war, and its significance. A small book by William Wells Brown in 1867; Joseph T. Wilson's "Black Phalanx" in 1882, and George W. Williams' "History of the Negro Troops" in 1888.

However, this book by Benjamin Quarles is by far the most reliable and well-balanced. Quarles is Professor of History at Dillard University, a colored institution in New Orleans. He notes that a few careful historians have seen the Negro as a figure in the Civil War, but that most such writers have "neglected to approach the period with the Negro in mind. It is my hope to set the record straight."

Quarles has carried out this job with careful and thorough examination of original sources, correcting many false legends but pointing out that in this great struggle a quarter of a million Negroes in the North, trained by their own convention movements and in the Abolition Crusade, drove the nation into a stand against slavery. The 3½ million Southern Negroes became in part laborers and stevedores in the armies, both Confederate and Union; another part carried out a general strike by abandoning the plantations and moving bodily into the Northern armies. The third group became the great mass of laborers, servants and spies who served and guided the Northern armies. The last group formed 1/8 of the Northern army and navy. The increase of military power from 1863 on came solely from Negro volunteers.

The development of this extraordinary history is fascinating and has been well told. It begins with the tale of that terrible assault on Fort Wagner by raw and untrained Negro troops; and the death and burial of young Colonel Shaw.

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There was at the beginning of the war a curious effort of black men to secure recognition in the Confederate ranks. Some rich free Negroes gave money. Blind Tom gave concerts, and free Negroes of Louisiana actually bore arms. But the South thought it could do without them.

The North tried first to return fugitive slaves. It was Ben Butler who retained them as "contraband war" and as one writer said, "an epigram abolished slavery in the United States." This mass migration of Negro workers "was an exodus whose Moses was multiple" and "like the oncoming of cities."

The story of Lincoln's attitude toward slavery is especially well worked out, and the gradual way in which Negroes got the right to bear arms. During the war more than 200,000 Negro civilians were in the service of Northern armies as laborers, teamsters, cooks, servants and spies. Especially were Negroes called upon, as sickness followed the Federal troops. By February, 1862, more than 60,000 Northern soldiers were sick every day, and the death rate amounted to 27 regiments a year.

As Emancipation loomed, towards the end of the war, Lincoln wanted to colonize the Negroes, but it was a Boston group of Negroes who gave him the answer: "When we want to settle outside the United States we will pay for the territory; when we are ready to leave we will pay for our travel. Just now we do not want to go. If anybody else wants us to go they will have to make us."

The South was furious when Emancipation came. Jefferson Davis said it was "the most execrable measure recorded in the history of guilty man." And they killed the black soldiers they captured, when they could.

By April 26, 1865, there were 166 Negro regiments. Yet for a long time the United States discriminated against the Negroes in pay. The Negro soldiers were often given unserviceable arms, excessive fatigue duty, and poor

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hospitalization. Only 100 Negro officers were commissioned during the war.

At the very last the South, led by General Lee, tried to recruit Negro soldiers on the Confederate side but they were too late.

Intelligent Americans ought to read this careful and restrained revision of the kind of history that has been fed this country for 90 years. It was Woodward in his "Meet General Grant" who said blithely, that American Negro slaves alone in history raised no hand to help their own emancipation.

Perhaps this author is too cautious in trying not to offend the sensibilities of the white south. Perhaps he tries a bit too hard to make his conclusions understatements. Yet this probably is the best if not the only way to get Americans to read the truth.

Nelson, William Howard. Strength
for Struggle. N.Y.: Fleming H. Revell
Press, 1953.

Reviews: Unpublished

STRENGTH FOR STRUGGLE, by William Howard Melish, Minister of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, New York.

This is a book of sermons and as such may repel many Americans. Let us then hasten to say that herein is [redacted] more than preaching. This is the story of the celebrated Melish case known around the world; told not only as an historical record but revealed in the thought and activity and the deep religious faith of the young man who was its central figure.

The main facts of this case include the action of young Melish as an officer of the American-Soviet Friendship Council, and as one who welcomed to his pulpit the Dean of Canterbury. It covers the threshing out of the facts before ecclesiastic and civil courts when a great preacher who served mankind a half century was dismissed because his son advocated Peace with the Soviet Union. It tells of the final determination of this young man to stand his ground and be frightened neither by bishops nor attorneys-general.

In addition to this it shows how a modern Christian church may grow and function as a living social institution; how it may welcome to its pews Negroes, Puerto-Ricans and Jews; how it may serve the young people of the community in their desire for recreation and knowledge; and how it may stand before the nation as a center for world peace instead of war, and freedom of speech instead of fear and coercion.

For this and other reasons every person who wants to realise the inner struggle which is tearing the heart of the world today should read and obtain "Strength for Struggle."

W.E.B. Du Bois
New York, Jan. 20, 1954

Strong, Anna Louise. The Stalin Era.
N.Y.: Mainstream Pub., 1956.

Review: "World Changer", Masses & Mainstream, Vol. 10, No. 1, January 1957, pp. 1-5.

JOSEPH STALIN

By W, E. B. Du Bois

"The Stalin Era," by Anna Louise Strong, just published by Mainstream Publishers, ought to be required reading for all confused and frustrated commentators on socialism in this day, and especially for editors of newspapers. These passages from the foreword deserve committing to memory:

"Tens of millions of people built the world's first socialist state, but he /Stalin/ was the engineer."

"...all the evils endured through the socialist building led by Stalin, whether these came by necessity, error or crime, were far, far less than the evils they suffered by deliberate will of the Western world in the wars of intervention and the Hitler invasion, less even than they suffered through America's delay in the promised 'second front.'"

I stress these passages because they are voiced by one of the few Americans who have the authority to speak. Most current commentators on Communism, Russia, Stalin, and Hungary talk without real knowledge. The New York Times says frankly that we do not know just what has happened in Hungary; yet in editorials and news, it talks definitely and without restraint.

In contrast to this, Anna Louise Strong is an American from birth and tradition, whose father showed her the paths of integrity. She lived in the Soviet Union during most of the Stalin era; she speaks the Russian language, married a Russian citizen, and has visited almost every part of this vast empire and its allied states. She knew Stalin personally and many of his co-workers; she sat in the court-room and heard the celebrated trials of 1936 and listened while the accused confessed.

"Was the story credible? Most of the press outside the U.S.S.R. called it a frame-up. Most people who sat in the court-room, including the foreign

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correspondents, thought the story true."

Miss Strong helped edit an English language newspaper in Moscow; she saw the five-year plans develop; she knew of the Hitler invasion and debacle, at first hand. There is no person better equipped by training and experience to judge the Stalin era than this author. Most modern writers on Russia have been hopelessly prejudiced for or against Russia. Anna Louise Strong had reason for prejudice, for the Soviet Union, after her long services, treated her with crass injustice and abruptly expelled her from the country. But Miss Strong was broader than prejudice. She knew that the builders of this new nation and new economy were neither angels nor devils, but striving people who, despite ages of injustice and oppression, despite the organized and united attacks of the chief civilized nations of the modern world, including the United States, suffered, toiled, and persisted until they built the world's first socialistic state. That many innocent persons, including herself, suffered in this process, was regrettable and even in cases terrible, but the total result was a glorious victory in the uplift of mankind.

Writing then with authority, knowledge, and restraint, this author follows clearly in less than 150 printed pages of simple, concise English, the attempt to establish socialism in one country instead of espousing world revolution. "It was Joseph Stalin who formulated in August, 1924, the idea of building socialism in Russia without any outside help." In this effort Stalin went counter to the thought of the dead Lenin and of the living Trotsky; and even to his own former belief. Russia was a land of ignorant peasants; it had but a small class of trained artisans. Yet this half-educated son of a western Asiatic serf became head of the Russian Communists, despite Lenin's doubts and Trotsky's bitter enmity. He became the leader of a new Russia. "He rose, I think, through two characteristics that all men have who are leaders, and a third characteristic that only the greatest have. He had a deep sense of what

I can only call the 'will of the people'; he had matchless technique in releasing that will in action. Lastly, he had the conviction, and was able to give it to others, that his actions carried mankind forward to a better day." When Anna Louise Strong wanted a better paper to work on her complaint went to Stalin himself.

"I was thunderstruck to find myself at a table with Stalin, Kaganovich and Voroshilov, as well as the persons against whom I complained. The small Politburo, steering-committee for the USSR, was taking up my complaint. I was ashamed.

"From that time, I regarded Stalin as the best committee man I had ever met, a man who could bring diverse views into harmony with a speed amounting to genius, and awaken and encourage the will to act by indicating, out of many views, a correct path."

Miss Strong takes up the first Five-Year Plan, which she saw as it developed in toil, trouble, and repeated failure, until in 1933, Stalin could report that the Soviet Union had become the second industrial nation of the world. This result was accomplished in sacrifice and suffering. "But never before in history was so great an advance so swift. Had the pace been less swift, the Soviet people believed that not only their Socialism would have been postponed but their existence as a nation would have been in danger." Stalin did not pause, but rushed into a second Five-Year Plan, which revolutionized agriculture in Russia. "I saw collectivization break like a storm on the Lower Volga in autumn of 1929. It was a revolution that made deeper changes than did the revolution of 1917, of which it was the ripened fruit.... Kulaks fought the movement bitterly by all means up to arson and murder. The middle peasantry, the real backbone of farming, had been split between hope of becoming kulaks and the wish for machinery from the state. But now that the Five-Year Plan promised tractors, this great mass of peasants began moving by villages, town-

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ships and counties, into the collective farms." By 1935, the new farming had won with crop rotation, irrigation, and vastly increased crops. The peasants learned to read and write. Theywent in for science and art. Farms had their own theaters.

A new people was born; national cultures developed; women emerged from subjection; the power of the church was overthrown; the Stakhanov rivalry in progress of work in factories arose. The youth went east and north to open up the bare provinces. A girl won the world record in parachute jumping and cried: "The sky of our country is the highest sky in the world." In December 1936 a new Constitution was adopted which echoed the words of Stalin: "Neither language nor color of skin nor cultural backwardness nor the stage of political development can justify national and race inequality." Miss Strong quotes Romain Rolland, who "spoke from the placid Lake of Geneva: 'This gives life to the great slogans that until now were but dreams of mankind -- liberty, equality, fraternity.'"

Then came reaction; Miss Strong calls the excesses of 1936 to 1937 "The Great Madness." She says: "I do not think anyone anywhere knows the full story of the excesses that occurred in the USSR in 1936-38, or can yet assess properly the blame." The enemies of socialism called this a failure of the Communist effort. Khruschchev laid the blame on personal dictatorship, but Miss Strong regards it as only the Russian phase of a world-wide sickness: the Spanish war; the capitalist depression; the Hitler "Fifth Column"; Chamberlain and Daladier; American Big Business selling scrap iron to Japan; Quislings and Lavals -- the cult of "subversion." Russia had suffered and was afraid. From 1918 to 1922, she had been repelling the attacks of foreign nations and ferreting out her own traitors. In her first Five-Year Plan she met sabotage among foreign merchants and Russian workers; coal mines were wrecked; machines deliberately ruined; but the Soviets saw the great harvests of 1933 and were confident.

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Then in 1934, Kirov, a high Communist official and close friend of Stalin, was murdered by a Communist. Investigation involved a number of Communist leaders; agents and plotters from neighboring states were involved. "A sense of insecurity spread among the Soviet people, replacing that exultant sense of progress they had felt in 1934. It was not due alone, and not even primarily, to personal fear of arrest or to concern for friends. It was due to the knowledge that the enemy had penetrated high into the citadel of leadership, that nobody knew who was loyal." Perhaps the last word on this era was written by Howard K. Smith, who, as the Second World War opened, said: "Had Russia not liquidated a few thousand bureaucrats and officers, there is little doubt that the Red Army would have collapsed in two months."

The author's story of the Soviet Union and the Second World War is gripping. Hitler turned on the state headed by Stalin "the mightiest assault in human history." Nine million men fought from Murmansk to Odessa. Europe and America predicted that the Soviet Union would collapse within a month. Cynics like Harry Truman hoped both Nazis and Bolsheviks would be killed off. Churchill and Roosevelt held off the Second Front, the allied attack on the German rear, for three awful years until Stalingrad heralded Russian victory. Stalin saved Europe and turned to join hands of friendship and alliance with his tardy allies. The cost had been tremendous -- twenty-five million people homeless; twenty-eight thousand towns and villages wholly or partially destroyed; 38,500 miles of railway torn up; twenty million Russians dead in war or want. Their losses were a hundred times as great as those of the Americans. Stalin at Yalta was uplifted: "Churchill in his history of the war, tells of the almost naive toast that Stalin drank at Yalta 'to the firmness of our Three Power Alliance,' saying 'May it be strong and stable. May we be as frank as possible .... Allies should not deceive each other.... In the history of diplomacy I know of no such close alliance of three great powers as this.'

"'I had never expected that he could be so expansive,' comments Churchill,

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the hard-boiled imperialist."

Then came the rivalry of victorious America: we killed 250,000 Japanese by a new weapon; Russia was frozen out of the far-eastern peace-making; Chiang Kai-shek was brought into the treaty making at a cost of 300 millions; Russia was refused the six billion dollar loan she was expecting from the United States for her desperately needed reconstruction. "Then Roosevelt died, and Truman stopped even Lend Lease aid so suddenly that Russia-bound shipments were taken off ships in New York harbor. When Russia, listing her losses, asked for 'the first billion' of that loan, the State Department 'lost' the letter for nearly a year. Many Russians died of hunger in that victory year, for lack of that loan."

The dream of alliance and peaceful cooperation died in the Cold War. The Korean War began the new policy of "containing" Communism by force. Stalin continued to beg for peace but his offers were scoffed at. When he died, President Eisenhower was officially announced as "preparing an aggressive effort to exploit the Soviet's situation -- to use all tools of propaganda, and more, to encourage strife within Russia and split off its satellites."

Whether Stalin deteriorated in his later years or not may be argued; but Miss Strong says: "I do not think anyone can read his last work on Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR, and think that Stalin's intellect had grown senile."

Again she quotes Howard K. Smith; "Stalin did more to change the world in the first half of this century than any other man who lived in it." She adds: "Let that stand as his worldwide epitaph."

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Harris, Abram L. Economics and Social Reform. N.Y.: Harper & Bros., 1958.

Review: "Economic Questers", The Crisis, Vol. 65, No. 5, May 1958, pp. 314-315.

[Missing p. 3]

ECONOMICS AND REFORM

A Review by W. E. B. Du Bois

I have known Abram Harris for at least thirty years and saw much of him when he was a young professor of the social sciences at Howard University. He had a brilliant mind and was an omnivorous reader. I doubt if any living scholar knows the work of Karl Marx as well as Harris. But the literary output of Harris has been small, and always, to my mind, far less than his scholarship warranted. As a Negro, naturally, he was interested in the Negro problem. He wrote, with Spero, "The Negro Worker" in 1931, an excellent study of the Negro and the labor movement. In 1936, Harris published a study of Negro banking which was a small part of a wider and more comprehensive scheme of studying Africa and the rise of capitalism and the development of an American Negro middle class. This plan was never carried out and it was left to Eric Williams and Franklin Frazier to broaden and extend. Meantime Harris became increasingly interested in Karl Marx, Communism, and the whole modern capitalist development. He read widely and published fifty or more articles and reviews, but no major work until 1958, when he published his current book ("Economics and Social Reform," with a foreword by Frank H. Knight. Harper & Bros., New York. 357 pp., with index. $5.00).

To me this book is a great disappointment, partly because it is a conventional textbook of the sort which I do not think helps the education of youth. It is, to be sure, a learned treatise based on an astonishing amount of research I possess no knowledge of this literature which would enable me to evaluate its ~~its~~ accuracy or comprehensiveness ~~of~~. But I do know something of modern social problems and of the attempts of thinkers and workers to solve them. To this fundamental part of human history and thought, it seems to me that Harris adds

nothing. He devotes a fourth of his book to John Stuart Mill, examining meticulously what this great nineteenth century philosopher said about reform, but devoting almost no space to just what it was that Mill proposed to reform. Harris then devotes fifty pages to Commons of the twentieth century, in an article which he wrote fifteen years ago. Of the greatest event of the twentieth century, the Russian Revolution and the resultant establishment of a Communist state, Harris says almost nothing. The word "Russia" or "Soviet Union" does not appear in his index.

To Karl Marx, Harris devotes thirty-seven pages, although this is the field of his greatest competence, and his most intensive study. This study of Marx is to me most inadequate, and I cannot see what it will add to the average student's knowledge of the most pressing problems of our day. Harris' study of Veblen seems to me querulous and unappreciative; and his study of German socialism incomplete. The effect of this book on me is a feeling of its incompleteness and lack of logical conception. I cannot see why it was written and at what the author was aiming.

If I should presume to judge what Harris had in mind while writing this book, it would be this: frightened, with so many others, at the witch-hunt, he became weary and disappointed with his work at Howard University and welcomed security and status at the University of Chicago. He gave up the scientific study of Karl Marx and Communism and settled down to ten years of silence and teaching, with desultory essays. Then, bringing together parts of his twenty years of study, he made a book that followed no logical pattern but tried to portray Mill as a twentieth century prophet without showing how vastly the social problems had changed since his day. Harris then filled in with Commons and Veblen and ended with an extraordinary exposition of Mussolini's corporate state, emphasising as its exponent a little known Catholic priest and

Davidson, Basil. The Lost Cities of Africa. Boston: Little, Brown + Co., 1959.

Review: "Rediscovery of Africa's Civilization" National Guardian, Vol. 12, No. 5, November 16, 1959, p. 8.

[1959]

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Basil Davidson, "The Lost Cities of Africa", Little Brown and Company, Boston
366 pages; $6.50

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This excellent book has a rather misleading title. The title of its introduction, "The Rediscovery of Africa" should be the title of the book and while the author says much of the lost cities of Africa, the book is really an indispensable account of what has been done by ethnology, archaeology, and chemistry to rebuild our conception of the history of the African continent.

Mr. Davidson, who as written 2 other books on Africa and one on China, has travelled widely in the world and speaks with authority. He reminds us that for centuries Africa was a land of fable and legend, the seat of great kingdoms and great wealth and especially of the mysterious kingdom of Prester John. However, in the last 200 years there has come a different belief due to the fact that Africa had been the seatof a slave trade to America and to the East.

Men of experience and learning declared that Africa was without a past and without history, that its peoples had always lived in savagery and in century long stagnation. Numerous traces of early African civilization were ignored or attributed to other peoples. Today, however, archaeology has triumphed and it is certain that there was a civilization in Africa not only highly developed, but of distinctly African origin and culture. It is known that Punt and Kush were advanced African cultures in the Nile valley more than a thousand years before Christ. It is not so well known that a great development of African civilization took place south of the Sahara in medieval times when the kingdoms of Melle and Songhay were alive. At the same time there were mercantile centers on the African coast where a thriving trade was carried on between Africa, India, and China; and in addition to that we have long known of the mysterious states in the Interior, like the kingdoms of the Monomotapa and Zimbabwe.

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Mr. Davidson has added to our present knowledge the astonishing results of recent archaeological exploration. The book is not easy reading because the author is

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careful not to express certain and clear conclusions. He gives evidence on both sides of those who would minimize African culture and of enthusiastic defenders of it. His own conclusions are often left rather uncertain, but they do sustain the growing idea that the culture of Africa is peculiar and different from that of Europe and Asia and yet tremendously significant and developed to a high degree. There was not only agriculture and irrigation, there was widespread commerce, domestic and foreign and there was an astonishing development of law and government. The difference from Europe and the individuality of African history calls for new and intent study. We are deeply indebted to Mr. Davidson for guiding us in this direction.

Ruchames, Louis, ed. A John Brown Reader. N.Y.: Abelard-Schuman, 1959.

Review: Unpublished?

JOHN BROWN

By W.E.B. Du Bois (June, 1960)

A John Brown Reader, The Story of John Brown in His Own Words, In the Words of Those Who Knew Him, and in the Poetry and Prose of the Literary Heritage, Edited by Louis Ruchames, Abelard-Schuman, 431 pages, $7.50.

Several books on John Brown have commenorated the 100th year of his martyrdom. One of the most interesting is A John Brown Reader. It has first, one hundred pages of his own words, intimate letters, homely stories of his life, letters to his wife and children and frank statements of his beliefs and plans. These are his words to the Court, November 2, 1859:

I have, may it please the Court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted,--the design on my part to free the slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter, when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again, on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection.

I have another objection; and that is, it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved (for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case),--had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends,--either father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class,--and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right; and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

This court acknowledges, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament. That teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me, further, to 'remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them.' I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say, I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done--as I have always freely admitted I have done--in behalf of His despised poor, was not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments,--I submit; so let it be done!

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Part two is the testimony of people who knew him -- his eldest son, two other sons, eye witnesses to the Potawatomie tragedy and the testimony of one of his companions at Harper's Ferry. T

The third part, called The Literary Heritage, takes over 150 pages and is a tribute from some of the great names in American history and literature -- Salmon P. Chase, Theodore Parker, Victor Hugo, William D. Howells, Moncur D. Conway, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Thoreau, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Frederick Douglass, James Whitcomb Riley, Carl Sandburg, Clarence Darrow and Truman Nelson.

It is significant that in a day when the whole meaning of Negro slavery in United States history is being played down and forgotten; at a time when the war for slavery is being pictured actually as a struggle for liberty, that there should be emphasized the career of a man, poor, simple and believing deeply in the right, who said that the ownership of one human being by another was wrong and that just because it was wrong it must be stopped by every possible means.

John Brown's plan was not crazy. It was a well-thought-out effort to enable four million slaves to save themselves. Its temporary failure did not prove it was wrong, and its eventual triumph was the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863.

Clarence Darrow says:

> His life was one of toil and hardship and poverty. In his earlier years, he was a farmer, a wool grower, a merchant, a tanner, and with all a fairly successful man. Up to his middle life, the demands of business and the claims of a large family took nearly all his time and strength; but more and more the crime of slavery obsessed his mind until, casting all else aside and forgetting even those of his own household, he answered all carpers 'as another dreamer years ago.' He turned to the helpless and the poor and waiving aside his kin, he said 'These are my brethren and sisters.' For the same eternal voice has called to the devoted souls, 'Unless you desert Father and Mother, Brethren and kindred, you cannot be my disciples.' His own slender means, with all that he could beg and borrow, was from that time devoted to the cause for which he gave his life; and while he lay in the poor, Virginia jail waiting for the end, he could

not spare the money to bring his family to his side to give their kind ministrations before he mounted the gallows that choked out his life and immortalized his name. His work was so important that he had no time to get money, and no thought of its value. Unlike many other reformers, he went about his Master's work in such great haste that he did not even wait to accumulate enough money to save the world before he began his task.

Most of John Brown's biographers tell us when and why he became the champion of the black, but they do not tell us right. His love of the slave was a part of that fire that, although it seems to slumber, still now and then, through the long and dreary night, kindles a divine spark in the minds of earth's noble souls, which lights the dark and devious pathways of the human race to nobler heights.

Persons who want to realize what John Brown meant in American history should read this book.

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THE SURVEYOR

by Truman Nelson, 1960

National Guardian, Vol. 12, #34, June 6, 1960, p. 9.

5/16/60
Guardian
C. K. Nelson

THE SURVEYOR, by TRUMAN NELSON. DOUBLEDAY & CO., N.Y. 1960. 667 pp. $5.95

This is an extraordinary book. It is the story of John Brown in Kansas. Some will classify it as a novel, but the novel has varied widely in meaning since its first use in English in the 16th Century. It was pure entertainment and I can remember when I was twelve or so entertaining my fellow students in the church stables back of my home with stories which I invented and which they like. The love story followed and as I grew came Dickens and Dumas and the factual studies of Zola.

In our day the novel has come to supplement history and to tell facts which history either deliberately omitted or never could know. Just what did Napoleon think before Waterloo? No one knows exactly. Yet he did think Here enters the historical novel. THE SURVEYOR is of this type. It gives a picture of John Brown resulting from intensive studies which no person but Truman Nelson has ever made. They are intricate and detailed studies. They took time and infinite trouble to make and they demand time and thought to read. For this reason THE SURVEYOR will be dismissed by impatient seekers for entertainment and invention, and be refused review by many modern critics as being neither conventional history nor popular romance.

Yet this is a great book. It is as described, tumultuously written. Nelson has used words and figures recklessly because he wanted to paint a tangled, unusual picture, futurist in impression. He is not telling a tale which develops logically, regularly or continuously ; but he is trying meticulously to fix what actually took place out there on the borders of civilisation where slavery and freedom fought a bloody duel embellished and made possible by the color of men's skins and the stealing of toil.

The individuals involved were a curious mixture of characteristics and

the difficulty heretofore with all studies of bleeding Kansas and of the South is that most of these folk were made lay figures with set, unchanging characters whose meeting, action and talking never could be real. Nelson's characters on the other hand are changing, and devloping and never altogether reasonable even to themselves which is saying they are human. To paint their pictures calls for plain English without prim pussyfooting and thus Nelson's prose swings from poetry to nastiness, from dirty plainness to the vagueness of dream.

Especially is this book valuable as history because it lays down a body of fact to answer a question whcih has been curiously distorted, often deliberately, sometimes through sheer ignorance, and that is just what was the American slave system? Southerners have naturally built up a picture of a benevolent paternalism and of cultured gentlemen, with contented servants under life tenure, living in pillared mansions amid flowers and song. Literature and theatre have been drenched with this twaddle. Nelson paints with facts another picture of the "Slave Barons" and their "Border Ruffians." The slave-holding patriarchs on the edge of bankruptcy despite free land and slave labor began to develop in its back yard a set of slave drivers with whip and scorpion; men without morals or decency, leaders like Atchison and Shannon with a mob of abandoned ruffians deliberate raising of Negroes for sale in Virginia and Kentucky. Back of them were filibusterers like Walker, scum who demanded the re-opening of the African slave trade and imperialists like Jefferson Davis planning a slave empire from Maryland to Brazil. Their logical cronies were Northern land-grabbers like Robinson and Lane compelled to use free labor for their railroads, contemptuous of "niggers" and determined to build a new capitalism, dealing in slave grown materials from the South. This combination John Brown put to rout in Kansas and started Civil War in the nation which could only be stopped by freeing the slaves.

The border ruffian of this era was everything from an ignorant scoundrel

to a greedy adventurer wandering starved and irresponsible from the East or staggering up drunk and blood thirsty from the Slave South. The Southerner brought with him the determination to get more land for slavery as the black belt began to fade under senseless misuse. Slavery and its leaders were convinced that the rich black 10,000 square miles of territory directly west of Missouri would be slave land or they would disrupt the Union in seizing it. Many Northern and foreign born opposed this, but with one condition and that was that if Kansas became free it would be free of Negroes as well as slaves.

A few, and especially one man joined this opposition but with a difference because of an inborn and a steadfast belief from which he never wavered. John Brown not only regarded slavery as wrong, but Negroes as men. He came to Kansas almost by mistake because his work was in the East as he said, "God put the Alleghany Mountains from New York to the Southern States for the emancipation of the Negro race. I know these mountains well and could take a body of men in there and never be dislodged."

He came West as a wool merchant, but always working on his great life plan and his sons had left Ohio to make a living in Kansas. They found Kansas a path to freedom and called in their father for help. John Brown came hesitantly disguised as a surveyor and in Kansas realised that here might lie a path to Harpers Ferry. Nelson then paints a John Brown that none who have written of him before ever conceived: a hesitant man of vast determination, a man who wept and wondered whither he was going and why and yet never really wavered from the great end of his life.

The family were of different gift and understanding and yet they formed a marvelous group. They walked into all kinds of trouble trying to walk straight, tr ing to understand the faint-hearted, the cowards and criminals who surround them led by demagogs. One said, "I have such a fire burning in my soul I wish I could overflow like hot lava on that bogus crowd. When I think of the southern chivalry in their frock coats and their kid gloves and their embroidered

vests, taking it for granted that the country will keep their slaves in bondage for them . . . "

The Southern leaders answered with bitter invectives: "They have been sent by managers who operate a business from Faneuil Hall in Boston to run stolen niggers up to Canada and then ship them back South on Yankee slave ships to be sold all over again."

John Brown stuck to his plan. "You boys seem determined to make me out an old fogy with his nose in the Bible all of the time. I beg to remind you that I have also read every book on insurrection that I could lay my hands on from the Roman warfare up through Toussaint L'Ouverture and the European revolution of '48. You seem to forget that I was in Europe in '49 when the event was barely off the stage and that I talked to many of the actors face to face."

Pandemonium followed stirred up by Atchison, once Senator. "The drunken Ruffians running through the streets with books on their bayonets, or chopping with their belt axes every stick of furniture, precious domestic utensils, groceries, trunks, clothing, anything they could get their hands on . . . putting up their flags with the tigers and lone stars on them, the South Carolina flags, the banners of blood red. And all the while there were Free State officials running around, serving them, delivering their own men into the Ruffians' hands."

And then came the deed at which the world since has cursed and shuddered. "The Old Man stepped out in front of the men. 'What can we do?' asks my friend Mr. Hanway. 'Why, we can do what we have come for . . . fight!' . . . 'We can surprise them in their drunken slumbers and turn their cheap victory into a bloody rout. If they are leaving, as Mr. Hanway suggests, we can go to work even more effectively.'

" 'Doing what?' demanded Hanway.

"The Old Man shook an angry fist at him. 'We can attack best while their

forces are scattering. We can burn their wagons, stampede their horses, explode their powder. Poison their water supplies, trail them and dog them every step of the way. Parch the earth all about them. Steal their weapons while they sleep and if we manage to get them in a tight place . . . why, then we can stand fast in the gap and abattle for the Lord.' "

Th The steps of this four year battle are followed with astonishing care and detail; the historical actions are unearthed and fitted together, the thoughts and motives are reasoned out, the words are skillfully inverted to finish this broad and effective picture, John Brown hesitated and gestured . His favorite son had been murdered; his eldest son driven to the borders of insanity. In the end freedom won in Kansas. The whole territory turned to John Brown. But he turned east where his great work wwas waiting. The family followed. Nelson pictures that last drive. The old man kept stopping them to hunt along the road. Finally he emerged with a fugitive slave.

"The boys picked their father up and lifted him into the wagon along with the fugitive. John studied his father's face, fearful that he was seriously ill. He had never seen him like this, or even the least bit feeble before. A ray of warmth, a mite of the sun, the morning star, touched joy, satisfaction, and the most irrepressible optimism. He patted the Negro affectionately on the shouldern and said, --Young man, for some years now I have been watching for stout men like yourself to rise up and join me and my sons in a plan for the immediate and complete emancipation of the Negro race. I see now I cannot bring it off in Kansas but God gave the strength of the Allegheny Mountains for freedom. They are full of natural forts and hiding places. My plan is to take no more than twenty-five picked men and begin on a small scale at some such place as Harpers Ferry in Virginia . . .

" 'Yes,' said the Negro."

So ends the slow and tortuous part of this story which doubtless Truman Nelson will later carry to its great end. Meantime such people as can read

and have time to learn might use a part of it in digging doggedly through this astonishing book.

W. E. B. Du Bois

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1763 - 1783

by Herbert Aptheker, 1960

Political Affairs, Vol. 39, July 1960, pp. 63-64.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 1763-1783, by Herbert Aptheker.

The second volume of A History of the American People: An interpretation. International Publishers, N.Y. 304 pp. $3.50

Those who would understand how the United States became the nation that it is should by all means read Herbert Aptheker's interpretation. The first two volumes, short and concise, are now in print. This is not the conventional chronicle of facts, but an attempt to show what well known facts mean or in case of disagreement to set the facts straight.

The first thing that the reader realizes is the extraordinary amount of source material which these books cover. Aptheker has not only read and digested the great and well known works on American history by men like Sparks, Bancroft, Force, and the founding fathers: Adams, Jefferson and Madison, but also the immense literature of secondary interpreters covering not only the nation but various states and corresponding European history, like Channing, Hart and Beard; Coupland, Drake, Greene, Harlow, Jameson, Kraus, and Van Doren. To this Aptheker has added careful reading of articles in 23 of the leading reviews of the United States and Britain which contain some of the latest and most valuable interpretations. The works of the founding fathers and their letters and collections of newspapers in the Library of Congress and the library of Columbia University have been consulted.

To the digestion of this tremendous mass of material, Aptheker has added a Marxian interpretation of American history together with a common sense view of events which hitherto have been curiously muddled, forgotten or deliberately distorted. First, of course, for me stands the recognition and interpretation of the meaning of slavery and the Negro in American history.

This was pleasantly clear in his first volume, THE COLONIAL ERA where the author pointed out what every American historian has tried to forget or belittle, the presence in the United States of Negroes forming a fifth or more of its population. In this book on the American Revolution, Aptheker notes the Negro as an American from the first and devotes one of his longest chapters to the "Negro in the Revolution" as soldier, rebel and spy.

"The evidence shows that the activities of that 20 per cent of the population in Revolutionary America who were Negroes is of fundamental importance for an understanding of the Revolution. On the labor power of those 600,000 rested to a very large degree the economic viability of the nascent Republic and without it the new nation could not have been conceived."

An important contribution of Aptheker in this study is his insistence that the American Revolution was a real revolution in the Marxian sense of the word. He combats the idea of many writers that there was a minimum of class division and class struggle in colonial history; that the American colonies were examples of complete democracy. He asserts that the fact that laborers and artisans united with slaveholders and gentlemen to fight for American indebtedness was no proof that there was not beneath the Revolutionary War the basic struggle between the rich and poor.

He studies carefully the Declaration of Independence, its theory and its limitations; and sees it as a great document despite the fact that it left out Negroes and women.

The author has excellent studies of Tories and traitors and of the military conduct of the Revolution. He shows the curious interplay of geography and good luck which enabled a weak an unorganized folk to oppose successfully a great empire. The relation of independence in America to democracy in England is carefully followed and rationalized and one of his longest chapters is a study of the intricacies of diplomacy between American rebels and European Royalists

interbound with African slavery and the destruction of the native Indians.

The final chapter is on the economic effects of the Revolution with the study of feudal vestiges in the colonies, the land distribution, development of indentured servitude and private property as the surge to a new Capitalism.

This book is essential reading for those who would have a clear conception of what the American Revolution meant and not be misled by attempts of organizations like the D.A.R. to picture the Revolution as a triumph of a new aristocracy; or by the recent frantic Southern effort to forget slavery, deify the slaveholder and glorify the greatest blot on American history.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Aptheker, Herbert. A History of the American People, Vols I and II. N.Y.: International Pub., 1959-1960.

Review: The American Scholar, Vol. 30, No. 4, Autumn 1961, p. 604.

A History of the American People, in Three Volumes, By Herbert Aptheker
Vol. I The Colonial Era, 158 pp., 195
Vol. II The American Revolution, 304 pp., 1960
Vol. III Not yet published
International Publishers, New York

This work attracted me because it is the only hi[redacted] know which treats the black man as an integral part of the nation rather than as an outside appendage. The 6000,000 American Negroes of 1775, formed a fifth of the nation and over a fourth of the working class. For two centuries their unpaid labor was the foundation of American capitalism and formed the wealth of Southern planters and Northern merchants. These Negroes worked beside 300,000 white "indentured" slaves, separated from them by racist ideology while Indians were burned alive for the glory of God and witches and heretics killed and exiled. Negroes fought at Lexington and Bunker Hill; some 5,000 were soldiers during the American Revolution. They contributed to American culture and literature. Failure to free them after the first Revolution led to a second Revolution eighty years after, which was a bloody Civil War. What other history tells this tale?

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W.E.B. Du Bois

A NEW HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Herber Aptheker is writing a new history of the American PeopleThe sThe first volume,"The Colonial Era"(I58 pp) appeared in I959; the second "The American Revolution)(304 pp.) in I960. Other volumes will follow. This work attracted me because it is the only history of America that I know which recognizes the Black Man as an integral part of the nation from the beginning. Of the total population of the nation at the beginning of the Revolution, twenty percent were Negroes, some 600,000 persons. In the sl,ave trade fabulous profits were made; but the heart of Africas contribution to America lay in the unpaid and forced labor of millions of Negroes for over two centuries. By I720, American Negro slavery was a well-developed, single crop, commokdity producing, commercilized system of enslavement. A racist philosophy ideology rationalized and sustained the system and led to the intense exploitation and brutality which characterized it for fifteen decades. It was a basic source of wealth for Southern planters and Northern merchants. Contrary to legend it led to repeated slave revolts from I709 to I850. The black slaves took active part in American history. They formed more than a quarter of the working class. They fought for freedom in courts of law and on the battle field. They fought at Concord and Lexington; Bunker Hill and Tirconderoga and croased the Delaware with Washington. At least 5000 fought as regualar soldiers and thousans more served as servants and laborers. They owned land and voted and failure to free them in the Revolution produced in 80myears a second revolution in the shape of a blody Civil War.

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This is the only history of America which tells this story with any reference to Truth

PETITIONS

AN APPEAL TO THE WORLD: A STATEMENT ON THE DENIAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS TO MINORITIES IN THE CASE OF CITIZENS OF NEGRO DESCENT IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND AN APPEAL TO THE UNITED NATIONS FOR REDRESS

New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1947

Draft of Du Bois' introduction

Outline and draft of "The Denial of Legal Rights of American Negroes From 1787 to 1914" by Earl B. Dickerson

Draft of "The Negro in American Law" by Milton R. Konvitz

Draft of "The Present Legal and Social Status of the Negro" by William R. Ming, Jr.

Draft of "The Charter of the United Nations and Its Provisions for Human Rights and the Rights of Minorities and Decisions Already Taken Under this Charter" by Rayford W. Logan

Draft of summary of petition by Du Bois

List of corrections

[1946?]

INTRODUCTION

by W. E. B. Du Bois

There are in the United States of America, fifteen millions or more of native-born citizens, something less than a tenth of the nation, who form largely a segregated caste, with restricted legal rights, and many illegal disabilities. They are descendants of the Africans brought to America during the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and reduced to slave labor. This group has no complete biological unity, but varies in color from white to black, and comprises a great variety of physical characteristics, since many are the off-spring of white European-Americans as well as of Africans. Similarly, there is an equal and perhaps even larger number of white Americans who also descend from Negroes but who are not counted in the colored group nor subject to caste restrictions because of the preponderance of white blood conceals their descent.

The so-called American Negro group, therefore, while it is in no sense absolutely set off physically from its fellow Americans, has nevertheless a strong, hereditary cultural unity, born of slavery, of common suffering, prolonged prescription and curtailment of political and civil rights; and especially because of economic and social disabilities. Largely from this fact have arisen their cultural gifts to America -- their rhythm, music and folk-song; their religious faith and customs; their contribution to American art and literature; their defense of their country in every war, on land and sea; and especially the hard, continuous toil upon which the prosperity and wealth of this continent has largely been built.

The group has long been internally divided by dilemma as to whether its striving upward, should be aimed at strengthening its inner-cultural and group bonds, both for intrinsic progress and for offensive power against caste; or whether it should seek escape wherever and however possible into the surrounding American culture. Decision in this matter

has been largely determined by outer compulsion rather than inner plan; for rabid and prolonged policies of segregation and discrimination have involuntarily welded the mass almost into a nation with an nation with its own schools, churches, hospitals, newspapers and often other business enterprises.

The result has been to make American Negroes to wide extent provincial, introvertive, self-conscious and narrowly race loyal; but it has also inspired them to frantic and often successful effort to achieve, to deserve, to show the world their capacity to share modern civilization. As a result there is almost no area of American civilization in which the Negro has not made creditable showing in the face of all his handicaps.

If however the effect of the color caste system on the American Negro has been both good and bad, its effect on white America has been disastrous. It has repeatedly led the greatest modern attempt at democratic government to deny its political ideals, to falsify its philanthropic assertions and to make its religion a vast hypocrisy. A nation which boldly declared "All men equal", proceeded to build its economy on chattel slavery; masters who declared race-mixture impossible, sold their own children into slavery and left a mulatto progeny which neither law nor science can today disentangle; churches which excused slavery as calling the heathen to God, refused to recognize the freedom of converts or admit them to equal communion. Sectional strife over the vast profits of slave labor and conscientious revolt against making human beings real estate led to bloody civil war, and to a partial emancipation of slaves which nevertheless even to this day is not complete. Poverty, ignorance, disease and crime has been forced on these unfortunate victims of greed to an extent far beyond any social necessity; and a great nation, which today ought to be in the forefront of the march toward peace and democracy, finds itself continuously making common cause with race hate, prejudiced exploitation

and oppression of the common man. Its high and noble words are turned against it, because they are contradicted in every syllable by the treatment of the American Negro for three hundred and twenty-seven years.

In the Constitution of the United States, Negroes are referred to as follows although the world "slave" is carefully avoided before the thirteenth amendment. Article I (1787) Section 2, apportionment of members of the House of Representatives : "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers,[2] which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons."[3] "Other persons" means Negro slaves. Article I, Section, 9 "The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person." Each person" refers to Negro slaves. Article IV, (1787) Section 2, "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered upoon claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.", This refers particularly to fugitive slaves. Article XIII (1865) Section 1. "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." Article XIV, (1868) Section 1. "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or

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immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State. Section3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability. Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article." Article XV, (1870) Section 1. "The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

We appeal to the world to witness that this attitude of America is far more dangerous to mankind than the Atom bomb; and far far more clamorous for attention than disarmament or treaty. To disarm the hide-bound minds of men is the only path to peace; and as long as Great Britain and the United States profess democracy with one hand and deny it to millions with the other, they convince none of their sincerity, least of all themselves. Not only that, but there encourage the aggression of smaller nations: so long as the Union of South Africa defends Humanity and lets two million whites enslave ten million colored people, its voice spells hypocrisy. So long as Belgium holds in both economic and intellectual bondage, a territory seventy-five times her own size and larger in population, no one can sympathize with her loss of dividends based on serf labor at twenty-five to fifty cents a day. Seven million "white" Australiams cannot yell themselves into championship of democracy for seven hundred million Asiatics.

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Therefore, Peoples of the World, we American Negroes appeal to you; our treatment in America is not merely an internal question of the United States. It is a basic problem of humanity; of democracy; of discrimination because of race and color; and as such it demands your attention and action. No nation is so great that the world can afford to let it continue to be deliberately unjust, cruel and unfair toward its own citizens.

This is our plea to the world; and to show its validity; we are presenting you with the proof. The National Association for the Advancement

of Colored People, with more than a half million members, has asked four scholars under my editorship to present chapters showing in detail the status of American Negroes in the past and today, in law, administration and social condition; and the relation of this situation to the Charter of the United Nations.

Milton R. Konvitz who writes Chapter one is a white American of Jewish descent. He is associate professor and director of research. School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University; he is a member of national legal committee, NAACP; and author of The Constitution and Civil Rights (Columbia University Press, 1946), and The Alien and the Asiatic in American Law (Cornell University Press, 1946).

The writer of the second chapter is an American Negro, Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago. Mr. Dickerson is a practising lawyer and formerly a member of the legislature of the state of Illinois.

The third chapter is by William R. Ming, Jr. of the federal Office of Price Administration and recently had been made a member of the institute of social and scientists and lawyers of the University of Chicago.

Rayford R. Logan the writer of the fourth chapter is a Harvard doctor of philosophy and history; 1st Lieutenant in World War I and now professor of history at Howard University. He has written Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Haiti. The Operation of the Mandate System in Africa; and The Negro in the Post-War World. He was editor and contributor to What the Negro Wants.

[1946?]

OUTLINE

Preliminary Analysis:

Subject: The Denial of Legal Rights of American Negroes from 1787 to 1914

It is apparent from the outline submitted by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois that Mr. Martin Konvitz will discuss in Part I the legal rights of American Negroes under the Constitution of the United States, the federal and State statues, and the court decisions. Part II is to be continuous and discuss the denial of these rights. Therefore, to the extent that it is logical, Part II should not discuss substantive legal rights of Negroes as such, but should be concerned with techniques used in the denial of basic legal rights to American Negroes.

Part II should conform to the following outline:

I. Techniques Utilized in the Denial of Legal Rights of American Negroes.

- A. State statutory enactments contravening constitutional guarantees
- B. Violation of legal rights of American Negroes by cooperative action of private individuals
- C. Mob Action and violance
- D. Compromise and qualification by Court decisions

II. The Critical Period: 1787 to 1865

- A. The American Constitution as the organic law
  - 1. The Free Negro as a "citizen"
  - 2. An Analysis of the Court decisions
  - 3. An analysis of the customs & mores condoning infringement of rights of American Negroes
- B. The Negro under State law
  - 1. State violation of the Constitution
  - 2. The "Black Codes"

III. Revolution, Reconstruction and Reaction: the period between 1865 and 1876

- A. Fundamental Changes in the Organic Law: the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments

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B. The Supreme Court and the Amendments

1. The Slaughter-House Cases

2. The Civil Rights Cases

3. The Cruickshank Case

4. Other Supreme Court Cases

C. Reaction under the Slavery Amendments

IV. The Period of Retrenchment: 1876 to 1914

A. Enactment of State Civil Rights Laws

B. The Supreme Court decisions during the period

V. Summary and Conclusion

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~~IX.~~ THE DENIAL OF LEGAL RIGHTS OF AMERICAN NEGROES FROM 1787 to 1914

Chapter II

by

Earl B. Dickerson

In any community the positive law will define the legal rights of its citizens; but the enjoyment of these defined legal rights and the security they confer will depend entirely on the existing sanctions that prevent their violation by elements in the community because of race or color of the persons involved. It is a sad commentary on American constitutional jurisprudence that because of the absence of effective sanctions there exists a pitiable chasm between the doctrinal idealism of constitutional guarantees and the practical realization of constitutional protection. And in no phase of American life is this paradox more patently illustrated than in the status of American Negroes. Any discussion of the substantive legal rights of American Negroes would be fatuous indeed if it failed to consider the factors that have contributed to the insecurity of this large segment of the American population and the techniques that have been used to put the Negro outside the scope of full American citizenship.

There are in fact four principal methods used in depriving an American Negro citizen of the rights guaranteed him by the literal language of the organic law of the land.-- the American Constitution.

First, there are the statutory enactments that nullify constitutional guarantees. In this category will fall the state

and federal laws providing for racial segregation in public schools,(1) state laws providing for segregation in public conveyances,(2) and race discriminations in the exercise of the franchise.(3)

(1) Cummings v. County Board of Education, 175 U. S. 538, 20 S. Ct. 197 (1889); Gong Lum v. Rice, 275 U. S. 78, 48 S. Ct. 91 (1927); Gaines v. Canada, Registrar, etc., 305 U. S. 337, 59 S. Ct. 232 (1938); Note, 82 Univ. of Pa. Law Rev. 157 (1933). Berea College v. Kentucky, 211 U. S. 45, 29 S. Ct. 33 (1908).
State Enactments: Alabama School Code (1927) Secs. 124, 207; Arkansas Digest Stat. (Crawford & Moses, 1921) Sec. 8915; Delaware Revised Code (1915) Sec. 2296; Delaware Laws 1921, C. 160, Art. 2, Secs. 23, 34. See also Delaware Laws 1929, Chap. 222; Georgia Code Annotated (Mitchie, 1926) Secs. 1551 (8), 1551 (89), 1551 (118); Kentucky Stat. Annotated (Carroll, Supp. 1934) Sec. 4399-43; Mississippi Code Annotated (1930) Sec. 6586; Missouri Revised Stat. (1929) Sec. 9216; North Carolina Code Annotated (Mitchie, 1931) 5384; Oklahoma Comp. Stat. (1921) Secs. 10,567, 10, 574, South Carolina Code (1932) Sec. 5406; Tennessee Code (Will. Shan. & Harsh, 1932) Sec. 2377, Supp. (1932) Sec. 2393-9 (high schools); Texas Annotated Rev. Civ. Stat. (Vernon, 1925) Arts. 2719, 2900; Virginia Code Annotated (Mitchie, 1930) Sec. 680; West Virginia Code (1931) Chap. 18, Art. 5, Sec. 14.

Federal Enactments: District of Columbia Code (Supp. 1933) Title 7, Secs. 249, 252.

(2) L. N. O. & T. Ry Co. v. Mississippi, 133 U. S. 587, 10 S. Ct. 348 (1890); Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U. S. 537, 16 S. Ct. 1138 (1896); Chesapeake & O. Ry. Co. v. Kentucky, 179 U. S. 388, 21 S. Ct. 101 (1900); Compare Chiles v. C. & O. Ry. Co. 218 U. S. 71, 30 S. Ct. 667 (1910) and Mitchell v. United States, 313 U. S. 80, 61 S. Ct. 873 (1941) See McCabe v. A. T. & S. F. R. Co. 235 U. S. 151, 35 S. Ct. 69 (1941).

(3) Williams v. Mississippi, 170 U. S. 213, 18 S. Ct. 583 (1898); But see Guinn v. United States, 238 U. S. 347, 35 S. Ct. 926 (1915); Myers v. Anderson, 238 U. S. 368, 35 S. Ct. 932; Lane v. Wilson, 307 U. S. 268, 59 S. Ct. 872 (1939). Compare Grovey v. Townsend, 295 U. S. 45, 55 S. Ct. 622 (1935).

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In this category also will fall the state laws prohibiting marriage between white and colored persons,(4) and the laws discriminating against Negroes in the selection of jurors.(5)

Second, there are the acts and conspiracies of private individuals which contravene legal rights of American Negro citizens. One example of this method is the restrictive race covenant among white property owners which prevents Negro citizens from acquiring adequate housing facilities;(6) another example is private action under color of law.(7) This method is commonly manifested also, in job discrimination against Negroes in certain industries,(8) and in the converse situation of enforced labor which result in the form of slavery known as peonage.(9)

Third, actual mob violence. A popular manifestation of this method is found in the peculiar American institution called "lynching".(10)

(4) For a complete list of the statutes see Mangum, The Legal Status of the Negro. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press (1940), pp. 238-239.
Compare Pace v. Alabama, 106 U. S. 583, 1 S. Ct. 637 (1882).

(5) Strauder v. West Virginia, 100 U. S. 3031, 25 L. Ed. 664 (1880); Neal v. Delaware, 103 U. S. 370, 26 L. Ed. 567 (1881) Norris v. Alabama, 294 U. S. 587, 55 S. Ct. 579 (1933).

(6) Corrigan v. Buckley, 271 U. S. 323, 46 S. Ct. 521 (1926); May v. Burgess, 147 F. (2d) 869 (1945), cert. denied 325 U. S. 868 (1945). Compare Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U. S. 60, 38 S. Ct. 16 (1917).

(7) Ex parte Virginia, 100 U. S. 339, 25 L. Ed. 676 (1880). Screws v. United States, 325 U. S. 91, 65 S. Ct. 1031 (1945).

(8) Hodges v. United States, 204 U. S. 1, 27 S. Ct. 623 (1906); Steele v. L. & N. R. R. Co., 323 U.S. 192, 65 S. Ct. 226 (1944).

(9) Bailey v. Alabama, 219 U. S. 219, 31 S. Ct. 145 (1911); Clyatt v. United States, 197 U. S. 207, 25 S. Ct. 429 (1905); United States v. Reynolds, 235 U. S. 133, 35 S. Ct. 86 (1914).

(10) United States v. Shipp, 203 U. S. 563, 27 S. Ct. 165 (1906); Riggins v. United States, 199 U. S. 547, 26 S. Ct. 147 (1905).

Mob violence has also been used in a variety of instances as a means of preventing Negro citizens from exercising their rights under the law.(11)

Finally, there are the decisions of the state courts and of the Supreme Court of the United States which have restricted the rights of American Negroes under the state and federal constitutions.(12) The most notable of these are the decisions of the Supreme Court under the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments.(13) To the extent that the utilization of one of these techniques has been successful, the legal rights of American Negroes have been proscribed and limited. And to the extent that the American courts have failed to see the elements of injustice in their decisions where the rights of colored citizens are involved, the step was taken in the creation of a second-rate citizenship in American society. It is to the cases presented to the American courts, therefore, that we must turn in order to understand properly the process through which the legal status of the American Negro has evolved.

First, a resort must be made to social and political history. During the period between 1787 and 1865 the Supreme Court decided very few cases concerned with the rights of American Negroes.(14)

(11) Ex parte Yarborough, 110 U. S. 651, 4 S. Ct. 152 (1884); United States v. Cruikshank, 92 U. S. 542, 23 L. Ed. 588 (1876).

(12) Draper v. Cambridge, 20 Ind. 268 (1863); Dred Scott v. Sanford, 19 How. 393, 15 L. Ed. 691 (1867).

(13) The Civil Rights Cases, 109 U. S. 3, 3 S. Ct. 18 (1883); United States v. Reese, 92 U. S. 214, 23 L. Ed. 563 (1876); United States v. Harris, 106 U. S. 629, 1 S. Ct. 601 (1883).

(14) Edward F. Waite, The Negro in the Supreme Court (1946) 30 Minn. Law Rev. 219.

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During this same period, however, the state courts decided the bulk of the cases dealing with property rights in slaves, and the right to manumission of slaves based on the testamentary dispositions of their masters.(15) The state courts were also deciding numerous cases defining the legal rights of American Negroes under state law.(16) These cases reveal that during this span of nearly eighty years, the pattern of race discrimination was possible within the scope of the law and became a part of American thinking both politically and socially despite the obvious contradictions in the professed idealisms of the American way of life.

Perhaps it would be fair to say that the presence of the Negro on the American scene after the formation of the Union was an anomaly in an otherwise free society, and that questions concerning him would present legal problems that would be difficult to resolve. The enslavement of the Negro and the denial of full citizenship to a black man ran counter to all the concepts of equality and individual human worth that had found expression in documents written by Americans -- documents that had stirred the souls of men the world over. The Negro was a source of emotional conflict; to give him justice required more than legal reasoning in the cases presented to the courts. It required moral courage.

(15) See Helen T. Catterall, Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro. Washington, D. C: Carnegie Institute of Washington (1937) 5 Vols.

(16) See Charles S. Mangum, Jr., The Legal Status of the Negro. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press (1940).

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It should be remembered that the slavery question was carefully considered in the Convention at Philadelphia in 1787. When the Constitution went into effect in 1789 it contained provisions that clearly show concessions made to the slave-holding interests. For instance, the importation of slaves was allowed to continue until 1808;(17) three-fifths of the slaves were to be counted in determining the apportionment of representatives and direct taxes(18) -- this, even though in the same states that profited from these concessions the slave , of course, was not a citizen.

Nowhere in the express provisions of the Constitution is there to be found any distinction between a white citizen and a Negro citizen. And it should be recalled here that there were white citizens and Negro citizens at the time the Constitution was debated and adopted. Citizenship within the meaning of that instrument depended on state citizenship.(19) As a matter of logic, it cannot be denied that if a Negro was not a citizen of a state, he was not a citizen under the Constitution of the United States.(20) But does it follow that he had no rights under the Constitution? This question can be answered only by an examination of basic constitutional doctrines, and an appraisal of the status of the Negro as a freeman at the time the American union was formed together with his status as a slave.

(17) Article I, Sec. 9, Constitution of the United States.

(18) Article I, Sec. 2, Ibid.

(19) Article IV, Sec. 2, Ibid.

(20) It should be admitted that there is a wide area of dispute on this question. But for the views taken here, this conclusion is acceptable.

Although all the incidents of slavery under the Roman Law were not followed in America, our system of forced servitude rather resembled that of the Romans than the villienage of the ancient common law.(21) In fact, it has been said that slavery never existed by the common law of England.(22) The slave while in servitude possessed no civil rights. He was an item of property; he was not a person in the juridical sense. But the status of the free Negro differed. He could vote in nine of the thirteen original states.(23) He could own property.(24) He bore arms.(25) And he paid taxes.(26) Even in the deep South the free Negro could own and alienate property. And in none of the state constitutions in force at the time the United States Constitution was adopted was there any express provision denying citizenship to a free Negro.(27)

Now applying these elementary historical facts to the question, should there be any doubt that the American Negro possessed rights that were protected by the Constitution? For instance, would ~~not~~ the Fifth Amendment have protected a Negro and his property from deprivation without due process of law? Could ~~not~~ the federal government deprive

(21) 58 C. J. 746; Neal v. Farmer, 9 Ga. 555

(22) Neal v. Farmer, 9 Ga. 555; Sommersett's Case, 20 S. T. 1 (1771)

(23) The American's Guide: A Compendium of State Constitutions. Philadelphia: Hogan and Thompson (1835)

(24) Carter G. Woodson, The Negro in Our History, Washington, D. C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc. (7th Ed. 1941). pp.246-258.

(25) George Livermore, "Respecting the Opinions of the Founders of the Republic on the Negroes, As Slaves, As Citizens, As Soldiers." Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston: (1863).

(26) Carter G. Woodson, op. cit.

(27) The American's Guide: A Compendium of State Constitutions. Philadelphia: Hogan and Thompson (1835).

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the free Negro of his freedom? These questions can be answered affirmatively only by a warping of language, law and history. Undoubtedly, the American Negro possessed validly enforceable rights under the Constitution before the adoption of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments.

Yet, he progressively became an outcast. During the first four decades of the 19th Century -- at a time when the struggle for human freedom was advancing the world over -- the American Negro was being enslaved by the law of his own state. By 1834 the free Negro was specifically excluded from citizenship in every state in the South. The free colored man became a paradox. While he was not slave because he was free, he was not a citizen because he was black.

It is in this turmoil of ideological conflict that the Dred Scott Case came into prominence. And it is not an exaggeration to say that never in the history of the Supreme Court has it had before it a case more pregnant with moral issues permeating the very soul of American life. Potentially, the case touched the vital core of American political and social history. It is not surprising, therefore, that the decision in Dred Scott v. Sanford,(28) served to flame the emotional state of public opinion to a point that later broke into a civil war.

This decision is worthy of detailed treatment because it has been said that the majority opinion stated the law as it existed. It is more accurate to say that the decision summarized the American mentality toward the Negro with all its basic immorality, with all its disregard of human values.

Dred Scott, the slave of an army surgeon, a Dr. Emerson, had been taken by his master into Illinois and thence into the Louisiana Territory

(28) (1856) 19 Howard 393.

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(now Minnesota), which under the Northwest Territory Ordinance of 1787 and under the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820 was free territory. Later, his master took him back into the slave state of Missouri. In the autumn of 1846, after the death of Dr. Emerson, Scott began suit against the widow of his former master alleging that the trip into Illinois and the Louisiana Territory made him a freeman. In 1850 he obtained a verdict which was appealed to the State Supreme Court where it was held that under the laws of Missouri he resumed his character of slave on his return irrespective of his status while out of the state. Then, in November 1853 a group of anti-slavery lawyers began a suit in his behalf in the federal court alleging that Sanford, the then owner of Scott to whom a fictitious sale had been arranged in order that diversity of citizenship could give the federal court jurisdiction, had committed an assault on Scott, his wife, and his two minor daughters. Sanford entered a plea to the jurisdiction of the court on the ground that Scott was a Negro, a former slave, and hence not a citizen with the right to bring a suit in the courts of the United States. This plea was found bad on demurrer, and after an agreed statement of facts was submitted, judgment was entered for the defendant. Scott then sued out a writ of error to the Supreme Court. The record presented three questions for determination: first, whether a free black man was a citizen of the United States so as to be competent to sue in the Courts of the United States; second, whether a slave carried voluntarily by his master into a free state and returning voluntarily with his master to his home was a free man by virtue of such temporary residence; and third, whether the eighth Section of the Missouri Act of 1820, prohibiting slavery north of latitude 36' 30", was constitutional.

Although the facts presented some intricate and interesting questions on the conflicts of laws, as well as questions of procedure, the case attracted nationwide attention as a cause celebre between the slave-owning interests and the abolitionists. The decision, though due in the fall of 1856, was postponed until the end of the presidential campaign of that year. In the meantime, the slavery question gathered greater emotional fervor while nine judges, five of them slave-owners, debated the question whether Scott's journey from the slave state of Missouri to the free territory of Louisiana legally worked a transmutation from servitude to liberty.

No one with full appreciation for the weaknesses of human nature could have failed to predict the decision. When the decision was finally rendered it surpassed the worst fears of the anti-slavery elements in the country. The court, speaking through Chief Justice Taney held that Scott had no right to bring an action in the courts of the United States because he was not a citizen. When the federal constitution was adopted Negroes were considered inferior and not fit to associate with members of the white race in any political relationship, and as a narrated historical fact, the "negro has no rights which the white man was bound to respect ..." (29) The court went on to hold that the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820 was unconstitutional since Congress was without power to prohibit slavery in the territories acquired after the adoption of the Constitution.

(29) See 3 Warren, The Supreme Court in United States History, pp. 1-41

Aside from its historical importance which has not been adequately evaluated, the decision in the Dred Scott Case revealed an underlying lack of morality on the part of the highest judges in the land and cast a stigma on the entire American judiciary. It was a resort to specious and erroneous argument in support of slavery and its incidents. Significantly, it can be pointed out that the decision, though never overruled, has never been cited as an authoritative precedent for any substantive point of law.(30)

After the Dred Scott decision the Supreme Court had two occasions to pass on the "Negro question" before the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. These were Ableman v. Booth(31) and Ex parte Kentucky v. Dennison.(32)

In the Booth Case there was a conviction under the Fugitive Slave Law, and the Wisconsin Supreme Court ordered the release of Booth on habeas corpus on the ground that the federal act was unconstitutional. A writ of error was issued by the Supreme Court of the United States and later followed by an opinion holding that the statute was constitutional in all its provisions.(33) The Dennison Case was concerned with a Kentucky statute which made it a crime to assist a slave to escape. One Lago was indicted for assisting a slave to escape from Kentucky. He sought refuge in Ohio, and on

(30) Edward F. Waite, The Negro in the Supreme Court (1946) 30 Minn. Law Rev. 219.

(31) (1859) 21 Howard 506,16 L. Ed. 169.

(32) (1861) 24 Howard 66, 16 L. Ed. 717.

(33) See 3 Warren, op. Cit. pp. 42-79

demand from the state of Kentucky that he be surrendered for trial, the governor of Ohio refused extradition. Kentucky applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of mandamus to force the governor of Ohio to turn the defendant over to prosecution authorities on the theory that the Constitution made it a duty of the governor of Ohio to comply with the demand. Again speaking by Chief Justice Taney, the Supreme Court recognized the duty but held that it was a moral one which could not be enforced by mandamus.

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In the meantime, the American Negro was going before the state courts for justice under state law. He was getting decisions which in some cases were humorous and in others poignantly cruel. Yet they reflect the legal status of the American Negro.

Surprisingly enough, the state courts were early called upon to decide what constituted this biologically legal enigma called "the Negro". In South Carolina a court held that the word "Negro" had the fixed meaning of the word "slave".(34) By sombre legal decisions in the southern states, a Negro was presumed to be a slave; he had the burden of rebutting this presumption.(35) The suffering that this harsh rule of law imposed on industrious Negroes who had purchased their freedom has been the subject of many soul-stirring American slavery novels. But the quandaries of the judicial process became evident when a case was presented in which the person involved did not look like a Negro. In such a case, the court said, there was no basis for the presumption.(36)

(34) Ex parte Leland, 1 Nott. & McCord 460 (S. C. 1819).

(35) Daniel v. Guy, 19 Ark. 121 (1857)

(36 See Ibid.

In the effort to categorize the various shades of pigmentation to which the Negro is heir, the courts have been forced to solve some rather difficult problems involving the color of human beings. In 1859 a case arose in Ohio under the separate school law of 1853. In that statute the words "white" and "colored" were used in providing separate schools for white and Negro children. The question for the court was whether these words had their popular meaning. The court thought that the words were used in their popular sense, and held that where the children were three-eighths Negro and five eighths white, but distinctly colored in appearance, they were to be regarded as colored children and not eligible to be admitted to a school for whites.(37)

As far north as the state of Maine, the courts were concerned with the construction of anti-miscegenation statutes -- laws which have been condemned as legally condoning concubinage and bastardy.(38) In Bailey v. Fiske,(39) the court had before it the question whether a person who was approximately one-sixteenth African was a Negro within the meaning of a statute which prohibited intermarriage of whites and Negroes. It was held that the person involved was not a Negro.

One case decided by the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts in 1810 shows that judges will pay due respect to the admixture of Negro and white persons. The case was Inhabitants of Medway v. Inhabitants of Natick,(40) where the question was whether a person

(37) Van Camp v. Bd. of Education, 9 Ohio St. 406 (1859)

(38) James Welden Johnson and Herbert J. Seligman, Legal Aspects of the Negro Problems (1928) 140 Annals 90.

(39) (1852) 34 Me. 77

(40) (1810) 7 Mass. 88

who was the child of white and mulatto parents was a Negro within the terms of a pre-Civil War statute that prohibited the marriage of white persons with Negroes or mulattoes. Clearly, by ordinary definitions such a person was not a mulatto. But was he a Negro ? The court held that the statute did not prohibit the marriage.

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And as far south as Louisiana, South Carolina, and Mississippi the court paid judicial notice to the stigma of being black by adopting the rule of law that to call a white man a Negro was actionable slander per se.(41) That seems to be the prevailing law today.(42)

In his efforts to obtain equal facilities for the education of his children, the Negro met with the unique American rationalization that educational facilities can be separate but equal. In Massachusetts where a Negro could vote, and where he had to pay taxes to support the government, it was held in 1849 that though public schools must be maintained and made accessible to all colored children, the fact that they had to travel a greater distance to reach their school than did white children similarly situated was immaterial, providing the distance was not unreasonably longer !(43) In the southern states, and in the nation's capitol, the District of Columbia, separate schools for Negro and white children were provided for by statute.(44) These statutes have been

(41) Dobard v. Nunez, 6 La. Ann. 294 (1851); Scott v. Peebles, 2 Sm. & M. 546 (Miss. 1844); Eden v. Legare, 1 Bay 171 (S. C. 1791)

(42) See comparatively recent cases allowing recovery in Mangum, op. cit., pp. 18-25.

(43) Roberts v. City of Boston, 59 Mass. 198 (1849)

(44) See Mangum, op. cit., pp. 79-137

held not to violate the due process clause of either the Fifth or Fourteenth Amendments.(45)

Of course it is not possible to present here an exhaustive treatment of the cases, but these few instances show the atmosphere in which the Negro has had to struggle for equality before the law. It is apparent that within the political and legal structure of American life it was possible to deny him that equality throughout the period from 1787 to 1865. And this denial was possible despite his rights under the organic laws of the land. Now turning to the period after the Civil War when the American Negro was made a citizen by constitutional amendment, it will be found that by a narrow construction of federal power he has been deprived of full participation in the democracy to which he was supposedly elevated. For a proper understanding of the factors that contributed to this result, the decisions of the Supreme Court must be analysed in the context of historical events between 1865 and 1883.

After the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect on January 1, 1863, there followed an intensified period of congressional activity to eradicate slavery and its incidents. First was the adoption and ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment on December 18, 1865; and later, the Fourteenth Amendment on July 28, 1868, and the Fifteenth Amendment on March 30, 1870. Second was the enactment of the Civil Rights Enforcement Act of May 31, 1870 and the Civil Rights Act of March 1, 1875. In substance, the effect of these amendments and these statutes was to eradicate slavery and protect the newly emancipated slaves in the exercise of their rights of citizenship. It is almost impossible to conceive that it was not also intended to protect the emancipated slave from all encroachment upon his rights. Yet the Supreme Court soon decided that there was a limit on the power of the federal government to protect the citizenship it created.

(45) Ibid.

At the outset it should be admitted that this narrow construction of federal power emanates as a doctrine from the Slaughter House Cases (46) long before the question of Negro rights under the war amendments came to the Supreme Court. Briefly stated, the cases stand for the principle that there are privileges and immunities of a citizen of the United States as distinguished from a citizen of a state. Where the rights involved are state rights, the federal government has no legislative or judicial power to intervene and protect those rights.

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As a constitutional law concept, the decision in the Slaughter House Cases is undoubtedly a landmark in Supreme Court History. But there is a legitimate question whether the doctrine has not been misapplied where the rights involved are created by federal law; for instance, citizenship created by constitutional amendment. Despite this broad ground of questionable application, the doctrine has played a decisive part in cases that have limited the sphere of legal protection of the American Negro. The following chronological summary of the Supreme Court decisions on the legal rights of American Negroes under the war amendments dramatically illustrates the various ways in which the rights of American Negroes were assaulted in the attempt to limit them to a second class citizenship. And that these assaults were successful cannot be denied.

October Term, 1875

(1) U. S. v. Cruikshank, 92 U. S. 542.
Cruikshank and several other white men broke up by violent means a Negro political meeting in Louisiana. They were arrested under section six of the Enforcement Act of May 30, 1870, tried and convicted in the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Louisiana. On appeal to the Supreme Court they were acquitted on the ground that the Fourteenth Amendment did not justify such legislation by Congress. The citizen must not look to the Federal Government for protection against the invasion of his rights by the private acts of others. Decision against Federal intervention.

October Term, 1879

(2) Strauder v. West Virginia, 100 U. S. 303.
Strauder, a Negro, was indicted, tried, and convicted for

(46) (1873) 16 Wall. 36

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the crime of murder in a State court. All Negroes were excluded from the grand and petit juries by West Virginia Statutes of 1872-1873. The defendant contended that this was in conflict with U.S. Revised Statutes, Section 1977. This section embodied portions of the Enforcement Act of 1870 and the Civil Rights Act of 1875. Upon proceedings in the United States Supreme Court the State court was reversed and the West Virginia Act of 1872-1873 declared unconstitutional. Field and Clifford,JJ., dissented. Decision in favor of Federal intervention.

(3) Virginia v. Rives, 100 U. S. 313.
Two Negro men were indicted for the murder of a white man and tried in a State court before a jury composed only of white men. Defendants moved for a modification of the venire so as to allow one-third of the same to be composed of Negroes. This motion was denied. Defendants then petitioned for a removal to the United States Circuit Court under the Civil Rights Act of 1875. This petition was also denied. Thereupon they were tried and convicted. A petition in the United States Circuit Court for the writ of habeas corpus was allowed and the case docketed therein. The Commonwealth of Virginia then petitioned the Supreme Court of the United States for a writ of mandamus to compel the return of the prisoners to the custody of the State. The petition was granted on the ground that the defendants could not as a matter of right demand a mixed jury, the court declaring that the Fourteenth Amendment is not violated if, when the jury is all white, it cannot be shown that Negroes were excluded solely on the ground of race or color. Decision against Federal intervention.

(4) Ex parte Virginia, 100 U. S. 339
J. D. Coles, Esq., Judge of the County Court of Pittsylvania County, Virginia, was arrested by Federal indictment in the District Court of the United States for the Western District of Virginia for failing to select Negroes as grand and petit jurors to serve in the county courts of the above-mentioned county. This arrest was made under section four of the Civil Rights Act of 1875. Petitions to the Supreme Court of the United States for the writ of habeas corpus were filed by both Coles and the Commonwealth of Virginia. These petitions were denied and the cause remanded to the District Court for trial.

Field and Clifford, JJ., dissented. The merits of the case, that is as to whether Judge Coles was guilty of discrimination against Negroes in the selection of jurymen, solely on the ground of race or color, were not involved in these proceedings. The decision went only so far as to declare section four of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 constitutional. Decision in favor of Federal intervention.

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October Term, 1880

(5) Neal v. Delaware, 103 U. S. 370 .
The defendant, a Negro, was indicted and arraigned for trial in a Delaware State court for the crime of rape upon a white woman. The Delaware Constitution of 1831, section one, article four, and the Delaware Revised Statutes of 1853, section 109, thereunder enacted, limited the selection of grand and petit jurors to the white race. On the ground of this discrimination the defendant moved to quash the indictment. This motion was denied. The defendant was thereupon tried and convicted and sentenced to be hanged. Upon a writ of error to the Delaware court the United States Supreme Court declared the law under which the juries had been drawn for the trial of the case, to be in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment and ordered the release of the prisoner. Waite, C.J. and Field, J., dissented. Decision in favor of Federal intervention.

October Term, 1882

(6) Pace v. Alabama, 106 U. S. 583.
The defendant was tried and convicted in a State court of Alabama under Section 4189 of the Code of Alabama, which provided for a severer punishment in cases of fornication and adultery between Negroes and whites than between members of the same race. Upon writ of error, the United States Supreme Court declared that this was not a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment. Decision against Federal intervention.

(7) Bush v. Kentucky, 107 U. S. 110
The defendant, a Negro, was indicted for murder and arraigned for trial under II Revised Statutes of Kentucky of 1852, p. 75, which excluded Negroes from all jury service. A motion to set aside the panel of petit jurors on the ground of discrimination was overruled. Petitions for removal to the United States Circuit Court was also denied. The defendant was thereupon tried, convicted, and sentenced to death. Upon writ of error, the United States Supreme Court declared the indictment void, as the law under which was found violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Field, J., Waite, C.J., and Gray, J., dissented. Decision in favor of Federal intervention.

October Term, 1883

(8) The Civil Rights Cases, 109 U. S. 3.
These were five separate causes of action, each involving the same Federal question, namely, the constitutionality of sections one and two of the Civil Rights Act of 1875. They were thus treated as one case by the United States Supreme Court. The facts may be briefly summarized as follows:

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i. The denial of hotel accommodations to certain Negroes in the State of Kansas.
ii. The denial of hotel accommodations to a Negro in the State of Missouri.
iii. The denial to a Negro of a seat in the dress circle of Maquire's Theatre in San Francisco.
iv. The denial to a person (presumably a Negro) the "full enjoyment" of the accommodations of the Grand Opera House in New York City.
v. The refusal by a conductor on a passenger train to allow a Negro woman to travel in the "ladies' car" on a train of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad Company.

These acts of discrimination by private persons were severally set up as violations of sections one and two of the Civil Rights Act, which, by its terms, protected the Negro from the invasion of his newly given rights by the acts of private individuals as well as by action of the States. The primary question in the case was the constitutionality of this act of Congress. A further interpretation of the Thirteenth Amendment was also involved. In making the decision the court but elaborated the doctrine foreshadowed in the Slaughter House Cases, supra, and formulated in United States v. Cruikshank, supra, and in Virginia v. Rives, supra, that Congress had no power under the Fourteenth Amendment to initiate direct and affirmative legislation and thus invade and destroy the police power of the States. It could only enact general laws which would regulate the enforcement of the prohibitions contained in the Amendment when they were violated by the States. It is powerless to establish a Federal Code regulating or controlling the acts of private persons in the States. Harlan, J., dissented. Decision against Federal intervention.

October Term, 1889

(9) Beatty v. Benton, 135 U. S. 244.

In 1854 a Negro named Carrie transferred by deed a lot in Augusta , Georgia, to a white man. Under a statute of 1818-1819, Negroes could not hold real property in Georgia. Litigation over this property began in 1879 in the State courts, the outcome of which was the declaration that the deed of Carrie was void by virtue of said antebellum statute. The aggrieved party attempted to set up the Federal question that this was in contravention of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Upon writ of error the United States Supreme Court decided that no Federal question was presented, and dismissed the writ. Decision against Federal intervention.

October Term, 1894

(10) Andrews v. Swartz, 156 U. S. 272.
Anderson, a Negro, was indicted, tried, and convicted in a New Jersey State court for murder, and sentenced to death. He then petitioned the United States Circuit Court for a writ of habeas corpus on the ground that Negroes had been excluded from the grand and petit juries which dealt with his case. The Circuit Court denied the petition. On appeal the Supreme Court declared that the petitioner had used the wrong method of procedure, since the regular trial of a State court cannot be reviewed by habeas corpus proceedings. Decision against Federal intervention.

October Term, 1895

(11) Gibson v. Mississippi, 162 U. S. 565.
The defendant, a Negro, was indicted for murder and arraigned in a State court. He petitioned for the removal of the cause to the Federal Court on the ground that Negroes were excluded from the grand and petit juries. The petition was denied and the defendant forthwith tried and convicted. The ruling of the State court was upheld by the United States Supreme Court on writ of error. No proof was offered of discrimination against Negroes "solely on the ground of race or color." Decision against Federal intervention.

(12) Charley Smith v. Mississippi, 162 U. S. 592.
The defendant, a Negro, was indicted for murder and arraigned in a State court for trial. He moved to quash the indictment on the ground that Negroes were excluded from the grand and petit juries. No proof of discrimination was offered. The motion was overruled and the defendant tried and convicted. Upon writ of error the United States Supreme Court affirmed the decision. Decision against Federal intervention.

(13) Murray v. Louisiana, 163 U. S. 101.
The defendant, a Negro, was indicted, tried, and convicted of murder by white juries. The same procedure was had as in the foregoing case. Decision against Federal intervention.

(14) Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U. S. 537.
Plessy, a person of African descent, was arrested, tried, and convicted in the Criminal District Court for the Parish of New Orleans for violating the Louisiana Statute of 1890 (No. 111, p. 152), which provided that Negroes and white persons should travel in separate compartments on the passenger trains in that State. Upon proceedings had in the United States Supreme Court by way of prohibition and certiorari to test the constitutionality of said statute, it was held to be a valid exercise of the police power of the State, and therefore not in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, Harlan, J., dissented. Decision against Federal intervention.

October Term, 1897

(15) Williams v. Mississippi, 170 U. S. 213.
The defendant, a Negro, was indicted for the crime of murder, and arraigned before juries composed entirely of white men. A motion to quash the indictment on the ground of race discrimination was overruled. A petition for removal to the United States Circuit Court for the same alleged reason was denied. No proof of such discrimination was offered. The defendant was therupon tried, convicted, and sentenced to death. Upon writ of error the United States Supreme Court affirmed the decision. Decision against Federal intervention.

October Term, 1899

(16) Cummings v. Board of Education, 175 U. S. 528.
The Ware High School of Richmond County, Georgia, a public institution for Negroes only, was suspended "for economic reasons", while the high shcool for whites in the same county was continued in operation. Cummings, a Negro taxpayer, complained of discrimination against the Negroes as being in violation of the "priviliges and immunities" and the "equal protection" clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment. The trial did not show any abuse of discretion allowed by law to the county Board of Education. The constitutionality of all laws providing separate accommodations for whites and blacks in the public schools of the States was attacked in the argument of counsel, but the question was not presented in the record. Upon writ of error the United States Supreme Court affirmed the decision of the Supreme Court of Georgia upholding the action of the county Board of Education. Decision against Federal intervention.

(17) Carter v. Texas, 177 U. S. 442.
The defendant, a Negro, was indicted and arraigned in a State court for trial for the crime of murder. He moved to quash the indictment of the ground that Negroes were excluded from the grand jury on account of their race or color. He offered to introduce proof in support of this motion. The court refused to allow the introduction of proof and overruled the motion. The defendant was forthwith tried and convicted. Upon writ of error the United States Supreme Court reversed the decision of the State Court and remanded the case on the ground that the trial court erred in refusing to receive proof in support of said motion. Decision in favor of Federal intervention.

October Term, 1902

(18) Tarrance v. Florida, 188 U. S. 519
The defendant, a Negro, was indicted and arraigned for trial for the crime of murder. The juries were composed entirely of white men. He moved to quash the indictment on the ground of racial discrimination. No proof was

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offered in support of the motion. He was forthwith tried and convicted. Upon writ of error the United States Supreme Court affirmed the decision of the State court. Decision against Federal intervention.

(19) Brownfield v. South Carolina, 189 U. S. 426.
The defendant, a Negro, was indicted for the crime of murder before a grand jury composed entirely of white men. He moved to quash the indictment because of alleged exclusion of Negroes therefrom on account of their race or color. The motion further set up that the Negroes constituted four-fifths of the population of the county. No proof of discrimination was offered. The defendant was tried and convicted and the proceedings of the State court were affirmed, upon writ of error, by the United States Supreme Court. Decision against Federal intervention.

(20) Giles v. Harris, 189, U. S. 475.
Giles, a Negro, instituted proceedings to test the constitutionality of the suffrage clauses of the Constitution of Alabama of 1901. The interpretation of the Fifteenth Amendment was the paramount issue, although the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment was involved. An adverse decision was given in the State courts. The defendant prosecuted a writ of error to the Supreme Court of Alabama, which was dismissed for want of jurisdiction by the United States Supreme Court. The record did not present a Federal question. Brewer, Brown, and Harlan, JJ., dissented. Decision against Federal intervention.

October Term, 1903

(21) Rogers v. Alabama, 192 U.S. 226
The defendant, a Negro, was indicted and arraigned for the crime of murder. The juries were composed entirely of white men. He moved to quash t he indictment on the ground that Negroes were excluded from the juries on account of their race or color. The motion was stricken from the files for prolixity and the defendant tried and convicted. Upon writ of error the United States Supreme Court decided that the motion was relevant, properly presented a Federal question, and though perhaps including some superfluous matter, should not have been stricken from the files on the ground of local practice. Proof should have been allowed to have been introduced under the motion. The State court was reversed and the cause remanded. Decision in favor of Federal intervention.

(22) Giles v. Teasley, 193 U. S. 146
This was a second attempt by Giles, a Negro, to test the constitutionality of the suffrage clauses of the Constitution of Alabama of 1901. The Fifteenth Amendment, as before, was predominantly involved, the Fourteenth being of only secondary importance. The case was decided adversely in the State Courts. Upon writ of error the United States Supreme Court dismissed the proceedings on the ground that the record did not present a Federal question. The pleadings of the plaintiff were inconsistent, one allegation neutralizing the other. Harlan, J., dissented. Decision against Federal intervention.

October Term, 1905

(23) Martin v. Texas, 200 U. S. 316
The defendant, a Negro, was indicted for the crime of murder and arraigned for trial. He moved to quash the indictment on the ground that all Negroes had been excluded from the grand and petit juries because of race or color. No proof of discrimination was offered. The motion was overruled and the defendant tried, convicted, and sentenced to death. The United States Supreme Court, upon writ of error, reiterated its former opinions that the defendant could not, as a matter of right, demand a mixed jury. Decision against Federal intervention.

October Term, 1906

(24) Hodges v. United States, 203, U. S. 81
Hodges and several other white men were indicted by a grand jury in the District Court of the United States for the Eastern District of Arkansas on the charge of threatening and intimidating eight Negro laborers in a certain lumber yard. The indictment was found under U. S. Revised Statutes Sections 1977-1999, 5508 and 5510, which embodied portions of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, the Enforcement Act of 1870, the Ku Klux Act of 1871, and the Civil Rights Act of 1875. The interpretation of all three of the War Amendments was involved, the Thirteenth being predominant. The defendants demurred to the indictment as presenting no Federal question. This was overruled and the defendants forthwith tried and convicted. Upon writ of error the Supreme Court reversed the District Court and remanded the cause with instructions to sustain the demurrer. The alleged offence having been committed by private persons was not within the jurisdiction of a Federal Court. Harlan and Day, JJ., dissented. Decision against Federal intervention.

October Term, 1908.

(25) Berea College v. Kentucky, 211 U. S. 45
Berea College, a Kentucky corporation, was indicted under section one of the Acts of Kentucky of 1904, Chap. 85, which provided that no person or corporation should operate

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any school or college in which persons of the white and the Negro races were both received as pupils. The facts were undisputed, Berea College being such a mixed school. The only point in the case was the constitutionality of the above-mentioned law under the Fourteenth Amendment. The trial in the State court resulted in a conviction and fine. Upon being brought to the United States Supreme Court by writ of error, the case turned upon the point that the defendant was a corporation and not a person, and hence being a creature of the State was subject to its control in this particular. The question as to the power of the State to enforce the separation of the races in schools per se was not decided. Only that portion of the Act which referred to the restrictions on corporations was declared unconstitutional. The Supreme Court -- like other forces -- follows the line of least resistance. If a case be disposed of on a lesser point, the greater will not be decided. One cannot but doubt the logic and ultimate justice of such a rule. Harlan, J., dissented. Decision against Federal intervention.

(26) Thomas v. Texas, 212 U. S. 278.
The defendant, a Negro, was indicted and arraigned on the charge of murder. He moved to quash the indictment on the ground that all Negroes had been excluded from the grand and petit juries. No proof of discrimination was offered. The motion was overruled and the defendant tried, convicted, and sentenced to death. Upon writ of error the United States Supreme Court affirmed the decision of the State Court on the ground aforementioned that discrimination will not be presumed. Decision against Federal intervention.

October Term, 1909

(27) Marbles v. Creecy, 215 U. S. 63.
A requisition was issued by the Governor of Mississippi to the Governor of Missouri for the return of Marbles, a Negro, who was charged with the crime of assault with intent to murder. He had fled to the State of Missouri. Upon being arrested in the latter State, by virtue of said requisition, he petitioned for a writ of habeas corpus in the United States Circuit Court, setting up the alleged fact that it was not possible that he could receive a fair trial should he be returned to the State of Mississippi, on account of his race or color. No proof was offered that such a state of affairs would come to pass. The petition was denied by the Circuit Court. Upon appeal to the United States Supreme Court the decision was affirmed and the prisoner ordered to be surrendered. Decision against Federal intervention.

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(28) Franklin v. South Carolina, 218 U. S. 161.
Pink Franklin, a Negro, shot and killed one Valentine, a constable, who was attempting to arrest him for the violation of a certain South Carolina statute. He was indicted for murder, tried, convicted, and sentenced to death. No Negroes were on the juries. At the trial a motion was made to quash the indictment on this ground. No statement of race discrimination was made and no proof of such discrimination offered. Upon writ of error the Supreme Court of the United States affirmed the judgment of the State Court. Decision against Federal intervention.(47)

October Term, 1909

(29) Chiles v. C. & O. Ry. Co., 218 U. S. 71, 30 S.Ct. 677 (1910)
The plaintiff in error, a Negro, had a first-class ticket from Washington, D. C. to Lexington, Kentucky. He changed cars at Ashland, Kentucky, and there went into a car reserved for white persons exclusively. Pursuant to a regulation of the railway company he was required to remove into a compartment in another car set apart for colored passengers. This he did under protest, only when a policeman had been summoned to eject him. He sued for damages, basing his claims on his rights as an interstate passenger. It was held that in the absence of Congressional legislation the carrier could make reasonable regulations for the conduct of its business. As to what was "reasonable" it was said that this "cannot depend upon a passenger being state or interstate". Decision against Federal intervention.

October Term, 1913

(30) Butts v. Merchants and Miners Transportation Co., 230 U. S. 126, 33 S. Ct. 964 (1913)

A Negro woman, holding a first class ticket on a coastwise vessel from Boston to Norfolk and return, sued under Sections 1 and 2 of the Civil Rights Act of 1875. She asked for damages, alleging deprivation, on account of color, of the privileges accorded other first class passengers who were white. The unanimous court recognized the Civil Rights Cases, supra, as authoritatively declaring the applicable law, on the ground that the terms of the Act in question, it being a criminal statute, were not separable. The act is invalid in this instance as well as when applied in the states. Decision against federal intervention.

(31) McCabe v. A. T. & S. F. R. Co., 235 U. S. 151, 35 S. Ct. 69. (19
Petition for injunctive relief by five Negroes who brought suit in behalf of other Negroes in Oklahoma alleging that under a state statute public carriers were authorized to provide separate cars for whites with diners and sleepers and none for Negro passengers. Relief was denied on the grounds that the petition did not state a cause for relief since the petitioners did not allege that they had ever travelled on the trains in question. Decision against Federal intervention.

(47) Extracted from: Charles Wallace Collins, The Fourteenth Amendment and the States, Boston: Little Brown & Company, (1912) pp. 48-62.

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(32) Guinn v. United States, 238 U. S. 347, 35 S. Ct. 926 (1915) A 1910 amendment to the Oklahoma constitution exempted from a literacy test for voters every person "who was, on January 1st 1866, or at any time prior thereto, entitled to vote under any form of government", or was a "lineal descendant of such person". It was apparent that the purpose of the constitutional amendment was to prevent Negroes who were disfranchised in 1866 from voting since they could not qualify to the exception. The Supreme Court brushed aside the device as contrary to the 15th Amendment. Decision in favor of Federal intervention.

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Admittedly, it would not be intellectually fair to criticize these decisions without recognizing that the American Union comprises a dual form of government. The sovereignity of the states and the ideal of untrammelled local government are to be appreciated. But the conclusion is inescapable that in these cases the Supreme Court has shown a complete lack of realism and failed to grasp the practical fact that the civil rights of Negroes stem from citizenship created by federal law. The dictum of Mr. Justice Bradley in The Civil Rights Cases, supra, that race discrimination is not an incident of slavery is just as realistic as a statement to a slave that his chains are not incidents of his servitude. And to tell a Negro who has suffered from mob violence because of state inaction that he must look to the state for protection sounds very much like telling a woman who has been seduced that her future protection lies in the hands of her seducer! Such, in substance, has been the realism of Supreme Court decisions defining the rights of American Negroes. Justice to the Negro has really been sacrificed to the political theory of states rights.

As a result, by 1914 the eve of the First World War, the legal status of the American Negro had degenerated to the pattern that existed before the Civil War. In the states where before 1863 he had been considered an item of property, he was denied equal protection of the laws; in those states where he had met some semblance of fairness, an effort was made to guarantee his rights by express enactments.

For instance, in eighteen of the northern and western states civil rights acts were adopted after 1884 to protect Negro citizens from discrimination.(48)

(48) Mangum, op. cit. pp. 34-77.

These laws have suffered the vicissitudes of judicial interpretation, as would be expected of any statute. Their effectiveness is in fact a reflection on the race attitudes in the states rather than on the sense of justice in the courts. On the other hand, it is significant that in the southern states where the legal rights of Negroes have met greater abuse, no civil rights statutes have ever been adopted.(49)

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This fact portrays the fallacy inherent in the argument that the legal rights of American Negroes can be entrusted to the states. It is almost idiotic to expect that states where the citizenship of Negroes had to be established by force would later honor that citizenship by law. As a complement to the doctrine that the federal government could not protect civil rights in the states, the Supreme Court developed the doctrine that private action condoned by state inaction was not within the scope of the Fourteenth Amendment. It was in this peculiar quagmire of incapacity and inaction that the American Negro found himself in his search for justice within the framework of American law.

(49) Ibid.

Chapter I

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LAW

By Milton R. Konvitz

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This chapter will not deal with the inequalities that exist despite the law. It will be concerned with the inequalities that exist because of the law; the inequalities that are legal, that are sanctioned by the United States Supreme Court and by the laws of legislatures. We shall also consider to what extent inequalities have been declared against the law.

I. The Negro and the Supreme Court

1. The Negro's right to live where he pleases.

There are many municipalities where a Negro cannot buy land; there are large sections in nearly every city and town where he cannot buy or rent a house or shop. Have owners the legal right to refuse to sell or rent property to a Negro solely because of his color or race?

Although in the case of Buchanan v. Warly the Supreme Court in 1917 held that a municipality may not by ordinance segregate the Negro from the white residents, the constitutional restraint thus placed on a government agency is not imposed on individual owners. In the case, Corrigan v. Buckley, which came before the Court in 1926 and involved a covenant in a deed prohibiting for 21 years the sale of the property involved to any Negro, the Court held that under the constitution the Negro has no protection against the action of an individual owner. Individual owners may therefore enter into contracts respecting the control and disposition of their property with the purpose of excluding the Negro [redacted] from its use and enjoyment.

The more recent decision of the court in Hansberry v. Lee has been hailed as a great victory for the Negro. Actually it was nothing of the kind. In that case it appeared that 500 Chicago landowners had made an agreement stipulating that for a specified period no part of their lands should be sold or leased to Negroes. The defendant was one of the owners; petitioners were Negroes who had acquired and were occupying a portion of the land. Petitioners claimed that the owners' agreement by its own terms had required the signature of 95 percent of the owners and that the required percentage of owners had not signed. Defendant claimed that 95 percent of the owners had signed, as had been determined in an earlier Illinois suit. To this answer petitioners replied that they were not bound by the Illinois decision, since they had not been parties to that suit. A lower federal court had found as a fact that only 54 percent had signed but held that petitioners were none the less bound by the Illinois decision. The Supreme Court held simply that petitioners were not bound by the Illinois decision, since they had not been parties in the suit before the state court. Nothing in the decision or in the opinion by Mr. Justice Stone may in any way be construed as changing the law laid down in 1926.

Under the law as it stands today, then, while the government may not enforce racial segregation, private agreements barring Negroes from neighborhoods or homes will be enforced by the courts. It has been argued often that contractual segregation should also be declared unconstitutional. The court had an opportunity in Hansberry v. Lee to adopt this position, thereby outlawing segregation howsoever instituted, but the court avoided the issue altogether by deciding the case on an incidental point.

2. The Negro's right to an education

As early as 1899 the Supreme Court, in Cumming v. Board of

Education, upheld segregation in schools. But the leading case is Berea College v. Kentucky, decided in 1908.

In 1904 the Kentucky legislature passed an act prohibiting any corporation or individual from maintaining an educational institution for both races. It did permit a school to maintain separate branches for the two races, provided they were at least 25 miles apart. The act was aimed directly at Berea College, established fifty years before and opened to Negro pupils after the Civil War. After the act was passed the college authorities reluctantly transferred their Negro pupils to Negro colleges. The college authorities undertook to test the constitutionality of the act. The Supreme Court held the act constitutional. Berea College was an incorporated institution, operating under a charter; a charter, being a legislative grant, may be amended by the legislature; the purpose of the act of 1904 was to amend the charter of the corporation; therefore, the act was constitutional.

Mr. Justice Harlan dissented and took pains to ridicule the reasoning of his associates. The obvious purpose of the legislature, he said, was not simply to prohibit mixed teaching by corporations but by anyone; the act did not purport to amend charters. The court, he said, should directly decide whether the act is constitutional in so far as it makes it a crime to operate a private school for both white and Negro pupils. He thought the act was contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment. Why not forbid white and Negro children from coming together in Sunday School or Church? The right not to be interfered with in one's religion is no more sacred than the right to impart and receive instruction not harmful to the public. "Have we become so inoculated with prejudice of race that an American government, professedly based on the principles of freedom, and charged with the protection of all citizens alike, can make distinctions between citizens

in the matter of their voluntary meeting for innocent purposes simply because of their respective races?"

The institution involved was a private school. A private school claimed the right to teach both white and Negro students; the law intervened to deny that right; the Supreme Court upheld the law. It is a case where the law compelled segregation.

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In 1938 the court considered segregation in a public university. In Gaines v. Canada, petitioner, a Missouri citizen and a graduate of Lincoln University (for Negroes), wanted to study law at the University of Missouri and qualified for admission but was rejected. A state act provided that, pending the full development of Lincoln University, the board of curators might send a student to the university of an adjacent state to study any subjects provided for at the University of Missouri but not taught at Lincoln, the board to pay reasonable tuition fees. The curators offered to send the Negro petitioner to a law school in an adjacent state but he insisted on admission to the University of Missouri School for law. The state court, construing the state constitution, held it mandatory to segregate Negro students. The Supreme Court decided in favor of the petitioner and Chief Justice Hughes wrote, "We are of the opinion that the ruling was error, and that petitioner was entitled to be admitted to the law school of the state university in the absence of other and proper provision for his legal training within the state."

The court did not hold that the Negro student must be admitted to the University of Missouri School of Law as a white student would be admitted. It held only that either he must be admitted or the state must provide other proper facilities within the state. The Negro won the right not to be sent out of the state for his education; he was not accorded the right to an education in a public institution regardless

of his color.

3. The Negro's right to vote

The poll-tax has been universally condemned as an undemocratic obstacle to a free election. Yet in the case of Breedlove v. Suttles, decided by the Supreme Court in 1937, the court upheld the Georgia poll-tax law, saying, "Payment as a prerequisite is not required for the purpose of denying or abridging the privilege of voting." To make payment of the tax a prerequisite to voting is not, held the court, to infringe the Fourteenth Amendment; it "is a familiar and reasonable regulation long enforced in many states and for more than a century in Georgia." The court approved the poll-tax law as not only constitutional but as a reasonable piece of legislation.

The poll-tax is a bar to voting in final elections. As to the primary, the chief bar has been the pure-white [redacted] party rule. In southern states nomination in the Democratic Party primary election is equivalent to final election. In southern states the Democratic Party conducted primary elections from which Negroes were rigorously excluded. Repeatedly the Democratic Party attempted to show in cases brought to the Supreme Court that the Party was a private organization from which could be excluded any group not wanted by the Party, and that the primary conducted by the Party was a private affair. In 1945, in Smith v. Allwright, the court declared that the Democratic Party of Texas could not exclude Negroes from voting in the Party's primary election.

4. The Negro's right to public facilities

Just as some state laws compel segregation in schools, colleges, and universities, some state laws compel segregation in public conveyances. Such laws, in so far as they do not apply to interstate traffic, are constitutional. The Supreme Court has so ruled time and again. In another part of this chapter will be listed the states which require

segregation --- Jim Crowism --- in railway transportation. In these states failure by the railway companies to enforce the terms of the laws is a misdemeanor, and a passenger or conductor who violates the law is guilty of a crime. Some states have Jim Crow laws which apply also to street cars. In some, compulsory segregation is extended to cover all forms of public transportation.

30-15 dl-31

In 1896, in Plessy v. Ferguson, the court considered a Louisiana act which required equal but separate accommodations and provided a penalty for passengers who sit in a car or compartment assigned to the other race. The petitioner, an octoroon, in whom "Negro blood" was not discernible, sat in a white car and was arrested. The court held the Louisiana act constitutional; it was a reasonable exercise of the state's police power. It was argued that segregation implies inferiority. To this the court replied that this is true solely because the Negro chooses to put that construction upon it.

Mr. Justice Harlan dissented, pointing out that the Thirteenth Amendment not only ended slavery but forbade the imposition of anything constituting a badge of servitude; that the Fourteenth Amendment gives Negroes the right to be exempt from "unfriendly legislation", "legal discriminations, implying inferiority in civil society, lessening the security of their enjoyment of the rights which others enjoy, and discriminations which are steps towards reducing them to the condition of a subject race." To the argument that there was no discrimination because the law of separation applies to both races alike, Harlan replied that obviously the purpose of the act was not to exclude the white from the Negro cars but to exclude the Negro from the white cars. He maintained that if a white man and a Negro want to occupy the same public conveyance on a public highway it is their right to do so, and no government can prevent them without infringement of the personal liberty of each.

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Why, asked Harlen, may not the principle of the decision apply to sidewalks, to a separation of Protestants and Catholics? "What," he asked, "can more certainly arouse race hate, what more certainly create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between these races, than state enactments, which, in fact, proceed on the ground that colored citizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be allowed to sit in publich coaches occupied by white citizens?" The act declares Negroes to be criminals if they ride in a white man's coach. Negroes, said Harlan, should never cease objecting to such a law. If evils will result from commingling, greater evils will result from the infringement of civil rights. "The thin disguise of 'equal accommodations'...will not mislead anyone, nor atone for the wrong done this day."

It was not until 1946, in the Irene Morgan case, that the court held unconstitutional a state Jim Crow law. But the Virginia law involved in that case was held unconstitutional only because it attempted to impose Jim Crow regulations on interstate passengers. It is significant that the basis for the decision is not equal protection of the law, or due processof the law, but the exclusive right of Congress to regulate interstate commerce. Jim Crowism in interstate traffic is still constitutional.

5. The Negro's right to join a labor union

In several recent cases the Supreme Court has recognized the right of Negro workers to freely join labor unions without discrimination because of their race or color. In the Steele and Tunstall cases the court held that since the Railway Labor Act authorizes a union, chosen by a majority of the workers, to represent the entire craft, the union selected as the bargaining unit must represent all workers without discrimination because of race or color. In the Railway Mail Association case the court held that a state may by legislation declare the right to join a labor union without discrimination because of race, color, creed or national

origin, a civil right and protect this right by criminal sanctions.

6. Summary

The Negro has been successful before the Supreme Court in cases involving procedure in criminal trials, the treatment of persons suspected of the commission of crimes, the right to be indicted or tried by a jury from which members of one's own race are not systematically excluded. But these cases have not involved the rights of Negroes as such: the decisions of the court have simply extended to the Negro the constitutional right of all citizens to trials conducted according to "due process." In cases involving the rights of Negroes as Negroes --- to live where they please, to be free from segregation in schools and universities, to vote without the poll-tax restriction, to ride in interstate commerce in public conveyances without subjection to Jim Crowism --- in these cases the Negro has been unsuccessful, even when, as in recent years, the Supreme Court has consisted of a liberal majority.

30-15d-4

II. Protection of Civil Rights by Federal Law

Recently Tom Clark, United States Attorney General, speaking of federal action in cases involving mob violence against Negroes, has said: "Federal action in most of these cases hangs upon a very thin thread of law. It is like trying to fight a modern atomic war with a Civil War musket.... The time has come when Congress may have to pass legislation to insure to all citizens the guarantees under the Constitution". And Theron L. Caudle, Assistant Attorney General and head of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, has recently said: "...We hope to point out to Congress the inadequacy and defects of present federal statutes. Legislation is needed. We have no desire to assume jurisdiction over local affairs nor to interfere with local criminal administration, but where the community is lax in meeting its obligation to afford just and equal protection of the laws to its every individual member, that individual has --- and should have --- the right to look to his Federal Government for protection of himself and his neighbors. Our democracy suffers a grievous, if not fatal, blow when the processes of law and order are broken down by mob action because a few in the community lack the will to accept its obligation to keep those processes intact when the Federal Government is powerless."

The legal impotence of the Federal government to protect an individual in the enjoyment of fundamental rights can be quickly demonstrated.

Following the Civil War, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution were adopted, which outlawed slavery, conferred citizenship on the Negro, and provided that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law. Congress also adopted five statutes which attempted to implement the constitutional guarantees. Before long, however, the Supreme Court held

that the Constitution protects only rights which stem from federal, as distinguished from state, citizenship, and that for the protection of civil rights the citizen must look to his state. Furthermore, it was held that Congress may not enact statutes which will define and protect civil rights against invasion by an individual, as distinguished from a public official. These decisions took the heart out of the Congressional legislation; before long most of civil rights acts were repealed by Congress. There are left only two important acts, and these are sharply limited in scope.

30-152-3

One of the statutes is section 51 of the Criminal Code, which provides that if several persons conspire to injure or threaten a citizen in the exercise of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, they shall be guilty of a crime. As construed by the Supreme Court, this act protects a citizen (aliens are not covered by this act) in the exercise of only very few rights. It does not protect him in the enjoyment of life, liberty or property, mentioned in the Fourteenth Amendment. These are not rights federally secured against invasion by private persons but only against invasion by the states. The act affords no protection against lynch mobs. What rights are federally secured, and thus protected against invasion by a conspiracy of two or more private persons? The cases have enumerated the following: protection in the execution and enforcement of federal judicial decrees, protection as a witness in a federal court, access to federal courts, the right to vote for federal officers, the right to run for federal offices, and cognate rights.

The other statute is section 52 of the Criminal Code, which, until 1940, was used in only two reported cases. Its usefulness may be measured in part by this fact. The act provides that, whoever, under color of state law, wilfully subjects any inhabitant to the deprivation of any rights, privileges or immunities secured or protected by the

Constitution and laws of the United States, or to different punishments, pains or penalties, on account of his alienage, color or race, shall be guilty of a crime. This act is directed only against state and local officers; it is not directed against non-official action. If a state or local officer, acting in an official capacity, deprives a person, because he is an alien or a Negro, of his life, liberty or property without due process of law, of his freedom of speech, or press, or assembly, or other constitutional right, his action, because it constitutes in effect state action, prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment, is a violation of the statute.

30-152-41

The effectiveness of this statute was considerably weakened by the decision of the Supreme Court in 1945 in the Screws case, in which it was held that the deprivation of rights, under section 52, must be wilful; otherwise the officer's action does not come within the prohibition of the statute.

Again, mob violence is not covered by this act, unless a state or local officer is shown to be a part of the mob, and he acts as an officer wilfully to deprive a person of a federally-secured right.

The extent to which the effectiveness of this act has been weakened by the Screws case may be seen from the following statement made by the head of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice: "The uncertainty caused by the court's interpretation of the statute [in the Screws case] has [sic] placed great obstacles in the way of the District Attorney and he can no longer undertake a prosecution for violation of this section with any degree of confidence, no matter how heinous is the offensive conduct charged, for the very reason that the government must carry the burden of proving that the act was committed solely for the purpose of denying the victim of a federal right."

In the light of the foregoing analysis of the scope of sections 51 and 52, it is easy to agree with the head of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice when he says that "sections 51 and 52 are indeed imperfect statutory authority upon which to ground a consistent and vigorous program for the protection of the rights of all."

30-154-2

III. State Statutes Prohibiting Discrimination

As we have seen, the Supreme Court has held that Congress has no power to define and protect civil rights. Only states may do this. A citizen must look to his state for the recognition of civil rights. The only thing he may demand is that the state shall not discriminate against him in the definition and protection of civil rights on account of his race or color. But the great limitation on this principle of nondiscriminatory state action is to be found in the decisions of the Supreme Court that segregation is not discrimination.

Following the decision in 1883 that civil rights are matters for the state governments, and not for Congress, state legislatures adopted civil rights acts. There are now eighteen states which have such acts, of varying scope and effectiveness. These eighteen states are: California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington, and Wisconsin.

The courts almost uniformly have construed these acts narrowly, and infringe private property rights. because, they say, the acts are in derogation of the common law. Frequent legislative amendment is required to overcome the adverse decisions of courts.

In California the person aggrieved has only the right of civil suit; in nine states provision is made for both civil and criminal penalties; seven states provide only for criminal sanctions; in New Jersey the person aggrieved sues for a money judgment, but the award is paid to the state. Only in New Jersey, New York, and Illinois are public officials charged with the duty of enforcement of civil rights acts.

The statutes generally provide that there shall be no discrimination against persons, because of their race or color, in public conveyances, schools, places of public accommodation (as hotels, restaurants) and

places of public amusement. The degrees of specificity in the statutes vary considerably: the Illinois act mentions department stores, clothing stores, hat stores, shoe stores; the New York act mentions beauty parlors; the Michigan act mentions escalators; while at the other extreme is the Washington act, which does not at all itemize or define places of public accommodation, resort or amusement.

30-152-33

There is no civil rights act for the District of Columbia. On the contrary, ~~as will be seen in the next section,~~ laws of Congress impose Jim Crow restrictions on the Negro citizens of the District. A District of Columbia civil rights bill has been before Congress for several years.

New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts have recently adopted acts against discrimination in private employment. These acts create a new civil right: freedom from discrimination in private employment.

IV State Statutes Compelling or Allowing Segregation or Discrimination

Since civil rights pertain to the jurisdiction of the individual states, some states, as we have seen, have adopted acts to define the scope of civil rights and to afford a measure of protection in their enjoyment. On the other hand, twenty states have adopted acts compelling segregation in various relations or activities. Ten states, by inaction, have left the matter to private discretion.

In twenty states segregation of pupils in schools is mandatory or expressly permitted. In three states the statutes require separate schools even for the deaf, dumb, and blind. In six states the statutes call for separate schools for the blind. Sixteen states require segregation in juvenile delinquent and reform schools; in nine states separate trade and agricultural schools are required. Three states require separate school libraries. Florida stipulates that textbooks used by Negro pupils shall be stored separately. Separate colleges are mandatory in twelve states. Separate teacher-training schools are required in fourteen states. In four states a Negro may not teach white pupils and a white person may not teach Negro pupils; one of these states provides that only white persons born in the United States, whose parents could speak English and who themselves have spoken English since childhood, may teach white pupils.

In fourteen states the law require separate railroad facilities. Three states stipulate that separate sleeping compartments and bedding are to be used by Negro train passengers. Separate waiting rooms are required in eight states. Separation in buses is required in eleven states; ten states have the same requirement affecting street-car transportation. Three states provide for separation on steamboats.

Two states require separation of the races at circuses and tent shows. Three states require separation in parks, playgrounds and on beaches. Three states require separation in billiard and pool rooms. Arkansas requires separation at race tracks. In Tennessee and Virginia separation at theatres and public balls is required.

30-152-30

There are laws which require separation of the races in hospitals. In eleven states even mental defectives must be separated by race. In Alabama a female white nurse may not take care of a Negro male patient.

Separation is required by eleven states in penal and correctional institutions. Separate bathing facilities in such institutions are required by laws in Alabama and Tennessee. Separate tables in such institutions are required by a statute of Arkansas, and separate beds by statutes in two states.

There are laws which require separation of the races in a multitude of relations --- too many to be mentioned here. Several examples will make clear the scope of the Jim Crowism imposed by law: Oklahoma requires separate telephone booths for Negroes; a Texas statute prohibits whites and Negroes from engaging together in boxing matches; Arkansas requires a separation of the races in voting places; in Georgia a Negro minister may marry only Negro couples; in South Carolina Negroes and whites may not work together in the same room in cotton textile factories, nor may they use the same doors of entrance and exit at the same time, nor may they use the same pay windows or stairways at the same time.

If a state does not have an act calling for segregation with respect to a specific matter, it is not to be assumed that with respect to that matter there is no segregation. Many of the Southern and Border states do not have laws requiring segregation in theatres and other places of public amusement; yet the races do not mingle there, and the Negro cannot compel admission because the states have no civil rights acts.

As Myrdal has pointed out, these Jim Crow laws effectively tighten and freeze segregation and discrimination. Before this Jim Crow legislation was enacted there was a tendency on the part of white people to treat Negroes somewhat differently, depending upon class and education. " This tendency was broken by the laws which applied to all Negroes. The legislation thus solidified the caste line and minimized the importance of class differences in the Negro group."

Congress has refused to pass laws to declare the poll tax illegal; to make lynching more effectively subject to federal law; to make discrimination in private employment in interstate commerce a crime; to define and guarantee civil rights in the District of Columbia. The Supreme Court has failed to declare Jim Crowism in interstate commerce unconstitutional; to outlaw segregation in schools as a denial of due process or equal protection of the laws; to outlaw the restrictive covenant in the sale or rental of property; to declare the poll-tax an unconstitutional tax on a federally-guaranteed right or privilege. The Supreme Court has placed the Negro at the mercy of the individual states; they alone have the power to define and guarantee civil rights. The Negro is a citizen of the United States, yet the thread that ties him to the federal government, when it is a question of protecting his life, liberty or property, is so thin that the government is compelled to admit its impotence.

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Chapter III

THE PRESENT LEGAL AND SOCIAL STATUS OF THE NEGRO

By

William R. Ming, Jr.

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The present legal and social status of the Negro in the United States can be best described in terms of the appalling contrast between the breadth of the rights which are guaranteed by law to every person and those few which Negroes, generally, are permitted to enjoy. Frequently it is said that the Negro has been relegated to "second class citizenship." That, however, is an overly simplified description of the plight of a minority when the political and social institutions of their country fail miserably to protect their lives, liberties or property.

Written sources of law, whether they be constitutions and statutes, state or federal, or opinions of courts, or regulations or orders of administrative bodies furnish clues to, but do not reflect, the real status of Negroes. Rather, it is the laws in operation which determine that status and it cannot be seriously questioned that the political institutions fall far short of achieving the ideals which the laws express.

Examined together the body of laws of the United States are consistent with "The American Creed". That credo has been expressed in a variety of ways but the most succinct, perhaps, is that found in the phrase graven over the entrance to the Supreme Court of the United States. There "Equal Justice Under Law" is boldly proclaimed. The same idea is expressed in the description of the government of the United States as "one of laws, and not of men" and in a host of other platitudes. The classical proclamation of this ideal, of course, is found in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. More nearly contemporary, but equally idealistic, is the justly celebrated statement of the "Four Freedoms".

Significantly, this creed authorizes no distinctions based on race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Yet discriminations based solely on race are the rule in all parts of the country. Nevertheless, so integral a part of the national consciousness is this creed that those, like the Negroes, most sinned against in its name, embrace it, and those, like the dominant majority, who deviate most from it in their political and social conduct feel obligated to explain their actions and to justify them in reference to that creed.

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To explain this paradox would require a thorough analysis of the history and political and social foundations of the United States. It would be necessary to measure the psychological reactions produced in its people by the environments from which they came, and the one in which they live, and to consider a host of other factors which appear to affect political and social groups generally. The basis, however, does not alter the fact. In the eyes of the organic law Negroes are the equals of all other persons and, legally, each individual Negro is the equal of each non-Negro similarly situated. In few situations, however, have the laws and the mores of any community been so far apart.

The legal status of Negroes in the United States actually was determined by the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments soon after the Civil War. Essentially, once slavery had been outlawed and the effects of the Dred Scott decision abolished, the relative legal status of the Negro was fixed and it was fixed in accordance with the ethical precepts of "The American Creed".

True, there have been a number of major decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States since that time which have defined that status in particular situations. But, the necessity for such judicial determinations is, itself, a measure of the status of

Negroes since, in the main, the cases involved action by political instrumentalities, not individual persons, designed to deny fundamental rights to an oppressed minority. Moreover, the facts of these cases serve to depict the actual place of the Negro in the community in which he lives.

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For example, after twice invalidating the efforts of the Texas Legislature to bar Negroes from the Democratic primary elections in that state,[1/] the power of the State Democratic Convention to achieve the same result was uphold in Grovey v. Townsend.[2/] That anachronistic rule was short-lived. Led by the N.A.A.C.P., a determined group of Texas Negroes demonstrated that in a "one party" system the "white primary" made a mockery of votes by Negroes in any general election. As a result, the Supreme Court overruled the Grovey case and opened the primary polls to Negroes in Smith v. Allwright.[3/] Although limited by its terms to Texas the judgment in that case really affected the whole South since the "white primary" was the pride of many states.[4/]

The rights of Negroes accused of crimes, to freedom from duress and to a fair trial likewise have been judicially recognized, at least in the highest court, on numerous occasions. Perhaps the most celebrated of these cases was the "Scottsboro Case."[5/]

1/ Nixon v. Herndon, 273 U.S. 536 (192).
Nixon v. Condon, 286 U.S. 73 (192).

2/ 295 U.S. 45 (1935).

3/ 321 U.S. 649 (1944).

4/ Lane v. Wilson, 307 U.S. 268 (1939) was equally significant, though less broad in immediate effect. There, the Supreme Court held invalid an Oklahoma registration statute passed after the "Grandfather Clause" had been knocked out which allowed only a 12 day period for the registration of all persons formerly barred from the polls. The statute contained no reference to race but it permanently disfranchised those not registered within the 12 days and only Negroes had been previously barred.

5/ Powell v. Alabama, 287 U.S. 45 (1932).

There, failure of an Alabama trial court to provide counsel for nine young, illiterate Negroes charged with the rape of two white women of questionable virtue was held to make the conviction invalid. A second conviction was set aside because of the systematic exclusion of Negroes from both grand and trial juries.[6] In the latter case the Court relied on a long line of precedents and applied a rule generally followed though hedged about with numerous technicalities.[7]

After a false start,[8] the Supreme Court recognized that the trial of a Negro might be only a form, a face-saving substitute for a lynch mob. In Moore v. Dempsey[9] the court reviewed the trial of several Negroes sentenced to death for the alleged murder of a white man during race riots in Elaine, Arkansas. It was found that the entire judicial machinery which had conducted and reviewed the trial was so dominated by mob violence that there had been no trial worthy of the name.

Similarly, judicial disapproval has been expressed when convictions were shown to have been based on confessions literally beaten out of Negro suspects. But it should be noticed that in every such case the torturers were officers of the state, deputy sheriffs and the like. Moreover, that fact was relied on to justify sustaining

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6/ Norris v. Alabama, 294 U.S. 587 (1935).

7/ See e.g. Strauder v. West Virginia, 100 U.S. 303 (1880); Ex parte Virginia, 100 U.S. 339 (1880); Hale v. Kentucky, 303 U.S. 613 (1938); and Pierre v. Louisiana, 305 U.S. (1939). For a complete and authoritative discussion of the problem see Jefferson, "Race Discrimination in Jury Service", 19 Boston Univ. Law Rev. 413 (1939).

8/ See Frank v. Mangum, 237 U.S. 309 (1915) upholding the conviction for murder of a Jew in Georgia in a trial held with a barely restrained mob demanding the prisoner's life. Holmes and Hughes JJ., dissented.

9/ 261 U.S. 86 (1928).

convictions so obtained. Nevertheless, in Brown v. Mississippi [10] the Supreme Court was impelled by the horrors of the record before it to observe that:

> Because a state may dispense with a jury trial, it does not follow that it may substitute trial by ordeal. The rack and torture chamber may not be substituted for the witness stand.

Although that decision determined and applied the law of the land, the real status of Negroes is aptly demonstrated by the fact that the deputies had boasted in open court of beating the helpless Negroes until they confessed to a crime that ~~ever~~ other evidence made plain they could not have committed.

An equally illuminating demonstration of this calloused disregard for human rights which frequently characterizes the relationship between Negroes and those who administer the laws is found in Chambers v. Florida. [11] In that case, also peace officers boasted in open court of tying Negro suspects to trees and flogging them with chains until mumbled admissions of crimes of which they had no knowledge stopped their captors short of murder in the guise of law enforcement.

But even more shocking than such conduct by state officers is the fact that it usually goes unpunished. [12] Moreover, this immunity for those who commit violent crimes against Negroes is not limited to "guardians of the law." That even private persons enjoy it serves to

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10/ 297 U.S. 278 (1936).

11/ 309 U.S. 227 (1940).

12/ See Screws v. United States, 325 U.S. 91 (1945), for a extended discussion of the power of the federal government to punish such conduct by state officers even when the state does not do so. In that case a Georgia sheriff and two deputies, after having purported to arrest a Negro for theft of a tire, beat him to death in the court house square. The three "peace" officers were indicted for, and convicted of, violation of a federal statute prohibiting deprivation of constitutional rights. The conviction was reversed by a divided court with four justices holding that the trial judge had erred in not instructing the jury that the petitioners were guilty only if they intended to deprive the deceased of his constitutional rights. Three justices dissented on the ground that this was not "state action" within the meaning of the 14th Amendment on which the federal statute is based because the action of the officers was clearly violative of state law. Only Mr. Justice Murphy thought the conviction ought to be confirmed.

illustrate the real place of the Negro in the community.

The spectacle of the unwillingness of law enforcement officers to seek out, much less prosecute or punish, members of lynch mobs is a ghastly, but familiar, demonstration of the failure of the law to protect Negroes. Of equal significance is the apparent inability, or worse, of some officers to hold their Negro prisoners against blood thirsty lynch mobs. And, on occasion, this sanction of violence as a means of "keeping Negroes in their place" results in tolerance of murder in its most aggravated form.

Such a case occurred in Conroe, Texas in 1941. Bob White, a Negro, had been accused of rape of a white woman. Twice, trial courts had found him guilty but each conviction had been set aside for insufficiency of the evidence. As the Court adjourned for lunch on the first day of the third trial the deputies guarding him withdrew. At once, the husband of the alleged victim approached the prisoner and shot and killed him in full view of the judge, jury and spectators. The husband was immediately arraigned and tried for murder. Next day he was acquitted and the prosecutor congratulated him!

Although the reported decisions of courts are a fruitful source of material they represent only a tiny fraction of the cases which demonstrate that the threat of unrestrained and unprovoked violence is ever-present. Some of the newspaper files tells a portion of the story but no source material contains it all.[13/] Moreover, even the Negro weeklies which will report the beating of a Negro cannot be expected to find much news value in governmental non-action in case after case.[14/]

13/ See I American Dilemma, Myrdal, Harper, 1942, pp. 558-569.

14/ An exceptional case may be that of Isaac Woodard, a Negro veteran of World War II. In February 1946 he was blinded by an unprovoked beating at the hands of a South Carolina peace officer. State officials took no action at all but the Department of Justice announced that it would seek an indictment.

This apathy of the executive arm of the government is matched by that of the legislative in this connection. Almost continuously since 1921 a fight has been waged to secure passage of a federal anti-lynch law. But the refusal of the Senate of the United States to amend its archaic rules or to invoke cloture has permitted a small group of determined Southern senators to "talk to death" each such measure presented.

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There can be no quarrel with the basic doctrines enunciated by the Supreme Court of the United States in the cases involving the civil liberties of Negroes. But it must be remembered always that in only a few of the situations in which those rights are denied do the victims find redress in that tribunal. For the vast majority of Negroes, it is the constable, and the deputy sheriff or local judges who are the arbiters of civil rights and the cases cited are descriptive of the law at that level.

But even the higher sources of law are not consistent so far as the Negro is concerned. In part, this is due to the fact that within the territorial limits of the United States laws are made by forty-nine separate political soverignties and innumerable subdivions thereof. Notwithstanding the fact that the states and the federal government are not completely independent one from the other under the terms of the Constitution of the United States, differences in their laws are a continuous source of both practical and logical difficulties.

The effect of the federal form of government on the status of Negroes must be considered in light of the historical, economic, social and political differences between various parts of the country. For example, the independence of state law and the technicalities of the rules as to unrepealed, although obsolete legislation, has led to efforts to enforce the "Black Codes" of the "Ante-bellum South" under contemporary conditions. Similarly, local conditions, customs and

activities have produced strange laws patterned after those of the slavery period such as the curfews for Negroes which are in effect in many southern urban communities.

The classic example, of course, is the "Jim Crow" law which compels segregation of Negroes in, or their exclusion from, all such places of public accommodation as restaurants, hotels, theaters, busses, railroad cars, etc. Such statutes are in effect in all of the states in the south.[15/] With these, however, must be contrasted the "Civil Right Acts" of many of the northern and western states[16/] which prohibit segregation of Negroes in, or their exclusion from, public places.

The "Jim Crow" statutes are enforced by criminal penalties, while violation of some of the "Civil Rights" laws are punishable by criminal sanctions, some by civil penalties, and some by either or both. It should be noted, however, that while the South rigorously enforces its proscription, enforcement of the "Civil Rights Acts" is a hit or miss affair. This fact, too, is demonstrative of the hiatus between the actual legal status of Negroes and that described in the law books.

Both groups of laws have been upheld as within the police power of the several states.[17/] The Supreme Court, however, has recently recognized that enforcement of a state's segregation law against a Negro travelling interstate by bus imposes a burden on interstate

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15/ Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Misssissippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

16/ Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Michigan, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, Nebrasks, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington and Wisconsin.

17/ See "Disabilities Affecting Negroes as to Carrier Accommodations, Property and Judicial Proceedings," same author, VIII Journal of Negro Education, 406 et seq., 1939 for a discussion of the statutes, the cases and their administration.

commerce in contravention of the negative implication of the "commerce clause" of the federal Constitution.[18/]

So anomalous is the power to compel public separation of persons according to color in a nation which proclaims "Equal Justice Under Law" that the proponents of segregation have been at great pains to justify it. Thus, to achieve the necessary rationalization with the "American Creed" the concept of "separate but equal" has been developed. Put another way, in an effort to reconcile constitutional limitations and social aims the American courts have developed the proposition that even though certain rights must be accorded to all persons, those rights may be provided for persons of different races, i.e. Negroes and non-Negroes, in separate places. On that basis the law can equably contemplate separate rail cars for Negroes and whites, although carriers by law must serve all who apply, approve separate schools for Negroes and non-Negroes, though public education must be afforded to all who seek it and in some states all must accept it, and so on.

This legal segregation is probably the key to the enigma of the status of the Negro in the United States. In reliance upon it the grossest forms of denials of basic human rights can be justified or ignored if the majority believes them desirable. Once the basic promise is accepted the requirements of even the "American Creed" can be said to have been met without alteration or improvement in the place assigned to Negroes in the United States.

The operation of the premise, with its basic fallacies, is readily observable in any state or local community. Fundamental rights

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18/ Morgan v. Virginia, U.S. , 66 S. Ct. 1050 (1946). Subsequently, both rail and bus carriers have continued segregation allegedly pursuant to the carrier's regulations as distinguished from state laws. Numerous suits testing the legality of the practice are pending in various courts. Significantly, no carrier has purported to enforce such a regulation in any state save one having a "Jim Crow" law in effect.

and privileges can be afforded, or denied, to the persons who make up that community depending on the race of that particular person. Moreover, individual differences or distinctions are immaterial. In this case the law sanctions definition of an individual's rights and duties in terms of the racial group with which he is identified.

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Examples of how the rule works are readily at hand. Contrast the crowded, dirty, freezing in winter, and sweltering in summer, "Jim Crow" cars of the southern railroads with the accommodations afforded to white persons paying no more than equal fares. Or, consider the one-room schools, often unheated, poorly furnished and frequently equally poorly taught, to which most rural Negroes go for their education as another illustration. Equally illuminating is a comparison of the budgets for white and Negro schools.[19/] Or, wait with a Negro soldier on a three day pass while successive busses admit only a few Negroes at a time as his leave runs out. The fact is that the law permits facilities to be separate but it does not succeed in making them equal.

Yet the law is clear; Negroes are entitled to Equal rights. In Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada[20/] the Supreme Court ruled that the existence of a separate school system, which did not include a law school for Negroes, did not excuse the state from providing a legal education for any of its Negro citizens who might apply, but Gaines was not ordered admitted to the state university law school. The equal protection of the law required by the 14th Amendment, was deemed

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19/ See Myrdal, op. cit. pp. 337-344.

20/ 305 U.S. 337 (1938).

satisfied by establishment of new and separate law school for Negroes.[21] So too in Mitchell v. United States[22] refusal of a carrier to furnish Pullman accommodations to a Negro because no separate car was available for him was held to violate the Interstate Commerce Act. It is common knowledge, however, that the efforts to evade the effect of that ruling range from flat refusals to sell space to assignment of drawing rooms, etc., to Negro passengers at berth rates to prevent their presence in open cars with whites.

Some measure of the stubborn resistance to the legal requirement may be found in the history of the effort to equalize the salaries of Negro and white teachers. In Alston v. School Board of City of Norfolk,[23] the court ruled that discrimination in salaries paid to teachers of equal qualifications was violative of constitutional limitations. Nevertheless, a long series of suits in other states, and sometimes in several counties in the same state, were still necessary.[24]

So it goes, with the law clear as to the rights of Negroes and the facts equally clear that these rights are regularly denied.

21/ During the last decade one border state realistically refused to increase the expense of maintenance of a dual school system by extension to the professional school level. Instead, the court ordered the Negro applicant admitted to the law school of the state university See Pearson, et al. v. Murray, 169 Md. 478, 182 A. 592. But North Carolina followed the lead of Missouri, and Louisiana and Texas are apparently planning to do so.

22/ 313 U.S. 80 (1941).

23/ 112 F. (2d) 992 (4th C.C.A. 1940).

24/ See "Teachers' Salaries in Black and White", Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. (1942), for the story of this campaign, still being waged.

As might be expected, the proponents of segregation ignore the facts and argue vehemently the logic of it. Probably no place, however, is the fundamental fallacy and the circuity of their reasoning so aptly demonstrated as in the defense of the statutes which prohibit marriage between Negroes and whites. And it is here that the "separate but equal" argument reaches its fullest flowering. How, says the South, can it be other than equal when not only are Negroes forbidden to marry whites but whites are likewise forbidden to marry Negroes!

The political and legal system of the United States appears to be unable or unwilling to cope with this hiatus between the theoretical and actual status of the Negro. In fact, the relation between the political and legal institutions themselves and the Negroes serves further to demonstrate the place of the Negro in the United States. For example, it is well settled, and not now seriously questioned, that exclusion of Negroes from grand or trial jury invalidates any indictment or verdict directed against a Negro. Nevertheless, with the degree of uniformity dependent upon the caprices of local law enforcement officers, Negroes generally do not sit on juries considering charges against other Negroes. Sometimes the result is accomplished by flatly excluding Negroes from the jury lists without regard to the qualifications of the Negroes in the community. Equally effective, however, is the use of the peremptory challenge and the challenge for cause with the rulings being made by a judge frequently anxious to secure a "lily-white" jury. In those same courts, inevitably, the length of sentences imposed upon malefactors of different races are as diversified as the statutes limiting punishments will permit with Negroes generally receiving the maximum punishment which may be imposed. Skeptics as to the validity of a generalization of such breadth need examine only the records of the local criminal courts in any part of the country.

These refusals to follow the doctrine of equality of all men are typical. Moreover, similar discriminations are practiced in every nook and cranny of the complex American civilization and while geographical location may affect the severity and uniformity of the practices, in no area are Negroes free from them.[25]

Such discriminations follow inevitably when a minority group is excluded from participation in the selection of the persons chosen to govern in a republic. Even in a "government of laws and not of men" the law alone is not a sufficient control to prevent excesses by government officials who, in fact, represent only the majority group. It may be regarded as a political truism that where elected officials are subject to no control at the polls their conduct in office too often is dictated by individual and group prejudices and not by legal requirements.

It is notorious that in the South, where the majority of Negroes still live, they are practically disfranchised. That this is contrary to the law goes without argument. No stronger statement of the desired social end can be made than that contained in the 15th Amendment to the Constitution which provides that no person shall be denied the right to vote by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Pursuant thereto the Supreme Court of the United States has declared invalid the "grandfather clause", the "white primary", and other ingenuous as well as sophisticated devices aimed at providing the cloak of legality for prohibiting Negroes from exercising the right to vote.[26]

25/ See Myrdal, op. cit. p. 526, et seq.

26/ See Guinn v. United States, 238 U.S. 347 (1915), and Lane v. Wilson, supra. The "poll tax", however, is not regarded as falling beneath this ban, Breedlove v. Suttles, 302 U.S. 277 (1937). Likewise, Congress has refused to pass federal legislation to prohibit this pernicious device for disfranchising the poor, white and black alike.

But terrorism, economic as well as physicial, is a more potent deterrent to voting by Negroes than state laws as Bilbo's 1946 campaign serves to demonstrate, and by one device or another Negroes are denied the right to vote.

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In the North there is a higher degree of participation by Negroes in the selection of government officers and this fact is reflected in the relationships between those officers and Negroes. But even there the exclusion of Negroes from holding office serves to prevent their actually sharing in the decisions and operation of the political institutions. This is true with respect to state and local governments as well as the national government.

A mere handful of representatives of black ghettoes in northern cities make up the total of Negroes holding public office. It should go without saying that in the South where Negroes are denied the right to vote the holding of offices by Negroes ended with the withdrawal of the Union Army from the South. The general level of ability of elected officials of the United States, particularly at the local level, belies any justification for this result based on comparative merits. That is particularly true in the South where a comparison between the Negro teachers and businessmen in any community and the law enforcement officials in the same place serves to show that all citizens lose when race, not ability, is the criterion for selection of public officials.

But this discrimination is not limited to elected officials. Even in the Federal Government appointments to public office are as few as elections thereto. Negroes presently serve only as "Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia" and "Governor of the Virgin Islands". In the main, the only state and local official positions to which Negroes are appointed are those in the segregated school systems, and even then in most communities the top administrative jobs

are closed to Negroes. In addition, there are a few local elected or appointed judges and prosecutors. But these few officers of government represent the total of Negroes among the host of persons responsible for the conduct of our vast political institutions. It is small wonder that under these circumstances Negroes fail to achieve the equality in their relationship with the government which the law guarantees them.

Other aspects of the relationship between the body politic and the Negro display the same lack of equality of treatment. One of the most outstanding demonstrations of the real status of Negro in the United States came when the Army of the United States was mobilized. Inevitably, for total war, 10% of the population of the country was an important factor in building an Army. The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, true to the "American Creed" prohibited discrimination in selection or training based on race, creed or color. Five years later, however, when the Army began to demobilize, even the War Department recognized that its policy of segregation of Negro troops in separate units with the inevitable accompanying discriminations had prevented the most effective utilization of nearly 10% of its troops. With a few minor exceptions these units were of the service type. They were important in terms of overall Army operations but in an Army where a premium was placed on specialization and technical training it was only accidental if these segregated units provided the means of utilization of the services and skills of any given Negro soldier or officer. The resultant and inevitable waste in man-power, to say nothing of the effect on the mal-utilized individuals and others around them was a high price to pay to satisfy emotional prejudices. It is characteristic, however, of the status of Negroes, that so practical a consideration is rarely given any weight.

Equally significant in determing the legal and social status

of Negroes is a consideration of the areas in which neither the laws nor the political institutions even purport to protect this minority. As a simple illustration one may take the problem of the restrictions on the areas in which Negroes may live. In practically every city and town, both North and South, where any real number of Negroes live, they are herded together in one or more congested areas. No walls surround them but the limitations on their expansion are just as real. What is more, in most cases, individual Negroes cannot escape from these ghettoes, save to move to another, no matter what their individu economic status may be.

No federal or local statute compels this result. In fact, the Supreme Court has construed the 14th Amendment as prohibiting local ordinances requiring residential segregation of Negroes and whites.[27/]

Terrorism and violence, of course, have been used as a means of enforcing residential segregation.[28/] The most effective and most often used device for this purpose, however, is the so-called, "restrictive convenant" by means of which private persons agree not to sell their property to, or permit its use by, Negroes. Such limitations are frequently contained in the deeds executed by the subdividers of residential land or are mutually agreed to by groups of property owners living in the same area.

So long as the signers of these agreements comply with their terms, neither the law nor the courts have any concern with them since, save for condemnation for public purposes, owners may dispose of their property to whom they choose or refuse to sell to anyone if they like.

27/ Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U.S. 60 (1917).

28/ See, for example, "The President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, Report of Committee on Negro Housing," P.46 (1932)

But changes in economic circumstances frequently dictate shifts in social attitudes. Property owners once anxious to keep Negroes "out of the block" change their minds when some Negro makes a substantial offer for the property particularly when the offer is above that of any white prospect. Frequently, at that point, adjacent property owners seek the aid of the courts to enforce their private rule of residential segregation and the injunction has proved a potent means of achieving that end.

It is anomalous, but true, that in most states the courts, at the request of private persons, will use all of their judicial power to keep Negroes out of residential areas when the state legislature or the city council could not do so.[29/] The announced jusificati for segregation by judicial fiat is that it is not the state which dictates that result but the private persons who entered into the covenant.[30/] Any court so holding, however, ignores the fact that it is the power of the state exercised by the court which accomplishes the segregation and it is well settled that the limitations of the 14th Amendment apply to courts as well as to the legislative and executive arms of government.[31/]

29/ See e.g. Koehler v. Rowland, 275 Mo. 573, 205 S.W. 217 (1918); Chandler v. Ziegler, 88 Colo. 1, 291 Pac. 822 (1930); Cornish v. O'Donoghue, 30 F. (2d) 983 (1929). Some states have refused to enforce agreements not to sell the land but even these jurisdictions uphold restrictions on use by Negroes. See e.g. Lettau v. Ellis, 122 Ca App. 115, 295 Pac. 95 (1931). The Supreme Court avoided decision on this question in Hansberry v. Lee, 311 U.S. 32 (1940) by ruling that petitioner had been denied his "day in court" when an Illinois court asked to enforce such a covenant refused to hear evidence on its invalidity because the same covenant had been upheld earlier in Burke v. Kleiman, 271 Ill. App. 519, 189 N.E. 372 (1934). In that case there had been a stipulation as to the facts and no attack on the validity of the covenant. Instead the defendants merely sought to show that circumstances (race of the occupants of the surrounding area) had so changed as to make specific performance of the covenant inequitable. Following the decision in the Hansberry case the covenant was set aside on the ground that it had not been executed by the requisite number of property owners in the area.

30/ See Corrigan v. Buckley, 271 U.S. 323 (1926).

31/ Ex parte Virginia, 100 U.S. 339 (1880).

In any event, the law does not even purport to prevent private persons from compelling Negroes to live in overcrowded slums despite the resulting disease, death and crime for which the whole community must pay. The problem has become increasingly aggravated by the present housing shortage, but even in the field of public housing the law either ignores, or assists in maintaining, residential segregation.

The most important area in which the law furnishes no protection for Negroes is in that of economic activity. And it is, perhaps, in this failing for which the government must be most criticized since the economic adversity of most Negroes has prevented them in large measure from securing for themselves the education and protection which the state has obligated itself to provide, but has refused to furnish. Moreover, it is now apparent that the Emancipation Proclamation and the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments were not sufficient to overcome the handicap of 250 years of chattel slavery in the economic struggle which characterizes an industrial civilization. Governmental non-action in this area, however, is partly determinative of the present legal and social status of the Negro.

The economic history of Negroes in the United States is well-known and well documented.[32/] They were first imported as slaves to furnish agricultural labor and the great bulk of Negroes still fill that same role nearly a century after emancipation. The general trend in the United States toward urbanization starting at the turn of the

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32/ See Myrdal, op. cit., Part IV, and source materials there cited for a complete discussion of the present economic status of the Negro.

century however, affected Negroes as well as whites. The migration of several million Negroes to the cities of the North during and after the first World War added that number to the industrial and services labor pool and reduced by that number the Negroes available for agricultural labor. In addition, and perhaps more important, for the children of those migrants job opportunities were limited to industry, the service trades, and their white collar adjuncts. And it is in these occupations in which discriminations against Negroes are regularly practiced.

Save for a small number of skilled craftsmen, chiefly in the building trades, the great bulk of Negroes before 1929 were unskilled, or at best semi-skilled, workers. In industry they earned their livelihood in the back-breaking, man-killing, jobs which go to unskilled laborers particularly in heavy industry. The foundries, the steel mills and the packing plants were all, literally, consumers of Negro labor. The service trades, too, afforded some opportunities for unskilled workers and the traditional domestic service furnished an avenue of employment particularly for Negro women. But there were few Negroes in industry in skilled jobs, and practically none in the offices. Since pay was usually commensurate with skill Negro industrial workers found themselves tied to the lowest paid, dirtiest and most menial jobs.

Innumerable explanations have been offered to account for the low place of Negroes in industry. Whatever the explanation or justification, whether it be lack of previous training and formal education, or objections of white workers, or simply racial prejudices or a combination of all these it is significant that, in the main, on the job training and promotions were generally denied Negro workers even when employment was forthcoming.

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The years of depression after 1929 served to accentuate the marginal character of the Negro's place in industry. The phrase "last hired, first fired" was the bitterly euphemistic, but accurate, description colloquially given to that status. The advent of World War II, however, produced a considerable change. But this very change and the means by which it was accomplished demonstrate the economic discriminations practiced against Negroes and the governmental ineptitude in dealing with them.

In the early days of defense activities which preceded Pearl Harbor the rapid hiring of large numbers of industrial workers served only to increase the proportinate percentage of Negroes on public and private relief rolls since only white workers were hired. Urgent pleas and demands by interested Negroes and white persons, groups and organizations, served only to publicize the discriminatory refusal of employers to hire Negro workers. Finally in 1941 the threat of a march by Negroes on the Capital resulted in creation by executive order of the President of a committee to preven government agencies and government contractors from engaging in other than fair employment practices.[33/] These were roughly defined as refusal to hire, or upgrade, any person because of race, color, religion, nationality or sex or to discriminate in wages paid for equal work on any such basis.

This Fair Employment Practices Committee had no power to impose sanctions nor could it seek the aid of the courts for enforcement either of the executive order generally or any committee orders in particular cases. The Fair Employment Practices Committee did have power, however, to hear and investigate complaints of discriminat and those investigations furnished entire confirmation of the dis-

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33/ Executive Order 8802, 6. F.R. 3109 (1941).

criminations regularly practiced against Negroes by employers.

The justifications offered for such discriminations were varied. One of the most frequent reasons offered was that white workers would not work side by side with Negro workers even in the North. That this was generally untrue was easily demonstrated but, in any event, it probably marks the greatest length most employers ever went in fixing personnel policies on the basis of the emotions of their employees.

As the labor supply grew tighter and tighter, however, and the demand for war goods grew greater and greater even Negroes were hired as industry strove to meet the demands of a great war machine. But even the compulsion of a war economy never served to eliminate all the discriminations. In many areas and in many plants not even the discrimination in hiring was terminated and in only a few plants could Negro workers expect working conditions, including pay and opportunities for advancement, commensurate with those of white workers of no greater skill and experience.

Shackled by its lack of power the Fair Employment Practices Committee struggled to carry out its presidential directive but not even so far as the federal government as an employer was concerned did its efforts meet with more than slight success. In any event, with no statutory authority for its activities, the Fair Employment Practices Committee barely survived V-E day. By the simple device of refusing further appropriation to the committee, the Congress, in June 1945, eliminated even this minor threat to continued discrimination against Negro workers.

As early as 1943 determined efforts had been made to secure passage of a federal statute to outlaw discriminatory employment practices. Both major parties endorsed the idea in their 1944 platforms but the 79th Congress was barely lukewarm in its reaction to

the proposal.

Some opponents of the measure sought to justify their postion on the ground that government should not dictate to employers as to whom they should hire. Others argued that white workers had no such protection. But such critics entirely overlooked the fact that Negro workers share all the problems of white workers and, in addition, must vie with the discriminations practised against them solely because of their race. It is this latter group of burdens which a Fair Employment Practices Committee would help them share. Put another way, such a measure would serve to equalize Negro and white workers in their efforts to secure a livelihood. It would not prefer one group over the other but would rather serve to eliminate the preferences based solely on race.

There can be no doubt that this is a proper field for governmental action. Comparable measures regulating the relationship between employers and employees, such as the Wagner Act, are too well-known to require extended discussion. In fact, some of these very measures in strengthening the position of organized labor have resulted in creating opportunities for discrimination against Negro workers.[34/]

34/ See Steele v. Louisville & N.R. Co., 323 U.S. 192 (1944), and Tunstall v. Brotherhood of Locomotive, etc., 323 U.S. 210 (1944), holding that a labor organization acting by authority of the Railway Labor Act as the exclusive bargaining agent of a craft or class of railway employees was under a duty to represent all the employees in the craft without discrimination as to race. In both of these cases the unions excluded Negroes from membership and had entered into contracts with employers discriminating against Negro members of the craft. In view of the unions' position as exclusive bargaining agents Negro employees would have been without redress but for judical intervention on their behalf. See In the Matter of Bethlehem-Alameda Shipyard, Inc., 53 N. L. R. B. 999, 1015-17 (1943) for a discussion of the effect of exclusion of Negroes from membership by a union in determination of the appropriate unit for choice of collective bargaining representative under the Wagner Act.

These cases serve to illustrate that Negroes suffer from discriminations in this field at the hands of unions as well as at those of employers. When the former act with the aid of governmental sanctions the need for governmental protection for the minority becomes all the more apparent.

This refusal of the government to furnish protection for Negro workers is consistent, however, with the pattern of the legal and social status of Negroes. The basic law never authorizes differences based on race; in fact it generally forbids such discriminati but the political institutions, the courts, the legislatures and the executive arm fall far short of achieving that end. As a result, Negroes are denied the right to work, prevented from securing education, their basic civil rights to protection of life and property are ignored, and they are excluded from participation in their government, all in violation of the plain requirements of the organic law.

Under all these circumstances the legal and social status of Negroes in the United States can be best described as that of a minority whose physical presence is tolerated and whose rights receive lip-service, but who rarely secure the protection the Constitution and laws of the United States guarantee to all within its jurisdiction.

Chapter IV

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The Charter of the United Nations

And its Provisions for Human Rights and the Rights of Minorities

And Decisions already Taken under this Charter

By Rayford W. Logan

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Provisions in international agreements for the protection of human rights or of minorities are a relatively modern concept. For all practical purposes the protection of minorities was first written into an international agreement in the Treaty of Berlin, 1878, which prescribed regulations for the protection of Jews in Romania.. But not even the signatories insisted too strongly upon the strict enforcement of these provisions.[1] Meanwhile, Russia, one of the signatories, and many other nations including the United States continued to treat minorities with little regard for the principles of equality and justice.

This failure to protect by individual treaty the minority within a country undoubtedly made many humanitarians eager to have included provisions in the Covenant of the League of Nations that would guarantee the rights of minorities. But the desire of the Jews, in particular, to have incorporated a clause in favor of religious equality would have made it difficult to exclude a clause, proposed by the Japanese, in favor of racial equality. The adamant opposition of some statesmen to this latter provision resulted in the exclusion of any clause in the Covenant of the League of Nations recognizing human rights or the protection of minorities.[2]

But the situation in Central and Eastern Europe was such that some kind of protection for the minorities there had to be devised. Repeating the procedure of the Treaty with Romania of 1878, the vic-

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1. See, for example, William L. Langer, European Alliances and Alignments (New York, 1931), pp. 331-332.

2. David Hunter Miller, My Diary at the Conference of Paris (New York, 1924-1926), passim.

torious Powers imposed treaties upon Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Romania, Greece, Australia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Turkey which defined the rights of minorities. But these treaties took a new step in that they placed the guaranty of these rights under the supervision of the Council of the League of Nations. One can not fail to be impressed by (1) the contrast between the detailed definition of these rights in these minorities treaties and the absence of such definition in the Covenant of the League of Nations and (2) the obligation imposed upon small and defeated nations to protect their minorities and the failure or refusal of the large and victorious nations to accept those obligations for themselves.[3]

The enforcement of the provisions for the protection of minorities left much to be desired. But the Council of the League of Nations did take one step that should be kept in mind if the machinery for the protection of minorities is to be, at the very minimum, at least as extensive as that which existed after World War I. The Council of the League of Nations voted that any Member of the Council could call the attention of the Council to any infraction or danger of infraction of the minorities provisions. In addition, the Council adopted a resolution on October 22, 1920 as follows: "Evidently this right does not in any way exclude the right of minorities themselves, or even of States not represented on the Council, to call the attention of the League of Nations to any infraction or danger of infraction."[4] This right of petition to a principal organ of the international machinery for the maintenance of peace and security must be, at the very least, maintained.

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3. P. de Azcárate, League of Nations and National Minorities An Experiment (Washington, 1945) and Oscar I. Janowsky, Nationalities and National Minorities (New York, 1945). Azcárate is the former Director, Minorities Questions Section of the League of Nations.
4. League of Nations, Protection of Linguistic, Racial or Religious Minorities by the League of Nations (Geneva, 1931), pp. 7-12.

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The determination of the drafters of the Charter of the United Nations to universalize the protection of human rights and of minorities which had previously rested upon agreements with individual nations is manifest from the language of the charter and the frequency with which that language is repeated. The Preamble states: "We the peoples of the United Nations determined...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small,..."

Article 1, paragraph 3, employs language that has probably been more frequently quoted than any other expression from the Charter. It states that one of the purposes of the United Nations is "to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion;..." This last ideal of "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all, without disctinction as to race, sex, language or religion" is repeated in the identical words three times, namely, in Article 13, paragraph 1 (b), Article 55, and Article 76 (c). Article 62, paragraph 2, uses the same language with the omission of the words "without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion," but with the inclusion clearly implied. Thus, the Charter in six different places reveals the concern of the drafters that there should be no mistaking their determination to establish the ideal of equal treatment of all men and women in all the lands.

Not only did the Charter, by contrast to the Covenant, contain the unequivocal statements just cited, but the Charter also contains the stipulations by which these ideals are to be achieved. The Charter did

not
leave it to the individual nations to decide for themselves whether they accepted the obligation to protect human and minority rights by writing this obligation into a treaty. The Charter, moreover, established the agency by which this protection is to be implemented, namely, the General Assembly (Article 13).

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It should be noted that there is placed upon the General Assembly the obligation to initiate studies and make recommendations for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. The Economic and Social Council may make or initiate studies and reports to the same end. This distinction is vital since it makes evident that spokesmen for minorities should be able to present petitions to the General Assembly regardless of action taken by the Economic and Social Council or any of its sub-commissions.

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Subsequent action by the United Nations also reveals the desire to make effective at the earliest possible date the provisions in the Charter dealing with human and minority rights. The Economic and Social Council, in language almost identical with that of the Preparatory Commission, adopted a resolution of February 16 and 18, 1946 as follows:

"Section A.

"1. The Economic and Social Council, being charged under the Charter with the responsibility of promoting universal respect for, and observance of, human right [sic] and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, and requiring advice and assistance to enable it to discharge this responsibility,

Establishes a Commission on Human Rights

"2. The work of the Commission shall be directed towards submitting proposals, recommendations and reports to the Council regarding:

(a) an international bill of rights;

(b) international declarations or conventions on civil liberties, the status of women, freedom of information and similar matters;

(c) the protection of minorities;

(d) the prevention of discrimination on grounds of race, sex, language or religion.

"3. The Commission shall make studies and recommendations and provide information and other services at the request of the Economic and Social Council.

"4. The Commission may propose to the Council any changes in its terms of reference.

"5. The Commission may make recommendations to the Council concerning any subcommission which it considers should be established.

"6. Initially, the Commission shall consist of a nucleus of nine members appointed in their individual capacity for a term of office expiring on 31 March 1947. They are eligible for reappointment. In addition to exercising the functions enumerated in paragraph [sic] 2, 3, and 4, the Commission thus constituted shall make recommendation on the definitive composition of the Commission to the second session of the Council.

"Section B.

"1. The Economic and Social Council, considering that the Commission on Human Rights will require special advice on problems relating to the status of women,

Establishes a Subcommission on the Status of Women

"2. The subcommission shall report proposals, recommendations, and reports to the Commission on Human Rights regarding the status of women.

"3. The subcommission may submit proposals to the Council, through

the Commission on Human Rights, covering its terms of reference." Paragraph 4 of Section B is mutatis mutandis like paragraph 6 of Section A.[5]

The Economic and Social Council elaborated and refined its machinery and procedures by a resolution adopted on June 21, 1946 as follows:

"Resolution adopted June 21, 1946.

"The Economic and Social Council, having considered the report of the nuclear Commission on Human Rights of 21 May 1946 (document E/38/ Rev. 1)

Decides as follows:

1. Functions

"The functions of the Commission on Human Rights shall be those set forth in the terms of reference of the Commission, approved by the Economic and Social Council in its resolution of 16 February 1946, with the addition to paragraph 2 of that resolution of a new sub-paragraph (e) as follows:

"(e) any other matter concerning human rights not covered by items (a), (b), (c), and (d).

2. Composition

"(a) The Commission on Human Rights shall consist of one representative from each of eighteen members of the United Nations selected by the Council.

"(b) With a view to securing a balanced representation in the various fields covered by the Commission, the Secretary-General shall consult with the Governments so selected before the representatives are finally nominated by these governments and confirmed by the Council.

"(c) Except for the initial period, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ the term of office shall be for three years. For the initial period, one-third of the members shall serve for two years, one-third for three years, and one-

5. Journal of the Economic and Social Council (April 10, 1946), pp. 123-125.

third for four years, the term of each member to be determined by lot.

"(d) Retiring members shall be eligible for re-election.

"(e) In the event that a member of the Commission is unable to serve for the full three-year term, the vacancy thus arising shall be filled by a representative designated by the Member Government, subject to the provisions of paragraph (b) above.

30-152-79

3. Working Group of Experts

"The Commission is authorized to call in ad hoc working groups of non-governmental experts in specialized fields or individual experts, without further reference to the Council, but with the approval of the President of the Council and the Secretary-General.

4. Documentation

"The Secretary-General is requested to make arrangements for:

"(a) the compilation and publication of a year-book on law and usage relating to human rights, the first edition of which shall include all declarations and bills on human rights now in force in the various countries;

"(b) the collection and publication of information on the activities concerning human rights of all organs of the United Nations;

"(c) the collection and publication of information concerning human rights arising from trials of war criminals, quislings, and traitors, and in particular from the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials;

"(d) the preparation and publication of a survey of the development of human rights;

"(e) the collection and publication of plans and declarations on human rights by specialized agencies and non-governmental national and international organizations.

5. Information Groups

"Members of the United Nations are invited to consider the desirability of establishing information groups or local human rights committees within their respective countries to collaborate with them in furthering the work of the Commission on Human Rights.

30-154-80

6. Human Rights in International Treaties

"Pending the adoption of an international bill of rights, the general principle shall be accepted that international treaties involving basic human rights, including to the fullest extent practicable treaties of peace, shall conform to the fundamental standards relative to such rights set forth in the Charter.

7. Provisions for Implementation

"Considering that the purpose of the United Nations with regard to the promotion and observance of human rights, as defined in the Charter of the United Nations, can only be fulfilled if provisions are made for the implementation of human rights and of an international bill of rights, the Council requests the Commission on Human Rights to submit at an early date suggestions regarding the ways and means for the effective implementation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, with a view to assisting the Economic and Social Council in working out arrangements for such implementation with other appropriate organs of the United Nations.

8. Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and of the Press

"(a) The Commission on Human Rights is empowered to establish a Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and of the Press.

"(b) The function of the Sub-Commission shall be, in the first instance, to examine what rights, obligations, and practices should be included in the concept of freedom of information and report to the Commission on Human Rights on any issues that may arise from such examination.

9. Sub-Commission on Protection of Minorities

"(a) The Commission on Human Rights is empowered to establish a Sub-Commission on the Protection of Minorities.

(b) Unless the Commission otherwise decides, the function of the Sub-Commission shall be, in the first instance, to examine what provisions should be adopted in the definition of the principles which are to be applied in the field of protection of minorities, and to deal with urgent problems in this field by making recommendations to the Commission.

10. Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination

"(a) The Commission on Human Rights is empowered to establish a Sub-Commission on the prevention of discrimination on the grounds of race, sex, language or religion.

"(b) Unless the Commission otherwise decides, the function of the Sub-Commission shall be, in the first instance, to examine what provisions should be adopted in the definition of the principles which are to be applied in the field of the prevention of discrimination, and to deal with the urgent problems in this field by making recommendations to the Commission."[6]

The Economic and Social Council also adopted on June 21, 1946, resolutions creating a Temporary Social Commission of eighteen members and giving the Commission on the Status of Women the status of a full commission with a membership of fifteen.[7]

These resolutions demonstrate that there has been no relaxation in the desire to carry out the evident intent of the drafters of the Charter. The crux of the problem lies in the method of implementation.

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6. Ibid., (July 13, 1946), pp. 520-528.

7. Loc. cit.

The major obstacle in the way of any effective implementation of the evident intent of the drafters of the Charter and of the resolutions of the Economic and Social Council just cited is Article 2, paragraph 7, which provides: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter."

Unless the evident determination to protect human and minority rights is to be nullified by this paragraph, the expression "matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state" must be liberally interpreted.

Recent history especially has demonstrated that many questions which could rigidly be classified as "matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction" of a nation fall within the scope of the purpose of the United Nations "to maintain international peace and security" (Article 1, paragraph 1). The treatment of Jews in Germany was one of the causes of the Second World War. The treatment of minorities in Poland and other Central and Eastern European countries is one of the principal causes of international friction today. The existence of a pro-Fascist government in Spain is considered by many Members of the United Nations as a threat to international peace and security. Indians ~~and~~ in Bombay and Calcutta have proclaimed a boycott against pending legislation against Indians in the Union of South Africa and India, as a Member of the United Nations, is protesting against the treatment of Indians in the Union.

One could multiply these instances in which questions that are apparently within the domestic jurisdiction of a nation constitute a threat to international peace and security. It is not surprising, then,

that M. F. Dehousse, the Belgian delegate to the first session of the Economic and Social Council, stated on January 23, 1946: "...if human rights are systematically denied or violated in one or other part of the world; there can be no doubt that such a situation, with which we are only too well acquainted, will, after a more or less brief period of confusion and anarchy, lead again to war."[8]

30-15-83

We submit that the well-nigh universal violation of the principle of "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion" as far as Negroes are concerned comes within the category of the situation outlined by M. Dehousse.

We believe, therefore, that such questions fall within the scope of the last clause of Article 2, paragraph 7, which adds: "But this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII." The first Article (39) of this Chapter stipulates: "The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security."

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Not only should Article 2, paragraph 7, be interpreted in such a way as to make possible action under the Charter, but spokesmen for minorities should have the opportunity to present to the General Assembly petitions on behalf of those minorities in order to assure that the attention of the Security Council will be directed promptly to such threats to international peace and security.

As pointed out above, p. 2, the Council of the League of Nations adopted on October 22, 1920, a resolution giving minorities the right to call the attention of the League of Nations to any infraction or danger of infraction of the rights guaranteed by the minorities treaties. The Council further voted on October 25, 1920, that it was desirable that

8. Ibid., p. 9.

that the President of the Council and two members appointed by him "should proceed to consider any petition or communication addressed to the League of Nations with regard to an infraction or danger of infraction of the clauses for the protection of minorities. This enquiry should be held as soon as the petition or communication in question had been brought to the notice of the Members of the Council."[9]

We urge that these petitions on behalf of minorities anywhere be receivable by the General Assembly because all Members of the United Nations have the right to speak in the General Assembly. The General Assembly has just voted that there be discussion of the veto. By the same token, we urge that the General Assembly, "the sounding board of the conscience of mankind," be given the fullest opportunity to discuss petitions on behalf of minorities. The General Assembly, except in so far as it is limited by Article 12, could then make a recommendation to the Security Council which, in turn, according to the view presented above could take action in cases where the violation of human or minority rights constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

We note, further, that petitions may be addressed to the Trusteeship Council on behalf of peoples in trust territories. Under the Covenant of the League of Nations this right was not specifically stated, but the Council in January, 1923, adopted procedures by which written petitions were receivable by the Permanent Mandates Commission.[10] Article 87 of the Charter of the United Nations has formalized this right of petition by providing that "The General Assembly and, under its au-

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9. League of Nations, Protection of Lingusitic, Racial or Religious Minorities, pp. 7-12.

10. For a discussion of this point, see Quincy Wright, Mandates under the Leggue of Nations (Chicago, 1930), pp. 169 ff.

thority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, may... (b) accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority;..." Moreover, the rules of procedure drawn up by the Preparatory Commission for consideration by the Trusteeship Council, make possible oral petitions.

30-15a - 85

It is important to note that Article 87 clearly stipulates that the General Assembly as well as the Trusteeship Council may receive petitions on behalf of peoples in trust territories. It would be highly inconsistent, to say the least, if petitions on behalf of peoples in independent nations could not be received by the General Assembly.

This right of petition on behalf of minorities to the General Assembly is all the more necessary in view of the action taken by the Economic and Social Council with respect to Article 71 of the Charter of the United Nations. This Article states: "The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned."

Senator Tom Connally, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and a Delegate to the First Session of the General Assembly, explained on February 16, 1946, to that Session his understanding of what the drafters of the Charter of the United Nations had in mind when they approved Article 71. He declared: "They wanted to make available, they wanted to make available [sic] to the Economic and Social Council advice and consultation from any kind of organization that was worthy

and had information."[11]

But the General Assembly voted on February 16, 1946 that "The Economic and Social Council should as soon as possible adopt suitable arrangements enabling the World Federation of Trade Union and the International Cooperative Alliance as well as other international non-governmental organizations whose experience the Economic and Social Council will find necessary to use to collaborate for purposes of consultation with the Economic and Social Council."[12]

Thus, no national non-governmental organizations were approved by the General Assembly for consultation under Article 71. This defect should be remedied at this second meeting of the First Session of the General Assembly. But in addition, for the reasons pointed out above, petitions on behalf of minorities should be receivable by the General Assembly itself. This receivability by the General Assembly if finally made absolutely necessary in view of the decision of the Economic and Social Council on June 21, 1946, that "It should also be recognized as a basic principle that the arrangements should not be such as to overburden the Council or transform it into a general forum for discussion instead of a body for co-ordination of policy and action, as is contemplated in the Charter."[13]

Since the Economic and Social Council does not desire to provide an open forum for the discussion of human rights and the protection of minorities, it is clear that the General Assembly must not deny this opportunity for free discussion of an ideal that is clearly enunciated and frequently repeated in the Charter of the United Nations.

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11. Journal of the General Assembly, p. 630.

12. Ibid., p. 648.

13. Journal of the Economic and Social Council (July 13, 1946), p. 484.

30-15a -26

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1946?

A Summary of this Petition

by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

This petition to the Assembly of the United Nations presents a factual and annotated statement of the Legal Rights of American Negroes under the Constitution of the United States and the various states and under the federal and state statutes and court decisions. It shows not simply that basic law has often been unfair but even that legal rights have been denied. We have traced the legal status of American Negroes since the adoption of the Constitution up to the beginning of the First World War; then we have presented the legal and social status of American Negroes from 1917 to the present; finally we have sought to point out the applicability of the Charter of the United Nations to the situation of this minority, because of the provisions of that Charter with regard to Human Rights and the Rights of Minorities.

It remains to put this legal and factual picture into the frame of international and national development so as to show something of the larger trends of thought and action which has brought us to the present status.

It is all a strange and contradictory story. It cannot be regarded as mainly either a theoretical problem of morals or a scientific problem of race. From either of these points of view, the rise of slavery in America is simply inexplicable. Looking at the facts frankly, slavery evidently was a matter of economics, a question of income and labor, rather than a problem of right and wrong, or of the physical differences in men. Once slavery began to be the source of vast income for men and nations, there followed frantic search for moral and racial justification. Such excuses were found and men did not inquire too carefully into either

35-2-207

their logic or their truth.

The twenty Negroes brought to Virginia in 1619, were not the first who had landed on this continent. For a century small numbers of Negroes had arrived as servants, as laborers, as free adventurers. The Southwestern part of the present United States was first traversed by a African Negro explorer. Negroes accompanied early explorers like D'Ayllon and Menendez in the Southeastern United States. But just as the earlier black visitors to the West Indies were servants and adventurers and then later began to appear as laborers on the sugar plantations, so in Virginia, these imported laborers in 1619 were wanted for the raising of tobacco which was the money crop for Virginia.

In the minds of the early planters, there was no distinction as to labor whether it was white or black; in law there was at first no discrimination. But as imported white labor became scarcer and more protected by law it became less profitable than Negro labor which flooded the markets because of British slave traders and because the Negroes were increasingly stripped of legal defense. For these reasons America became a land of black slavery, and there arose first, the fabulously rich sugar empire; then the cotton kingdom, and finally colonial imperialism.

Then came the inevitable fight between free labor and democracy on the one hand, and slave labor with its huge profits on the other. Black slaves were the spear-head of this fight. They were the first in America to stage the "sit-down" strike; to slow up and sabotage the work of the plantation. They revolted time after time and no matter what recorded history may say, the enacted laws against slave revolt are eloquent testimony as to what these revolts meant all over America.

The slaves themselves especially imperiled the whole slave system by running away. It was the fugitive slave more than the revolting slave who threatened investment and income; and the organization for helping fugitive slaves through Free Northern Negroes and their white friends, in the guise of an underground movement, was of tremendous influence.

Finally it was the Negro soldier as a co-fighter with the whites for independence from the British economic empire which began emancipation. The British bid for his help and the colonials against their first impulse had to bid in return and virtually to promise the Negro soldier freedom after the Revolutionary War. It was for the protection of American Negro sailors as well as white that the war of 1812 was precipitated and, after independence from England was accomplished, freedom for the black laboring class, and enfranchisement for the whites and blacks was in sight.

35-2-308

In the meantime, however, white labor had continued to regard the United States as a place of refuge; as place for free land; for continuous employment and high wage; for freedom of thought and faith. It was here, however, that the employers intervened; not because of any moral obliquity but because the Industrial Revolution, based upon the crops raised by slave labor in the Caribbean and in the southern United States, was made possible by world trade and a new and astonishing technique; and finally was made triumphant by a vast transportation of slave labor through the English slave-trade in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

This new mass of slaves became competitors of white labor and drove them for refuge into the arm of employers, whose interests were founded on slave labor. The doctrine of race in-

feriority was used to convince white labor that they had right to be free and to vote, while the Negroes must be slaves or depress the wage of whites; western free soil became additional lure and compensation, if it could be restricted to free labor.

On the other hand the fight of the slave-holders against democracy increased with the spread of the wealth and power of the Cotton Kingdom. Through political power based on slaves they became the dominant political force in the United States; they were successful in expanding into Mexico and tried to penetrate the Caribbean. Finally they demanded for slavery a part of the free soil of the West, and because of this last excessive, and in fact impossible effort, a Civil War to preserve and extend slavery ensued.

35-2-309

This fight for slave labor was echoed in the law. The free Negro was systemically discouraged, disfranchised and reduced to serfdom. He became by law the easy victim of the kidnapper and one with the Fugitive slave. The Church influenced by wealth and respectibility was predominately on the side of the slave owners and every effort was made to make the degradation of the Negro as a race final, as the Dred Scott decision proved.

But from the beginning, the outcome of the Civil War was inevitable and this not mainly on account of the predominant wealth and power of the North; it was because of the clear fact that the Southern slave economy was built on black labor. If at any time the slaves or any large part of them, as workers ceased to support the South; and if even more decisively , as fighters they joined the North, there was no way in the world for the South to win.

Just as soon then as slaves became spies for the invading Northern armies; laborers for their camps and fortifications,

and finally produced 200,000 trained and efficient soldiers with arms in their hands, and with the possibility of a million more, the fate of the slave South was sealed.

Victory however brought dilemma; if victory meant full economic freedom for labor in the South, white and black, if it meant land and education, and eventually votes, then the slave empire was doomed, and the profits of Northern industry built on the Southern slave foundation would also be seriously curtailed. Northern industry had a stake in the cotton kingdom and in the cheap slave labor that supported it. It had expanded for war industries during the fighting, encouraged by government subsidy and protected by a huge tarif rampart. When war profits declined there was still prospect of tremendous post-war profits on cotton and other products of Southern agriculture. Therefore, what the north wanted was not the freedom and higher wage of black labor, but its control under such forms of law as would keep it cheap; and also stop its open competition with northern labor. The moral protest of abolitionists must be appeased buy profitable industry was determined to control wages and government.

The result was an attempt at reconstruction in which black labor allied with white labor established schools; tried to divide up the land and to put a new social legislation in force. On the other hand, the power of Southern land owners soon joined with northern industry to disfranchise the Negro; keep him from access to free land or to capital and to build up the present caste system for blacks founded on peonage, intimidation and mob violence.

It is this fact that underlies many of the contradictions in the social and political development of the United States since the Civil War. Despite our resources and our miraculous technique;

despite comparatively high wage paid many of our workers and their consequent high standard of living, we are nevertheless ruled by wealth, monopoly and big business organization to an astounding degree. Our railway transportation is built upon monumental economic injustice both to passengers, shippers and to different sections of the land. The monopoly of land and natural resources throughout the United States both in cities, and in farming districts is a disgraceful aftermath to the vast land heritage with which this nation started.

35-2-31

The result was in 1876 that the democratic process of government was crippled throughout the whole nation. This came about not simply through the disfranchisement of Negroes but through the fact that the political power of the disfranchised Negroes and of a large number of equally disfranchised whites was preserved as the basis of political power, but the wielding of that power was left in the hands and under the control of the successors to the planter dynasty in the South. There remained then a block of one hundred and thirty-four electoral votes and votes in Congress which could not be subjected to democratic control or changed in accord with democratic methods. It made party government ineffective since a Third Party could never hope for success with the Bourbon South tied to reaction.

The federal government has continually cast its influence with imperial aggression throughout the world and withdrawn their sympathy from the colored peoples and from the small nations. It has become through investment a part of the imperialistic block which is controlling the colonies of the world. When we tried to join the allies in the First World War, our efforts were seriously interfered with by the assumed necessity of ex-

tending caste legislation into our armed forces. It was often alleged that American troops in France spent more time trying to keep Negro troops in subordination than in fighting the Germans. During the Second World War, there was, in the East, in Great Britain, and on the battlefields of France and Italy, the same interference with military efficiency by the necessity of segregating and wherever possible subordinating the Negro personnel of the American army.

35-2-812

Now and then a strong political leader has been able to force back the power of monopoly and waste, and make some start toward preservation of natural resources and their restoration to the mass of the people. But such effort has never been able to last long. Threatened collapse and disaster gave the late president Roosevelt a chance to develop a New Deal of socialist planning for juster distribution of income under scientific guidance. But here and in each case where reaction intervened, it was a reaction based on a South aptly called our "Number One social problem": a region of poor, ignorant and diseased people black and white, with exaggerated political power in the hands of a few resting on disfranchisement of voters, control of wealth and income, not simply by the South but by the investing North.

This paradox and contradiction enters into our actions, thoughts and plans. After the First World War, we were alienated from the proposed League of Nations because of sympathy for imperialism and because of race antipathy to Japan and because we objected to the compulsory protection of minorities in Europe. We joined Great Britain in determined refusal to recognize equality of races and nations; our tendency was toward isolation until we saw a chance to make inflated profits from the want which came upon

the world. This effort of America to make profit out of the disaster in Europe was one of the causes of the depression of the thirties.

As the Second World War loomed the federal government despite the feelings of the mass of people, followed the captains of industry into attitudes of sympathy toward both fascism in Italy and naziism in Germany. When the utter unreasonableness of fascist demands forced the United States in self-defense to enter the war, then at last the real feelings of the people were loosed and we again found ourselves in the forefront of democratic progress.

35-2-313

But today the paradox again looms after the Second World War. We have recrudescence of race hate and caste restrictions in the United States and of these dangerous tendencies not simply for the United States itself but for all nations. When will nations learn that their enemies are not usually without but within? It is not Russia that threatens the United States but Mississippi; not Stalin and Molotov but Bilbo and Rankin; internal injustice done to one's brothers is far more dangerous than the aggression of strangers from abroad.

We appeal then to the United Nations to step to the very edge of their authority in protecting this minority of citizens in the United States, in order that the world may be at peace. We point out that the recent killing of a nephew of the ruler of a sovereign state by a Florida policeman, who thought that he was an American Negro and could thus be murdered with impunity, illustrates the danger of this situation. The United States has explicitly and clearly refused to defend the rights of its own citizens in a wide field of cases. Consequently in the case of foreigners, especially of those whose skin shows any pigment, there is always the danger

that they will be discriminated against, insulted, assaulted and killed, in this land because when this happens to an American citizen of Negro descent, the United States admits that it exercises only limited jurisdiction. Perhaps it would not be too much to ask the United Nations through the world court to take the protection of such deliberately unprotected citizens under international jurisdiction and control.

35-2-814

We appeal to the world to witness that the attitude of America toward American Negroes is far more dangerous to mankind than the Atom bomb; and far, far more clamorous for attention than disarmament or treaty. To disarm the hidebound minds of men is the only path to peace; and as long as Great Britain and the United States profess democracy with one hand and deny it to millions with the other, they convince none of their sincerity, least of all themselves. Not only that, but they encourage the aggression of smaller nations: so long as the Union of South Africa defends Humanity and lets two million whites enslave ten million colored people, its voice spells hypocrisy. So long as Belgium holds in both economic and intellectual bondage, a territory seventy-five times her own size and larger in population, no one can sympathize with her loss of dividends based on serf labor at twenty-five to fifty cents a day. Seven million "white" Australians cannot yell themselves into championship of democracy for seven hundred million Asiatics.

Therefore, Peoples of the World, we American Negroes appeal to you; our treatment in America is not merely an internal question of the United States. It is a basic problem of humanity; of democracy; of discrimination because of race and color; and as such it demands your attention and action. No nation is so great that the world can afford to let it continue to be deliberately unjust, cruel and unfair toward its own citizens.

INTRODUCTION (W.E.B. DuBois)

Page 1, line 17 change to "proscription"

" " " 22 May I suggest "and in the air" be added to "on land and sea".

" 2 " 3 Comment: Slaves were not "real estate" but personal property or chattels personal.

" 3 " 8 Change to "28". Query that sentence: Is it completely accurate to charge the U.S. with racial discrimination and exploitation for 328 years when the fine words in the Declaration of Independence are less than 200 years old.

" 7 Strike "to date" in 1946 lynch figures.

" 8 " 8 The correct name of FEPC is "Fair Employment Practice Committee". Note: All reference to FEPC throughout these chapters have erroneously added an "s" to the word "Practice".

" 8 Biographical sketch of Ming should spell out U.S. Office of Price Administration.

30-15-1

CHAPTER I (Konvitz)

Although I am sure Konvitz wants his chapter to be uncluttered with lengthly citations, I think every case he cites should include somewhere in the chapter the volume and page reference.

Page 1 Buchanan v. Warly I think "Warly" is spelled "Warley".

Page 2 line 6 Typographical error. Add "a"

" 2 First sentence last paragraph is very ambiguous. The word "government" is not clear. Also the courts and instruments of the state do "enforce racial segregation". What this sentence probably means is that while courts are prohibited from enforcing statutes or ordnances providing for residential segregation, private agreements having the same purpose are given validity.

Pages 11-14 Protection of Civil Rights by Federal Law

I think we must be very careful about accepting the theory that the Department of Justice does not have sufficient authority under existing laws (Sections 51 and 52 of Title 18, U.S. Code) to safeguard civil rights. The Department has virtually nullified Section 51 by administrative interpretation and is anxious to exculpate itself with respect to its abominable record in the whole field.

A number of people who have given some thought to this question, including Mr. Ming, regard the statements here attributed to Attorney-General Clark and his assistant, Caudle, as being an alibi and a dodge. A number of people who will attend the meeting called in January by the National Lawyers Guild on civil rights will come prepared to contend that the Justice Department has more legal authority than it admits.

I would strongly recommend that Thurgood Marshall and others be consulted before final approval be given to Section 2 of Mr. Konvitz's chapter.

Page 12 line 7 Change "belong" to "before". I think also that this paragraph should cite the case relied on.

CHAPTER III (William R. Ming)

Page 11, sentence beginning line 4 is not clear. Needs punctuation between the word "space" and "to".

" 20 Fair Employment Practices. "S" should be stricken wherever FEPC appears in chapter.

30-15-5

CHAPTER IV (Rayford W. Logan)

Page 3 line 2 - Typographical error in word "petition".

CHAPTER II (Earl B. Dickerson)

Page 8 line 3 Typographical error "possessed"

" 12 first word line 19 "?"

" 14 Word "capitol" should be spelled "capital"

A SUMMARY OF THIS PETITION by W.E.B. DuBois

38-31-4

Page 1 line 16 change word "has" to "have".

" 5 " 18 typographical error - change "by" to "but".

" 6 Word "block" should be "bloc".

" 7 Question desirability or accuracy of calling New Deal "socialist planning".

A PETITION TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS; AND TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS; AND TO THE SEVERAL DELEGATIONS OF THE MEMBER STATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

1949

Mimeographed petition and draft manuscript

41-8B-4

A PETITION TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS; and to the GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the UNITED NATIONS; and to the SEVERAL DELEGATIONS OF THE MEMBER STATES of the UNITED NATIONS.

The signers of this petition wish to lay before the Assembly of the United Nations, a case of injustice done by the United States of America against its own citizens. We are bringing this case to your attention and begging you to give it your earnest thought and discussion, not because we are disloyal to this nation, but especially because we are citizens of this land and loyal to the freedom and democracy which it professes far and wide to observe.

This case of callous injustice is typical of the treatment which thousands of our fellows receive, who have slaved and toiled and fought for this country and yet are denied justice in its courts or consideration in its deeds.

In the state of Georgia alone, where this latest injustice is taking place, over 500 Negroes in the last sixty years have been publicly lynched, by mobs without trial; the latest victim being murdered this very year. Last year an election was held in the state in which the man elected governor publicly promised to break the laws of this land and deprive a million black citizens in his state the right to vote. In this state a legal caste system is in vogue which condemns American citizens to unequal education, unequal treatment for disease, segregates them in living quarters and discriminates against them in the right to work at decent wage. The governor promised to maintain this 'race segregation' " at all hazards."

In this same state of Georgia, the following incidents occurred in 1947; a Colored mother of 14 children, 12 of whom are living, lost her husband, Jackson Ingram, a share-cropper, who died in August.

41-813-5

With her children she tried to carry on the tilling of her farm in Schley county which was rented from C.M.Dillinger, a white man living in the town of Americus. Her neighbor was a white man named John Stratford, also a share-cropper. No fences were provided between the two farms or even between the farms and highway and often cattle strayed across the boundaries. On November 4, 1947 Stratford called the woman, cursed her and told her to drive hers mules and pigs off his farm. She hurriedly left her washing and children and ran to his farm to find her stock. She found that her mule and pigs, and also stock belonging to her landlord, were on Stratford's place. As she entered his lot to drive them back, he met her, armed with a shotgun and began to pound her over the head with it. She begged him to stop and seized the gun. He kept beating her, until the blood ran, with a knife which he tried unsuccessfully to open. Her two little sons 13 and 12 stood by crying and pleading, until at last a third son 16, ran from the house, seized the gun, struck Strattford over the head with it and Stratford died.

Mrs. Ingram immediately reported the death to the sheriff. She and her two oldest sons were arrested and put in jail, leaving nine little children alone in the cottage. On January 26, 1948, she and her two sons were tried by a jury on which no Negro sat, and sentenced to be hanged for murder. Her landlord, Dillinger, seized all her stock, tools and growing crops. Colored people of the state and nation rallied to her defense and finally, April 5, the same court which sentenced her to death, changed the sentence to life imprisonment. This sentence the three are now serving.

This crucifixion of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram is of one piece with Georgia's treatment of Colored women. In 1946, twenty-five white lynchers in Walton county, Georgia killed two untried colored men, and then wantonly shot their wives to death because the women recognized the murderers. No one has ever been indicted nor punished for this outrage.

41-818-6

Thus it is clear that the part of this nation which boasts its reverence for womanhood is the part where the women of Africa were slaves and concubines of white Americans for two and a half centuries; where their daughters in states like Virginia became human brood mares to raise domestic slaves when the African trade stopped ; and where their granddaughters became mothers of millions of mulattoes.

Today these colored women and their children bear the chief burden of the share-cropping system, where Southern slavery still lingers. The women work the fields for endless hours and their children are driven from their poor schools into the cotton fields under labor contracts which disgrace humanity and debar them from all social security or wage floors. Thus pauperism, compulsory illiteracy and disfranchisement by poll taxes, make the rural Negro family the most depressed in the world. It was such a family that Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram tried to defend and for this she toils for life in a Georgia prison camp.

Schley County has 3,000 colored and 2,000 white inhabitants, all native born and rural. Only 455 votes were cast in the county in 1942 and of these only 100 were colored. The colored people are almost totally disfranchised, hold no political offices of any kind, never serve on juries, and work mostly as share-croppers on land owned by whites. Of the 750 farms 600 are worked by tenants. The money income of Negro families is probably less than $200 a year; their schools are poor and short in term. Twenty-four dollars per child is spent for white children and four dollars for colored, white school buildings are worth $1000 each and colored $600. Four Negroes have been lynched in this county without trial since 1900. It can be affirmed that in this county no Negro " has any rights which a white man is bound to respect."

In this case , we submit, every canon of law and decency, much less of justice has been violated. A boy of 16 struck an armed white man who was attacking his

41-88-7.

mother. They, mother and two teen-age sons were tried by a jury of hostile whites, with no representative of their race. Their meager property was seized and the children are today subsisting on charity.

The Federal government has made no move; the governor of Georgia has done nothing. The President of the United States, when approached by a delegation from 8 states, would not talk to them and through his secretary said he had never heard of the case. The Chief of the Civil Rights Division of the United States Department of Justice, A.A. Rosen said: " This sort of thing is in the papers every week. It's shocking to me personally, but it is a matter to be settled internally by the State. " He pleaded lack of jurisdiction and no available funds.

The formula upon which this nation rests in the ignoring and mishandling of cases like this, is the legal fiction that a sovereign government can if it will renounce all responsibility for securing justice to its citizens and leave such matters entirely in the hands of subordinate and irresponsible local corporations, even when such bodies openly transgress the law of the land. In the face of this, the United States of America declares its practice of democracy before the world and sits in the United Nations which has promised in its fundamental Charter to promote and encourage " respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

We are painfully aware that allmatters of this sort, have by vote of the General Assembly been put under the jurisdiction of the Social and Economic Council ; and that this Council has established the Commission on Human Rights to consider such cases. But the world knows what the Commission on Human Rights has done or rather has not done to fulfill its functions. We arenevertheless handing this petition to the Commission which in this case as in the past will either bluntly refuse us the right to present it, or will receive the document and hide it in

41-58-8

its files as though it represented treason or revolution.

We will not rest with this attempt to conceal injustice and deny the right of petition. We charge that the Human Rights Commission under Eleanor Roosevelt its chairman and John Humphreys, its secretary, have consistently and deliberately ignored scientific procedure and just treatment to the hurt and hounded of the world. Instead of receiving complaints and giving them carefull investigation and, when facts are ascertained, world publicity, they have buried the complaints and drowned themselves in a flood of generalities by seeking to re-write in verbal platitudes of tens of thousands of words, those statements on Human Rights which the American Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man set down a century and a half ago in imperishable phrase which no man can better today.

Hiding in this forest of verbiage, the Commission on Human Rights has worse than wasted three fatal years, until no sufferer has the slightest confidence in either its ability or honest intentions. It is not so much a question of the phraseology of an universal treaty on which all nations can agree, as the much more practical matter as to how far nations are living up to their own laws and professions. Even members of the Commission are becoming disgusted at the tactics of delay. Johnathan Daniels has recently said: " That if some means of grappling with the practical problem of petitions was not found, and the sub-Commission devoted itself only to theorizing in 'textbook style', its members might just as well quit work and go home."

The sincere and scientific way to work out a Bill of Rights would be to examine carefully and thoroughly specific instances of injustice and from such basis of proven fact to build up methods of prevention and redress; instead of reverting

41-813-9.

to the outmoded scholasticism of seeking universal truth and eternal verities.

We appeal in this case to the Social and Economic Council and ask them to insist that the fundamental right of petition be affirmed and enforced in the Human Rights Commission. And Further than this, we appeal to the General Assembly itself and to every member of it, to place on the agenda of its next meeting and publicly discuss, the relation of democracy in the United States of America to its citizens of Negro descent. We affirm that if the Assembly can and should discuss at length matters affecting the fifteen million Jews of the world, the thirteen millions of Czechoslavakia, the seven and a half million people of Greece; the ten millions of Arabia, the six millions of Austria, and the four million of Finland, it might find a half hour to discuss fifteen million of Negro Americans without disrupting the Charter of the United Nations or affronting the dignity and sovereignty of the United States.

Any nation has the right by law to curtail, for the greater good of the nation, the individual liberties of its citizens; but no country has the right to break faith with itself and deny its citizens rights which its own laws guarantee and its own declarations proclaim; and when it does this, is not this action a matter of International concern? Division of powers between nation and locality may satisfy the metaphysics of practical administration but it cannot divest a nation before the world of its responsibility for elementary justice to its citizens. This was admitted years ago when Louisiana lynched Italians and arrogantly refused punishment or reparation. The nation after years of vain quibbling was compelled by International law to pay damages to their kin. The state of Georgia with its illiteracy and lawlessness is not a nation in the eyes of the United Nations, but the United States of America is a nation and as such bears sole responsibility of the miscarriage of justice in the case of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram.

41-813-10

It may semm a very little thing for 59 nations of the world to take note of the injustice done a poor colored woman in Georgia, when such vast problems confront them; and yet after all, is it in the end so small a thing to " do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly" in setting this mad world aright?
" Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit: " Saith the Lord:

We Americans can send Communists to jail and drive honest citizens to sucicide but can we stand before the world and defend the life imprisonment of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram as an example of the democracy which the United Nations is teaching?

The undersigned colored women of the United States, Legal citizens, voters, wives and mothers have commissioned Dr. W.E.B. DuBois to draw up this petition, because he has devoted much of his life to the cause of Negro equality.
We endorse and subscribe to his words and urge action on the part of all nations who have signed the Charter of the United Nations.

The signers of this petition wish to lay before the Assembly of the United Nations a case of injustice done by the United States of America against its own citizens. We are bringing this case to your attention and begging you to give it your earnest thought and discussion, not because we are enemies of this nation, but rather because we are citizens of thisland and loyal to the freedom and democracy which it professes far and wide to observe. We bring this case of ~~cruel and~~ callous injustice to your attention, because it is typical of the treatment which thousands of our fellows, who have slaved and toiled and fought for this country and yet are denied justice in its courts or consideration in its deeds. In the state of Georgia alone, where this latest injustice is taking place, our 500 Negroes in the last last 6 years, the last victims being murdered ~~last~~ this very year when ~~men and women were murdered in broad daylight and no single person ever indicted or even punished for the crime.~~ Last year an election was held in thsi state in which the man elected governor publicly promised to break the laws of this land and deprive a million such citizens of the right to vote. In this state a caste system is in vogue which condemns American citizens of ~~equal~~ unequal education, unequal treatment for disease, ~~in and~~ segregates them in living quarters and discrimination against them in the right to work at decent wage.

In this same state of georgia, the following facts occurred in 1948.

A black mother of I4 children, I2 of whom are living, lost her husband a share-cropper who died by death in August, 1947. With her children, she tried to carry on the tilling of her farm in the neighboring county town of Schley which she rented from a white physician, living in Americus. Her neighbor was a white tenant named Stralford also a share-cropper. No fences were provided between the two farms, or even between the farms and the highway, and often cattle strayed acroos the boundaries. On Nov. 4, 1947, Stralford called the black woman, ~~waylaid~~, cursed her and told her to drive her mules and pigs off his farm. She hurriedly left her washing and children, and ran to his farm to find her stock. He met her, ~~He was~~ armed with a shotgun and began to pound her over the head with it. She begged him to stop and seized his gun. He kept beating her with a knife, which he used often, until the blood ran. Her two sons of 13 & 12 stood crying and pleading, until at last the oldest, 16, ran from the house seized the gun, struck Stralford with it over the head with it and killed him.

Mrs Ingram immediately reported the death to the sherif. She and her two oldest sons were arrested and put in jail, leaving 10 children of alone in the cottage. On Jan 26, 1948 she and her two boys were tried by a jury on which no Negro sat, and sentenced to be hanged. ~~Her landlord without court order~~ seized all her stock, tools and growing crops for murder. Black folk of the state and nation rallied to her defence and finally, Mrs I the same court which sentenced her to death changed the sentence to life imprisonment. This sentence the three are now serving.

In this case, we submit, every canon of law and decency, much less justice has been violated ~~Two children~~ killed an armed man who was brutally attacking their mother. They were ~~hastily~~ tried by a jury composed of hostile whites with no representative of their race. Their meager property was seized and the children are today existing on ~~the~~ charity ~~of black folk throughout the United States.~~ The Federal government has made no move; the Governor of Georgia has done nothing, and the President of the United States when approached by delegates from ~~8~~ state would not ~~receive~~ them and had never heard of the case ~~The chief of the Carnegie Endowment for U.S.~~ The Department of Justice ~~admitted~~ said

The ~~legal~~ formula upon which this nation rests in the ignoring and mishandling of this ~~case~~, is the legal fiction that a sovereign government can if it will renounce all responsibility for securing justice to its citizens and leave such matters entirely in the hands of subordinate and irresponsible corporations, even when such bodies openly transgress the law of the land. And in the face of this, the United States of America ~~can advertise~~ declares its practice of democracy befroe the world and sit in the United Nations which has promised in its fundamental Charter ~~to promote and encourage~~

35-3-512

We are painfully aware that all matters of this sort, have by vote of the General Assembly been put under the jurisdiction of the Social and Economic Council; and that this Council has established the Commission on Hum an Rights to consider such cases ~~like this.~~ But the world knows what the Commission on Human Rights has done or rather what it has not done to fulfil its functions. We are handing this petition to the Commision ~~This Commission~~ which in ~~this~~ this case as in the past will either bluntly refuse us the right to present it ~~petition~~ or will receive the ~~it~~ document and hide it in its files as though it represented treason or revolution.

We will not rest with this attempt to subborn injustice and deny the right of petition. We charge that the Human Right Commission under Eleanor Roosevelt its chairman and John Humphreys do secretly have consistently and deliberately ignored scientific procedure and just treatment to the hurt and hounded of the world. Instesd of receiving just complaints and giving them careful investigation and, when facts are ascertained, world publicity, they have buried the complaints and drowned ~~lost~~ themselves in in a flood of generalities ~~using tons of thousands of words~~ by seeking to re-wriete in verbal platitudes those statements of human rights which the American Declaration of Independance and the French Declaration of the Rughts of man

35-3-216

The chief of the Civil Rights Division of the United States Department of Justice, A.A. Rosen said: "This sort of thing is in the papers every week. It's shocking to me personally, but it is a matter to be settled ~~by the states~~ internally by the State" He pleaded lack of jurisdiction and no available funds.

35-3-218

to promote and encourage " respect for human rights and for fundamendal freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language and or religion "

Crusades

1096-99 — 1.
1147-9 — 2.
1169-92 — 3.
1202-4 — 4.
1218-21 — 5.
1228-9 — 6.
1248-54 — 7.
1270 — 8.

set down a century and a half ago in imperishable phrases which no man can better today. Hiding in this forest of verbiage the Commission on Human Rights have [illegible] worse than wasted three fatal years until no sufferer has the slightest confidence in either their ability or honest intentions.

We appeal in this case to the Social and Economic Council and ask them to insist that the fundamental right of petition be affirmed and enforced in the Human Rights Commission. And further than this we appeal to the Assembly itself and to every member of it [illegible] to discuss publicly the relation of democracy in the United States of America to its fifteen millions citizens of Negro descent. We affirm that if the Assembly can discuss at length matters affecting the the I5 million Jews of the world, the seven and a half people of Greece; the I0 milli mnxs of Arabia, the six millions of Austria, the 8 millions of Belgium, the I3 millions of Czechoslovakia, the four millions of Finland the 9 millions of Holland and the 4 millions of Switzerland, it might find a half hour to discuss I5 millions of Negro Americans without disrupting the United Nations charter or affronting the dignity and safety of the United States

35-3-219

Any nation has a right by law to curtail the individual's liberties for the greater good of the nation; but no country has the right to break faith with itself and deny its own citizens rights which its own laws guarantee and it own declaration proclaim and when it does this, is not the matter of international concern

35-3-312

Division of powers between nation and locality may satisfy the metaphysics of law, but it cannot divest the nation of its responsibility for elementary justice before the world. This was admitted years ago when Louisiana lynched Italians and the nation after vain quibbling was compelled to pay damages to their kin. The state of Georgia with its illiteracy and lawlessness is not a nation in the eyes of the United Nations. The United States of America is a nation and as such bears sole responsibility of the miscarriage of justice in the case of Rosa Ingram

Iti may seem a very little thing for the nations of the world to take note of the injustice done a little black woman in Georgia, when such vast problems confront the world; and yet it may not after all prove in the end so small a thing to "do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly" in setting this mad world aright

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35-3-313

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PETITION OF RIGHT TO THE PRESIDENT, THE CONGRESS AND THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

c. 1957

Written by W. E. B. Du Bois

PETITION OF RIGHT

TO THE PRESIDENT,
THE CONGRESS AND THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

We, the citizens of the United States, do hereby reaffirm and instruct you to defend the rights established by the Declaration of Independence of 1776 and the Constitution, comprising its original body, the Bill of Rights and other amendments thereto, and including the right of the people through Congress as our representative to amend such provisions as may be deemed necessary. One by one these principles have become stepping stones in the advance of civilization and it is our intention to continue this advance and not to allow this nation to go backward or to weaken itself. We intend not to give up one inch of this goodly heritage but to secure and improve upon it as the foundation for the future, whatever economic changes may come. We intend to see that changes should be brought about by constitutional planning and that all the constitutional rights of the citizens shall be retained during and after such changeover.

42-53-2

First, it is one purpose of this Petition to stand behind the Supreme Court in its recent decisions which have defended the Constitution and Bill of Rights against attack. Nothing could have done more to revive the confidence of this nation in its own heritage. We support the decisions of the Supreme Court in the McCollum, Everson, Watkins, Halperin, Jencks, Nelson, Cole and Yates cases.

Second, we agree with the American Civil Liberties Union that the decision in the obscenity case of June, 1957, infringes on the 1st Amendment. We agree with the dissent of Justices Douglas and Black that "The First Amendment was designed to preclude courts as well as legislatures from weighing the values of speech against silence." The right to regulate obscenity is one of the rights society retains for itself and is not a federal function, though anti-social obscenity must be curbed by social means. The tendency of government to interfere with mental privacy must not be encouraged. Any tampering with the 1st Amendment or any other of the Bill of Rights in this time of confusion and antagonisms between minorities of race, creed or color is too dangerous to the maintenance of democratic rights to be permitted.

Third, we are on the eve of economic changes caused by new forms of atomic energy, automation, competition with socialist countries, saturation of foreign markets for capital and other goods as at present invested, economic recession at home, and various other causes. It is therefore necessary to have a program for constitutional planning so the problems can be worked out during the process of economic changeover by means of a fuller democracy for all groups, which is the only way to guarantee progressive changes rather than retrogressive ones due to the uneven levels of development in this country. We, therefore, ask that all political parties and minority groups take their stand upon the constitutional path in order to work out their conflicts in a civilized, non-violent manner. Armed conflict between groups or between the government and the citizens in this day of modern weapons is unthinkable. We remind the executive that the standing army is not to be used against the citizens of this country peaceably assembled according to their rights under the 1st Amendment. This army is supported by the taxpayers only for use against a foreign foe, not for use against themselves.

Fourth: War and Peace. We ask for an immediate end to nuclear tests as a clear and present danger to health and to good-will between nations. An ending of nuclear tests has been asked by the Pope, by the Quakers and other religious bodies, by thousands of scientists and other citizens in various countries, as well as our own. We further ask that our government bring pressure on the United Nations to abolish the use of all nuclear and atomic weapons in war, as well as of bacteriological warfare, the use of poison and lethal gasses, and any other cruel and unusual weapons not heretofore used in conventional warfare. Such means directly menace women, children and non-combatants and are massacre not instruments of warfare as such. As a next step, we ask that our government bring pressure upon the United Nations to have each country renounce war as an instrument of national policy.

Fifth: As an alternative to war and economic depression, we propose to strengthen this country by gradually planning its distribution and production through constitutional means, thereby providing peace and prosperity by the same measures, and abolishing the causes of war, depression and foreign aggression. We submit that this nation is being weakened and is being handicapped by letting other powers advance faster than we because they take advantage of public ownership of the means of production and distribution, while we are paralyzed by cnnflicts between classes, castes, races, creeds and outmoded means of production.

As an alternative to war, we propose a planned program of foreign trade with all countries where such trade would benefit the American economy at home. We suggest that investment of American capital be made through means of the United Nations in order to remove the stigma of imperialism, which is causing hatred of our country abradd and getting us involved in foreign entanglements leading to war and aggression.

42-58-73

Sixth: We ask that atomic energy be now directed toward peaceful purposes for the benefit of the American people, and that production and distribution should be under the ownership and control of the government solely, with strict regulation of such waste materials and radiation so as not to in any way threaten the health of the public. We ask that solar energy be defeloped rather than atomic energy, in any cases where there is the possible danger to human life and health, now or in future. We ask that Congress pass a bill appropriating funds for the development of nuclear and solar energy for domestic use by the government only, and withdrawing subsidy from privately owned corporations as soon as this can be arranged in fairness to such corporations. We submit that this nation is lagging behind the rest of the world in economic progress because the government is refusing to develop power for public use.

At the same time, we ask that Congress appropriate adequate funds for hydroelectric development and building of dams in the west and the south and elsewhere as required, such facilities to be owned and operated by federal or locally elected authorities, as in the case of TVA. Government subsidies are to be withdrawn from power utilities privately owned, and these funds are to be used for publicly owned plants. Better planning will reduce costs to the users, including industry.

Seventh: As part of a constitutional, planned economic program, we ask that Congress pass bills providing for public ownership and operation of such sick industries as the corporations find themselves unable to operate at a profit, at the same time withdrawing public subsidy from such sick industries as cannot operate independently of the aid of the taxpayers' funds. This is to be done legally in negotiation with the present owners with "just compensation," as provided by the 5th Amendment. Other industries will benefit from the rationalization and improvement of service under public operation and ownership in the case of public utilities and key industries. This would be indirectly another form of subsidization to private industry, but in this case it would be leading toward a socially owned and planned economy instead of to more sickness and dependence upon government of private industry anarchically unplanned or artificially regulated by monopoly prices.

In case of public ownership, all employees of the sick industries are to be taken care of by federal aid or state aid in case the state is the operator. Pensions, unemployment insurance, health and welfare aids, are to be provided, so that no employe or his family will suffer through the changeover but will be benefitted. Stock and bond holders of the corporation will then hold safe government bonds instead of a precarious investment in a degenerating company for a limited time, and these bonds can be paid when due or if desired may be renewed if the government finds this advisable.

1. Public Ownership and operation of the railroads. The railroad system is a sick industry. We ask that Congress authorize negotiations for the purchase of such roads as are unable to provide adequate public transportation and profit for the investors.

At the same time, Congress is to withdraw subsidies from privately ownexd railroads, such funds to be used to improve its own public transportation system. This is to be done gradually giving the railroads time to put their affairs in order and to stand on their own feet if they wish. In nearly every country but ours government ownexs the railroads.

2. Public transportation is a sick industry in every field. Itis breaking down to the point where the public welfare is menaced. Instead of subsidizing the private corporations which have proved their inability to provide for the public welfare in this field, federal and local governments are asked to purchase the sick utilities and to operate them for the public good. This includes bus systems, some freight systems, commuter systems by rail and bus, subways, etc. Toll roads are to be abolished and a system of free federal and state highways opened to traffic. The federal government will have to assume the obligations under the present bond issues for toll roads, by negotiation.

At the same time, the government must guarantee to the public new research into cnntrol of poisonous diesel gas, monoxide exhaust gas from motors, new forms of electric power for motor vehicles, etc. to remove the health hazard in city and suburb.

3. Agriculture is a sick industry, which is part of the unbalanced economy now being heavily subsidized by government in almost every field but without intelligent planning for the public good and for the future. To help solve the emergency, in which the family size farm is being destroyed and the farm families driven to the cities to increase the unemployment problem, we propose that the government withdraw its aid from the big farms and corporate farm enterprises which use cheap laborand are able to purchase in wholesale amounts, with regulations to cut production by such big farms, and with strict enforcement of the minimum wage law to be inclusive of farm workers, including migrants and all foreign elements from Mexico, Puerto Rico etc.

Production should be cut at the top levelof the big farms. At the same time, the family-size farm must be preserved during this time of emergency until it can be integrated into a planned economy in which it will have its own place permanently as the traditional Jeffersonian American way of life, preferred by many persons to any other. This is possible now due to the fact that the problem is no longer one of production but of distribution. This fact is recognized even by the Communist Party, and its resolution on June 20, 1957, is a warning to those who wish to see the small-farmer dispossessed in this country and will do nothing to save him: "The DMarxists recognize a long-range trend in agriculture, inevitably to force the small and even moderately successful medium-sized family farm operator off the land. They propose to resist this trend and its effects, however, doing so in alliance with all non-monopoly sections of the agricultural population and labor... Marxist analysis....puts Communists out in front as defenders of the traditional 'family farm'--a startling fact to those who have misrepresented the Communists as desiring to deprive farmers of their land." The Republicans and Democrats should be willing to do as much for the oldest American way of life among their own voting constituents.

As an immediate measure, we upropose to save the family-size farm by providing federal aid in loans through a cooperative bank, to enable the small farmer to establish a network of marketing and supply cooperatives to cut costs and get more quickly from farm to table with perishable products, where vitamines are lost by storage and transit. We propose that these health-food cooperatives be established in cities and towns so the citizens who realize the need for safe foods in vitamine-fresh condition will have a source available and farmers nearby their quick market.

We further propose that the family-size farm should consentrate on producing foods for health particularly, and that as members of a cooperative they should guarantee to the public certain standards of production, which are at present being violated especially by Big Farms, using chemical fertilizers and forced methods of hormone production for milk, eggs etc. which are harmful to man and animal alike. These health-food cooperatives should handle only organically fertilized products and products guaranteed not to be sprayed with poisonous substances, insecticides etc.

We propose also that farmers should be given government loans for cooperative operation of farms, so they can purchase machinery at wholesale prices as the big corporation farms now do, as well as getting their other purchases wholesale. Since 1950 there has been a decline of over a third of the smallest commercial farms, and an increase of more than a fourth of the largest commercial farms.

In other words, we propose federal aid to the family farm in one way or another, and that in future this should be a part of the economy of the country, either privately owned and operated by a man and his family, or by aid of cooperative methods.

In the south particularly, the small farm still exists in many regions, but monopoly methods of production, pricing and distribution are pushingthe small farmers out of existence.

42-53-25

4. Cooperatives are a good democratic base for any form of government, and should be encouraged in all fields, particularly in case ofthe unemployed or in the case of specialcraftsmen in handicraft industries. Automation in big factories makes the need for a new form of operation of small enterprises imperative if the hand skills are to be kept alive at all. Cooperatives can also make use of automation in many cases, while the ownership is in the group.

As part of the rationalization of agriculture, we ask that Congress investigate the operation of the Pure Food and Drug Laws, and add new safeguards, particularly in the case of public restaurants and in the processing and refining of foods. Instead of permitting dangerous substances to be used to keep food from spoiling, we propose that regulations for providing "pure food"should include hastening the fresh product to the table, instead of providing storage qualities for it. Research must be done into the effects of insecticides, preservatives, etc. and vitamine-loss, and the results made available to the public.

Eighth: Federal Aid to Education. Public Education is also a sick part of our social system--so is private education, which says it needs public funds to keep going. The Federal Aid to Education program must be put into effect, with aid for building schools as well as for other facilities, to be given to all public schools without restrictions but to no sectarian or parochial schools, as this is in violation of the separation of church and state of the 1st Amendment. A break-upof public education is a reversion to semi-feudal conditions where groups polarize around various centers in opposition to each other with no common form of civilization, in which children are trained. A breakdown of the public school system is a sign of the breakdown of our society internally and of the intensification of conflicts.of interest. Race, caste, creed and social problems cannot be resolved by more separation but only by a larger concern for the public interest and the widening of public operation and ownership of schools as well as industries. The alternative is crime, hatred, violence, and might even result in civil war and chaos and disintegration from within.

Ninth. The Status of Women and Children. We oppose the so-called "Equal Rights Amendment", which is intended to destroy protective labor legislation for women and provision for alimony and economic aid to wives. It would put women on an identical basis with men, which is anti-social in effect, as women must have special protection due to maternal function. We support the general point of view of the Commission on the Status of Women of the United Nations, which insists upon maternity benefits for working women, etc. The political rights of women are identical with those of men, but their economic and social rights can only be made equal by adding protection into the balance due to maternal function. The rights of the child, born and unborn, ihhere in the woman. Her rights are dual, not single rights. Society owes its women this protection at work, in the home, and at all times, to strengthen and preserve the race. All children benefit, hence all men.

We support the Joint Resolution on Women's Status proposed to Congress by the women of the labor unions and liberal women's groups, which would provide that the rights of women shall not be denied because of sex, interpreted to mean that included in these rights are the right to special protection because of maternal function. It would make possible removing the many unjust discriminations still on the statute books of the forty-eight states, without invalidating the woman's position that equal rights requires protection. Every child has the right to a mother's care and every woman has the right to the choice whether to have a family or a career or both.

1. A MATERNITY ACT must be passed by Congress, therefore, which guarantees and improves aid for working mothers, including medical and hospital care; maternity leave and benefits for all women workers and guaranteed re-employment following confinement. Legislation must insure that every woman worker in inter- and intra-state commerce is protected against over-long hours, unsafe and unsanitary working conditions, and equal pay for equal work. This would follow the lines of the Emergency Maternity Act operative during the war. A large majority of women are now employed and their families are partly or largely dependent upon them. The health of women and their pregnancy must be guaranteed by providing that unsuitable labor will not be required of them, such as lifting, too much standing, as in the case of clerks in stores, sick leave, and jobs biologically injurious to them.

42-58-76

2. The right to work must be guaranteed to women, such as a Fair Employment Practice Act provision guaranateeing them against discrimination because of sex, marital status or race. A Women's Equal Pay Bill must provide equal pay for equal work, and it must be extended to cover women farm workers, migrant workers and foreign-born workers. Social Security benefits must be extended to paid domestic workers. They must have Unemployment Insurance, Old-Age insurance and Workmen's Compensation.

3. Women must insist upon better government support in expanding and improving the activities of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor.

4. American women must support the work of the United Nations Commission onthe Status of Women. It is women, children and laborwho provide the strongest common links between peoples and nations. American government support to the above Commission must be improved.

5. Federal Child Care facilities must be provided, not as charity but as part of the child's rightful inheritance in a society capable now of abundance and fair treatment of all. A National Child Care Act must guarantee this. Public funds must provide free nursery care for every child whose mother needs this assistance. After school recreation must be provided. There must be adequate home services for sickness of mother or children. Hot school lunches and free milk for children in urban and rural areas are essential, and must be geared in with the farm program where the family-size farm is given preference in supplyingsuch programs with foods guaranteed produced by healthful methods, with no preservatives or chemicals etc. or additives. Farm copperatives are tc be geared in with health work for children, as well as for such of the public as prefers safe, nutritious food.

Juvenile delinquency grows out of the fact that working mothers are unable to care for their children properly. Solving this urgent problem, requires the above protection for women and children, and the home. It also requires special schools and training for the children who are unable to integrate into the social life of the community and school due to uneven levels of development ranging from tribalism, semi-feudalism, gangsterism and broken homes,to capitalism, with all its evils and its advances. Suitable jobs must be available for youngsters who need the security of knowing they can earn something to help themselves or their families, for after-school or Saturdays, particularly for delinquents, as a form of therapy and social integration.

Tenth: Public Health Congress must providea public health program for those who need it, in which preventive medicine and research along this line is to be stressed. Mobile health service and clinics are necessary, withhealth insurance.

A Federal Health Insurance Plan must be put into effect for those who need it, while those who prefer private insurance plans and private doctors will be permitted to continue with this method. Federal aid must be given in training doctors in public health work.

Eleventh: Insurance. This part of the economy flourishes under depression as well as prosperity apparently, but if it should become a sick part of the economy, the federal government will have to take over the obligations of the insurance companies at some time in future as part of a plan for old-age pensions and unemployment insurance, for all citizens. In fairness to those who have paid up insurance, they should receive the amount they have put into the insurance, after deducting the regular old-age pension for everyone.

42-57B-7

Twelfth: Old Age Pensions must be provided for all men who need them over the age of sixty and for all women over fifty, the age of the menopause, at the rate of $150 a month, with the right to live in and own their own homes, the rato to be increased as the national economy finds its way out of the debt and morass of the present confused and complicated economy. Housewives are to be included in this pension plan, if the individual wishes it. Pensioners must receive free medical care and nursing. No tax, local or federal, should be taken from any person over the above age, with incomes under $300 a month.

Thirteenth: Crime Prevention. Crime is rooted in our insecure economic system and in the uneven level of social development, which brings in cheap, foreign labor to keep down the level of native labor, thereby resulting in animosities, unemployment, and unfair competition. Meantime, a Crime Prevention Bureau should be set up to study this problem and to find jobs for men and youth who need them, an employment office which would be responsible to employer and employe. Democratizing the labor unions would give the rank and file a means of rooting out gangster elements by their own machinery.

Fourteenth: The Right to Travel is an inalienable right of citizenship. Congress must pass a bill establishing this right for every citizen not deprived of his civic rights by law in criminal proceedings. The Bill S 3344 introduced by Senator Hennings is a step in this direction, but it deprives the right to a passport and to travel to citizens on political grounds. We submit that neither Congress, nor the executive through its Passport Bureau, nor the courts, have the right to set themselves up as an inquisition priesthood to decide who is orthodox enough to travel and who is not because of beliefs or opinions.

Fifteenth: Loyalty Oaths are remnants of medieval tradition and unworthy of the 20th century mind and its form of society. They are a form of indenture over the human mind and an indication of childishness and fear of one's fellow-man. We hold that loyalty oaths are unconstitutional except in the case of public officials who are held responsible for the preservation by law of the constitution. We have the methods of impeachment, recall and indictment for remedy, and these should be used when public officials refuse to carry out their commitments. The public school system must teach government by law and not by private oaths or injunction. Loyalty oaths take us back to feudal loyalties, not to respect for law and the duties of civic citizenship.

Sixteenth: The Privacy of the Individual is being more and more violated. Every public figure has the right to a private life inviolate from public inquisition. Safeguards must be enforced against wire-tapping, censorship of mail and spying. A code of honor and ethics must be established by press, television, radio and all avenues of public communication protecting the privacy of the individual. Penalties for slander and libel and exposure to public ridicule must be sharpened, including the right of persons in the entertainment world to be safe from "confidential exposes," and threats to their privacy. "Subliminal influences" in advertising are an invasion of the privacy of the mind and the Federal Communications Commission must be responsible for curbing the tendency toward using public communications to destroy privacy.

For the protection of the rights of the citizen, Congress must establish a fund by means of which the individual may secure legal aid and court costs in cases of slander, libel, and damage due to public inquisition, for redress of grievance, in cases where the individual is unable to defend himself from this vast octopus because of financial helplessness.

Seventeenth: The Abolition of Capital Punishment. We ask that Congress abolish capital punishment, an immunity not to be suspended in time of martial law. In a time of disintegration and change, this has become necessary, so that the individual may not bethe victim of temporary dictatorships and injustices. This will make safer and more civilized the changeover which will inevitably come in our economic system.

Eighteenth. Freedom of Thought and Opinion. "Thought-control" is a reversion to medieval darkness and it was the cause of the Protestant Reformation four hundred years ago, at which time the Protestants established the right of the individual to have his own private thoughts and opinions, free from inquisition of any kind. The govemment had no right to set itself up as a priesthood to establish an orthodoxy of political, religious, or other beliefs, but only to act in cases of overt acts and by due process of law. Catholics must not force Protestants to submit to the confessional, public or private, in exchange for the right which Protestants have granted them to allow thought-control within their own religion. The 5th Amendment was the Protestant law abolishing the confessional in legal terms.

a charter for

We stand for/freedom of thought and opinion for the citizen, including the artist, scientist, and intellectual. This is to grant him immunity from inquisition by government of any kind now and in future, as provided in the constitutional tradition of this country. Society must grant this protection to its creative members, who are few in number and without voting strength. Upon this freedom of thought the future of science and the arts depends. Taking away freedom of thought for the artist or intellectual is depriving him of his tool, of his only means of functioning. In the division of labor, he has a special job which is entirely opposite to that of the manual worker, the politician, or the housewife, or those who do not depend upon the freedom of thought to work and function. His means of production is his mind and this must not be crippled by society, or destroyed by oppression and stupid attempts to control his mental functioning. The commissar in Russia seemsto function as the Orthodox priest formerly did, but in that country the Protestant Reformation was skipped over and freedom of thought and opinion has not yet been achieved as it was in more advanced societies.

Nineteenth: A Federal Arts Project must be established but without any form of dictatorship over the recipients of aid. The universities have failed to provide fellowshipsor publication facilities for writers, poets, playwrights etc. and artists, and the publishing business is already a sick industry, like so many others. Due to high costs, it is unable to encourage new talent and to take chances on publishing books that may not sell well. The blossoming of American civilization must not be nipped in the bud because of the economic squeeze which prevents its creative minds from working and reaching the public with their products. Fellowships must be available to enable them to work, which could be supervised by special boards or universities or by the organizations of writers and artists and scientists.

The income tax inequities must be removed from the self-employed artist, writer, scientist and resear ch worker, and his work must be put in a special category which will enable him to use his income for the future years of work during which he will have no income.

Twentieth. Property Rights. The 5th Amendment provides, "nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." The XIV Amendment provides: "nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

We submit that the above principle of "just compensation" and due ppocess of law shall be maintained during any changeover of the economy and after as well. We have plenty of wealth now being wasted or not utilized to pay just compensation. However, in order to prevent a restoration of a monopoly system of ownership of the key industries, the present income tax laws will have to be used according to the XVI Amendment, graduated according to ability to pay as now. In 1949 there were 13,822 persons who declared incomes of $100,000 or more, and we propose heavy tax upon incomes above that amount as is done in England. For incomes over $50,000 a year we propose a lighter tax but sufficient to prevent accumulation of capital for anti-social purposes.

42-58-79

Income from large private incomes can be earmarked for the benefit of the arts and sciences through fellowships, special aid, etc. Thus such persons would feel themselves patrons of the arts rather than merelybeing taxed too heavily.

The cost of building all manufacturing facilities existing in 1939 was $40 billion; by 1945 it had added $26 billion, two-thirds paid for by the government. In 1957 government receipts were $70,988,697,330. Public ownership of the key industries will prevent war and depression, as it will eliminate the need for "defense spending" on a large scale as we will not then be trying to prevent other countries from becoming socialist.

In 1952 six and a half million persons owned stock in corporations, about 7% of the population, of adults. About 98.6 per cent of workers owned no stock at all. These stockholders would continue to own stock, but with government ownership of the industry with the right to pay back the principal. The public debt of the United States in 1957awas $270,527,171,896, or $1,580.72 per capita. This means that a large percentage of investment in this country in bonds is in U.S. bonds already, on which a great deal of interest is being paid regularly. This debt can be retired by paying the owners their guaranteed annual amount, deducting it from their credit with the U.S. Treasury. Thus they will lose nothing that they now have.

The Federal Reserve Bank now received over eight billion a year in interest and it is not a government bank but privately controlled. We ask that the Treasury take back its power to coin and print notes and money and resume the control of the Federal Reserve Bank which was vested in the private interests by President Wilson in 1913. This would be done at a suitable time when the public interest requires it. As the Price System results in inflation and is not a true index of purchasing power, after public ownership of industry, it may be desireable to establish a system of energy certificates, as recommended by the Technocrats, to be able to judge the exact needs of the population in relation to production. This would not invalidate the money system on government debts, however, unless at a fair rate of exchange.

In 1953 only 5 per cent of families had annual income of $10,000 or more; 69% had income of less than $5,000. In 1956 the per capita income was $1,940 for the continental U.S. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics has stated that a family of four needed in 1951 $4,166 a year for a minimum standard, that in that year 64% of American families had incomes below that level. We propose to plan an economy of abundance in which every American family of four be guaranteed $6,000 a year income, plus other income according to the ability of the earner and the family needs. Those with incomes of above $15,000 a year will be taxed to prevent too much inequality in income from causing trouble in a socially owned society.

While taking over industry in public ownership, we intend that Congress shall reaffirm and stand by the inviolate rights of small private property and personal property, whether the form be socialism or a mixed economy. This is possible in an economy of abundance where collective ownership is no longer necessary to improve productive capacities, and where it is necessary only to have public ownership of the strategic sectors of industry to prevent capitalism from arising again. Each person must be guaranteed under the constitution, as now, the right to own his own home and garden of several acres in town and country for residential use only, not for rent; his own cooperative apartment; or the right to rent house or apartment for his own use

Each person or family will be guaranteed the right to own and operate a family-size farm or as much as can be tilled by the owner, depending upon the locality and the nature of his crop. He will be guaranteed the right to $6,000 a year income for a family of four and integrated into the production schedule nationally. Rural power, better schools, mobile clinics and libraries, will be provided, and life in the country will be made the little paradise dreamed of by American families since the Pilgrims arrived on Plymouth rock with this idea in their minds.

42-573-90

Each person or family will hae the rightto own and operate small enterprises employing no outside labor, and to own and operate cooperatively any enterprise in which no more than a thousand persons are owners and producers.

No enterprise employing more than 14 persons may be privately owned and operated.

The standard of living of the population will be planned and constantly improved as the machinery of production and distribution are improved.

The right to inheritance of the above small property is to be safeguarded, such as of residential houses and family farms, but rent for profit is not to be allowed. Private industry will be heavily taxed above a certain amount of income, in order to prevent accumulation of private capital which might restore capitalism.

The above petition outlines a way of bringing about a planned economy based upon production from each according to his ability, and distribution to each according to his need and labor, by way of the present Constitution. The right of the people to organize and vote is safeguarded as at present, as opposition parties are the only known way to prevent tyranny, bureaucracy, stagnation, injustice, unfairness to minorities, illegalities and other abuses of power.

While, we believe it fair and advisable to pay just compensation and to purchase the key means of production for the public good from willing sellers as industries become sick and profits disappear, we also remind Congress and the courts of the constitutional precedents existing nowfor public ownership as follows:

1. The Louisiana Purchase by Jefferson and the government ownership of the Public Domain, including national parks, under which for many years the right of homesteading provided the citizens a share in the public domain. We propose now to restore the public domain and the rights of the citizens to share therein for their own use, but not for profit. We propose that the American Indians should not be deprived of their present lands and rights, but that they should beassisted in improving their conditions, as the American Indian society is also a sick socie ty today in need of improvement.

The right of Eminent Domain and condemnation of private property for public use exists, which has been widely used in acquiring property for expressways against the will of the owners in recent years, for example. We propose to safeguard the rights of the owners as much as possible, and no private property shall be taken unless for good and sufficient reason where no alternative is feasible.

2. We have the public postal service, the army, navy, air force and other military establishments. In some cases, the government had engaged in the production of its own supplies instead of paying higher rates for private contracts. Private industry is today so heavily subsidized by the taxpayers through direct subsidy and war and defense contracts, that if the government should merely start up its own industries, the private interests would be unable to compete and probably would fold up in dispair, in which case they would lose their investment entirely instead of receiving compensation as we now propose to avoid this bankruptcy and social disorder. If the monopoly interests refuse to sell voluntarily to the government and are unable to provide goods for sensible prices, the government in self-defense need only begin to establish its own plants and this would quickly show the superiority of public ownership and operation.

We have observed that the more farseeing managers and owners of industry already see the writing on the wall and know that sooner or later the public will vote for socially owned and controlled key industries. It is our purpose not to push the present capitalists to the wall, but to provide an easy transition in which no one will suffer unduly. The capitalist interests would have nothing to gain by a Fascist dictatorship or violence, and everything to lose. For them Fascism is as suicidal as atomic war. Hence, this petition is offering them a treaty by means of which a changeover can be effected without danger to the life and liberty and personal means of livelihood of those who at present own the means of production and distribution. At present, social ownership bythe above terms in the United States is not Utopian, but necessary and it is inherent in the history of our economy and society.

42-5B-81

3. We remind Congress of the 13th Amendment passed in 1865, abolishing slavery with no compensation whatsoever. It was a Republican Congress and President which thus destroyed the rights of private property in the South to a high percentage, leaving the planters bankrupt of their investment in four million slaves. Congress refused to offer compensation for emancipated slaes, or it is possible the Civil War might have been avoided. The Southerners looked upon emancipation as unconstitutional asno just compensation was offered or contemplated. However, by their secession from the Union they may be considered to have ~~the~~ lost the rights of citizenship under the Constitution temporarily.

By thisprecedent, ifthe present owners set up a Fascist dictatorship opposed to the Constitution and Bill of Rights, the constitutional precedent exists for them to have their property confiscated without compensation due to treason to the Union and war upon the United States. We appeal to both sides to bring about a civilized changeover, so that no such measures should be put into effect in this country, as they are wasteful and unnecessary in an economy of abundance where democracy for all can be guaranteed. At the present time, the southern states are strong for public ownership but they have been unable to solve their racial and economic problems under the present form of economy and caste society, the basis of which is to constantly bring in cheaper labor in order to take jobs away from those with higher standards, thereby pitting one part of the labor force against another, and one race or foreign element against another. So long as the South remains semi-feudal, it cannot solve its racial and economic problems, and the industrial revolution there now coming about would be better developed by public ownership now rather than later, as the competition with the higher standards of the north can only bring about serious dislocation and antagonism between the two sections. Hence, the south has a stake in public ownership which would quickly bringabout a prosperous industry and economy, while preserving farm life for those who prefer it. The north has an equal stake, in order to preserve its own standards and not be reduced to the level of the more backward south, where northern industries are running away in order to exploit cheap labor, Negro and white, as well as women.

We ask that Republicans and Democrats study this Petition and work out a program by means of which a civilized constitutional transition to a better life can be worked out through political competition only. We ask that the radical and socialist and communist parties and groups in exchange for legalization of constitutionally guaranteed activities, make a treaty for co-existence with other groups during and after the changeover, and that they openly state their blueprint and program for socialism in the United States so the voters and citizens will know what to expect and who their enemies and friends are. We ask that all parties, right, left and middle, confine their program to constitutional methods and support the principles of the above Petition in one degree or another, the timing to be worked out for the good of all by proper planning. Whichever party provides the public with the best program and blueprint for a good society in future, deserves the leadership of this nation and will have it, but always with a system of checks and balances and opposition parties to keep it in line with the public welfare.

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Name and Address

Date:

A PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, THE HONORABLE JOHN F. KENNEDY

February 1961

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A PETITION

To: The President of the United States,

The Honorable John F. Kennedy

Feb. 1961

Dear Mr. President:

We come to you as Negro citizens conscious of our responsibility to add our contribution to the solution of the momentous problems confronting our country, conscious of our responsibility to ourselves, our children and to all those who comprise our great nation.

You, Mr. President, have said that our country has lost prestige in the councils of the world. We believe that this is true and that there is a definite relationship between this fact and the attitude of government toward us, its Negro nationals. Some of us cast our vote impelled by the hope your words generated, and guided by the fact that we cannot live as formerly.

Obstacles and racial barriers have been raised that not only prevent our enjoyment of rights and privileges without which none can give their best to the growth and development of our country but are as well an impeachment of our democracy, destructive of national morality and injurious to our integrity as a people.

We petition you, Mr. President:

Arouse the nation from the self-destroying lethargy into which it has been cast through acceptance of the un-American, subversive and dehumanising race relations. End the practice of gradualism. Use the Executive Order, the vast political powers which devolve upon you as Chief Executive decisively to change the policies of State and Federal governments in their relations with Negro citizens. Substitution of the doctrine of States Rights for the Constitution in relations with Negro citizens must be stopped. American citizenship rights are paramount. Their priority must be respected. End segregation and jim-crow now.

38-10-2

Mr. President, use unsparingly the persuasive moral strength inherent in the office of President to end bias and prejudice in human relations. Use your great influence to bring respect for the inalienable rights of man. Mobilize science and the arts to render shattering blows to the myth of white superiority in every area of our cultural life.

Mr. President, order an end to discriminatory practices based on race, nationality, creed or color in the realm of employment and job tenure, voting, housing and education. These shameful features of our national life astound and shock the world. Their continued existence prevents the fulfillment of our obligations under the charter of the United Nations. It is impossible that they should not affect our prestige before the world.

Mr. President, the time is right for a new Emancipation Proclamation. President Abraham Lincoln showed the way. But the task was left unfinished. Our democracy must embrace all or it will embrace none.

Therefore, we petition you to:

1. Order an end to all practices and propagation of superiority based on race, nationality, creed or color enforced by legal and police powers of the Federal government.

2. Appoint a Negro to a new Cabinet post to be known as Secretary of Civil Rights to safeguard the rights of the Negro against encroachments by any state agencies under the guise of "states rights" or the fiction of racial superiority.

3. Call a national "End Segregation Conference" now to be attended by Negro and white leaders of labor, the Church, education and culture to map out a moral crusade against racist ideology.

4. Declare the Negro ghettoes that disgrace every metropolitan area distressed communities and formulate programs of relief and rehabilitation to eliminate the poverty, misery, illiteracy and chronic ill health.

38-10-3

5. Cut off all grants of federal funds to colleges and universities which practice or propagate segregation or discrimination based on race, creed or color.

6. Cancel all contracts with companies, corporations or individuals which apply any form of segregation or discrimination in their employment practices.

7. Establish the right of Negro citizens in every state to vote for any candidate for the Federal office of President, Vice-President, presidential elector members of Senate or House of Representatives, or in any special or primary election held solely or in fact for the purpose of selecting any such candidate.

8. Order an appropriate bi-racial Federal Committee or Commission on Housing to be established in every city and state with a substantial non-white population to study racial problems in housing, receive and investigate complaints alleging discrimination.

9. Direct all Federal agencies to shape their policies and practices to make the maximum contribution to the achievement of this goal.

10. Direct that all the recommendations of the Civil Rights Commissions made to provide equality in housing and other sections of national life be immediately implemented and carried into action.

Yours is the hour of destiny, Mr. President. What we ask is within your power. We urge you to act now.

38-10-4

ESSAYS, FOREWORDS AND STUDENT PAPERS

ESSAYS

"GEORGIA: INVISIBLE EMPIRE STATE"

[A FRAGMENT OF A DRAFT]

THESE UNITED STATES,

ERNEST GRUENING, ED.

2 VOLS., NEW YORK:

BONI AND LIVERIGHT, 1924

PP. 322-345

mother. Here is the man of the world who knows it all and owns it all. Everywhere are the typeless of any land and clime and race, hurrying, uncertain things, inarticulate, too true.

These people are caught in the evil web of the world just as millions have been caught before. Their struggle to work and live has been complicated by hateful memories and deliberate selfish greed. The natural forces of redeeming human nature which ever strive to unleash the soul from evil - these forces in Georgia are themselves in leash. What can the forces for uplift and reform do in Georgia.

One almost despairs at religion here for Georgia is already terribly religious. Churches crowd on churches and sects on sect. Religion is a matter of daily talk and personal recommendation. When the Ku Klux Klan ~~recently sent out its orders to voters its candidate was recommended as~~ a member of a prominent church and ~~Sunday school leader.~~* Georgia religion is orthodox. It is "fundamental". It hates Jews and Unitarians. It suspects Catholics. Georgians are "converted" noisily; they "live in Christ"; they "feel the spirit", and all that. No, there is little hope in Georgia religion at present, despite a light here and there.

33-6-34

Nevertheless, there are brave men in Georgia, men and women whose souls are hurt even to death by this merciless and ruthless exploitation of race hatred. They are gripped by terrific forces; they turn, they twist, they sweat in soul. But what can they do? It is fairly easy to be "radical" in New York or Boston or Chicago. It is a recognized sign of sense to suggest new things. One can fight there for convictions and while it costs to oppose power, yet it can be done. It even gains some applause and worth-while friends. But in Atlanta? The students of white Emory College recently invited a student of black Morehouse college to lead a Y.M. C.A. meeting. It was a little thing - almost insignificant. But in Georgia it was almost epoch making. Ten years ago it would have meant riot. To-day it called for rare courage. When the Southern Baptists met in Atlanta

yesterday they did not segregate Negro visitors. Such a thing has seldom if ever happened before in Georgia. It is precisely the comparative insignificance of these little things that shows the huge horror of the problem - the bitter fight between Georgia in 1924 and civilization.

Some little things a liberal public opinion in Georgia may start to do. But the politico-economic alliance stands like a rock wall in the path of real reform. In certain lines like education, sanitation and various lines of social uplift, social reformers may work with some success. It is a groping but a sincere one. A determined group called "inter-racial" asks for reform. Most of them would mean by this the stopping of lynching and mobs, decent wages, the abolition of personal insult based on color.

33-6-35

Most of them would not think of demanding the ballot for blacks or the abolition of "Jim Crow" cars or civil rights in parks, libraries and theatres or the right of a man to invite his black friend to dinner. Some there are who in their souls would dare all this, but they may not whisper it aloud - it would spoil everything; it would end their crusade. Few of these reformers yet fully envisage the economic nexus, the real enemy encased in enormous Profit. They think reform will come by right thinking, by religion, by higher culture and they do not realize that none of these will work their end effectively as long as it pays to exalt and maintain race prejudice.

Of the spiritual dilemmas that face men today I know of none more baffling than that which faces the conscientious, educated, forward-looking white man of Georgia. On the one hand is natural loyalty to what his fathers believed, to what his friends never question; then his own difficulty in knowing or understanding the black world and his inbred distrust of its ability and real wish; there is his natural faith in his own ability and the ability of his race; there is the subtle surrounding and continuous

propaganda - gossip, newspapers, books, sermons and "science"; there is his eager desire to see his section take a proud place in the civilized world. There is his job, his one party, his white primary & his social status so easily lost if he is once dubbed a "nigger lover". Facing all this is lynching, mob murder, ignorance, silly self praise of people pitifully degenerate in so many cases, exploitation of the poor and weak and insult, insult, insult heaped on the blacks. What shall such a man do? What <u>can</u> he do?

If he talks, if he attacks, if he admits, immediately the North and the Negro echo and repeat his words and tell the world. Immediately the South mobilizes in fierce denial abroad, in bitter denunciation at home; social pressure, salary threat, the appeal of wife and children, everything, everybody hisses at him except perhaps some helpless Negro friends or some coward who advises "moderation".

Why cannot such Liberals strike hands with the Liberal North? Because of Civil war memories still skillfully manipulated by Southern politicians and Northern investors and the supposed radicalism of the North on the Negro. To obviate this the Northern Liberals are either dumb on the blacks or fall over themselves to concede cheerfully to the Bourbon politicians the very foundation principles of decency and justice for which the Southern Liberals sought aid and comfot. Many a disgusted Georgian has appealed for a Northern ally and received a hypocrite or a fool who denounced the ballot in the black laborers' hands and excused lynching "for the usual crime". It was Northern votes and not Southern that "Jim-Crowed" Negro visitors to the Atlanta session of the Charities conference. They thought they were being polite! It is a commonplace thing to say that in Georgia and the South it is the Northern settler that is most <u>intransigeant</u> on the Negro problem. This is usually true - and why? Because the Northern settler is there for the most part to make money and he soon learns that Negro prejudice is the greatest money-maker

in Georgia.

Thus Georgia rides the whirlwind. Thus in the midst of the beauty of this land is the unholy compact between Northern capital and Southern race prejudice which has so successfully set example to all the South. This pact represents a treaty of peace between that part of the poor whites who have succeeded the slave holders in the domination of the South with that part of the North formerly represented by the carpet baggers; and these two together are exploiting white and black labor. In order to do this they must keep the laborers divided, putting white and black against each other. The best and easiest method of doing this is to encourage race prejudice. Race prejudice therefore in Georgia, so far as the real leaders of the state are concerned, is an artificial thing kept up for revenue only.

33-6-37

On the other hand, so far as the great mass of the laborin whites is concerned, it is a thing of passionate belief and concern which is kept at fever heat by vested interests and at the same time not a single institution in the state, neither church nor school nor newspaper nor lecture platform, is prepared to teach the mass anything different. Even the labor union is inhibited. The result is a much more hopeless situation so far as race prejudice is concerned than as though the thing rested on natural likes and dislikes of ordinary, uneducated people.

Nor can philanthropy and social uplift hope for much aid from art and culture, in the midst of this soul-shattering spiritual battle. Where but in Georgia and Atlanta could culture evolve for the facade of a public library this list of the world's great? "Aesop, Homer, Virgil, Carnegie, Dante, Milton, Poe!" Where but in Georgia, the state of Alexander Stephens, could the descendants of his contemporaries erect a monument to the Confederate dead with the inscription:

"They died fighting for liberty!"

Yet the Voice, the eternal Voice rises and sings in this wilderness. The present thing cannot endure because it is impossible. The hope of successful revolt in Georgia must lie in this ~~situation~~ economic paradox itself. The very contradictions ~~and paradoxes~~ of the situation must bring its own reactions Suppose a man of the people, that is, of the white people, arose in Georgia and said to himself, "We are being exploited, tremendously and shamelessly exploited. The mill hands, the mechanics, the railroad workers, all of the great mass of working people lack even the primitive protection of modern days such as limited hours of labor, protection for women and children in industry and from industry, protection of helpless girls in society, industrial accident insurance and so on." Suppose such a man should say, "It is worth while to arouse the workers and get them to vote in better industrial conditions". What would happen?

33-6-38

There was once such a man in Georgia, Tom Watson. He was a leader of the white laborers. He tried to unite these laborers to fight against the capitalists. He organized the populist party in Georgia and invited the blacks to help. It was a critical situation that developed in the early nineties before Negroes were as completely disfranchised as later. In the first campaign it was easy to beat the populists by the fraud of "counting them out". Immediately the captains of industry mobilized their forces. By newspaper, by word of mouth, by lodge communications it was conveyed to the white workers that not only would Negroes benefit from any attempt to better the present industrial situation but they would displace, gradually, the white workers by underbidding them; that any benefits for white workers must come secretly and in such a way that Negroes could not share in the benefits; thus immediately the emphasis was put on race discrimination. And this race difference grew and expanded until in most cases the whole knowledge and thought of the workers and voters went into keeping Negroes down, rather than raising themselves up.

Internal dissension resulted in the labor ranks. The Negroes were

then blamed for not voting solidly with white labor; for selling out to capital; for underbidding labor. The whole movement swung into intense Negro hatred; and the net result was that the white labor vote was swung completely into a movement finally and completely to disfranchise Negro labor. The mob shot down Watson's Negro leaders in their tracks and the only way in which Tom Watson could survive politically was to out-Herod Herod in his hatred of Negroes and diatribes against them and in new catchwords like attacks on the Catholics and Jews. He kept even to his death dangerous political power but with his labor party cut in two and forced into additional disfranchisement by the "White Primary", he could never again seriously menace the machine.

33-6-39

A second kind of revolt can always come from dissension in the high seats of power. When in Cleveland's day Hoke Smith opposed "free silver", he was read out of Georgia democracy and his path to the United States Senate blocked. Immediately Smith espoused the cause of "Labor" and made a frontal attack on capital and the great corporations of Georgia. The white labor vote flocked to him and instead of the "White Primary" being the ordinary parade, a bitter internal political fight developed. Smith and his opponents quickly came to terms. In the midst of the campaign Smith dexterously switched his attack on monopoly to an attack on Negroes as the cause of monopoly and since this old game had often been played, he played it harder and more fiercely. He went so far that the state was aroused as never before. Race bitterness seethed, and white labor took the bit into its teeth. It demanded economic disfranchisement of the Negro to follow political. The Negro must be kept from buying land, his education must be curtailed, his occupations limited.

This was overshooting the mark and destroying the whole bi-racial labor situation upon which the Secret Empire of Georgia is based. Quick

and severe measures were called for. The minds of the mob must be turned again and turned from political and economic thought to pure race hatred. Immediately the sex motif arose to leadership. All subconsciously, sex hovers about race in Georgia. Every Negro question at times becomes a matter of sex. Continually the secrecy, the veiled suggestion, the open warning pivots on sex; gossip rages and horrible stories are spread. The ignorant, the superstitious feed on such flame and go mad with anger and hate. There is something horrible in the air that swells at times and bursts. The world goes stark mad.

33-6-40

So in the Smith campaign. Everything was suddenly swept away and submerged into the wildest stories of rape and murder of women. Atlanta papers rushed out five editions in a single day each with a new horror afterward proven either absolutely fictitious or crassly exaggerated. But what mattered that? On a Saturday night after the "White Primary" the white Atlanta laborers arose and murdered every Negro they could find on the streets. Three days war and rapine raged the streets of the Empire City and then sank to awful silence. Hoke Smith became governor and Senator and at the same time the industrial and political machine was safe.

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A third sort of economic revolt may arise when for some special reason or on some particular occasion hatred between white employees and employers transcends ~~race~~ color antagonism. Once or twice the mob, out of hand, has thus faced the employers and investors. This was the Leo Frank case. Leo Frank owned a factory and in his factory a girl was found murdered. The mob spirit glowed and grumbled. A Negro suspect was offered as bail but the mob would not be diverted and sought higher game. Around the factories of Atlanta their mood was ugly, threatening.

For a moment the employers were aghast for the trivial thing was assuming vast proportions. Then suddenly they sensed a new race antagonism that offered them new escape. Frank was a Jew. Crucify the

Jew! The Jews were crowding in too largely anyway to share the spoils of Secret Empire. They were mill owners in Augusta, merchant princes in Atlanta, land barons in Albany. They had long deserved repression and here was a chance. Crucify the Jew! The method of escape tempted the leaders and yet they hesitated After all the Jew was a white man and a powerful one at that. The white group must not split and divide its power against the Negro but meanwhile the white mob had caught the new shibboleth and it began to howl: "Crucify the Jew!"

Suddenly the white Georgia world was torn in three: The jew, the Jew-sacrificing whites, the Jew-defending white. How easy the abyss had yawned at their feet and all the easier for their persistent Negro-baiting of many years. Georgia was all too used to race-cleavage as an investment, as a pastime. Yet now Georgia was afraid. There was something ominous, terrible in this new race hate. Its venom seethed up almost in a night. Ther Governor interfered to protect Frank, the Jew. He was literally driven from the state and the Prosecuting Attorney who had sought to convict Frank was elected to his place. Sobered by power the new Governor sought to oil the sullen waters. A principle was involved. Frank was after all a white man. And before the white-man-murdering mob Georgia must pause. Lynching is a matter not of races but of one race: "Niggers" are lynched in Georgia. "Niggers" must be lynched. Periodically the mob must have its "nigger" to lynch and burn. This is in the nature of things. But a white man - even though a Jew! Of course Jews were in many ways unacceptable - "Crucify the Jew!" No, no, not that - hardly that, for Jews are white and "white" is sacred; besides -- and suddenly Frank was lynched.

That Marietta mob, padding like sullen beasts, blear-eyed, drunk, thick-headed, infinitely determined, snatched the man from the willingly opened jail and murdered him. His torn and bloody body lay in awful state. Atlanta rushed to see the sight -- Atlanta, Empress of the New South, gilded and gay on her seven hills; Atlanta that shares only with New York the glory of Metropolitan opera, -- rushed to gaze in automobiles, - ladies and gentlemen and children. The crowd surged but Southern "chivalry" rose to its wonted heights: The mayor of Atlanta leaped on the roof of a shed and waved wild arms: "Gentlemen", he gasped: "Gentlemen", he cried, "Be careful - you're jostling the ladies!"

All these occasions of revolt against the present political and industrial situation, except the first, ignored the Negro, and the first

was early diverted from its purpose. Yet, In truth there can be no succe economic revolt in Georgia which does not include the black man.

Sixty years after slavery and despite lynching and race prejudice propaganda, despite low wages and insult, Georgia Negroes own two million acres of land, ~~or 3125 square miles.~~ a space nearly as large as the kingdom of Montenegro or the island of Crete. Their taxable property saved from low wage and systematic cheating has writhed up from twelve millions of dollars in 1890 to over sixty millions today; and now and then even the remnant of their political power strikes a blow.

Once, in Atlanta, for instance, some dozen years ago, the candidate of the "White Primary" who was Mayor of the city was found drunk in a bawdy-house just before election and was arrested by the police before they recognized their distinguished prisoner. This proved too much for the city to swallow and in the regular election they threw off their disfranchising vows to the "White Primary" and, assisted by the small number of registered colored voters, elected a decent man as mayor.

Again but last year in Savannah a fight within the "White "Primary" between the corrupt gang and decency gave twelve hundred Negro voters the balance of power. Determined efforts were made to intimidate the Negro voters. Skull and cross bones signed by the "Ku Klux Klan" were posted on the doors of eight of the prominent Negro churches with the legend, "This is a white man's fight; keep away". Warning slips were put under the doors of colored citizens. It was in vain. The colored voters voters held their own political meetings, financed their own campaign, went into the election and of their twelve hundred votes it was estimated that less than one hundred went for the gang, and the reform mayor was elected. *

And now I go with puzzled sadness. I ride out of the Present into the Future - out of ~~the~~ rich and raging Atlanta to the hills, to northward. I have known Georgia a quarter of a century. I have visited all its ends and corners. I am not of it. My writing this is to many Georgia

minds an insult to the State, not because of my words but because of my race. In some places in this state I could be killed for it. And yet, looking on the pale red hills that rise and roll above Atlanta, I see past reasons in future hope. Sorrow has known these hills. Sorrow and poverty for two long centuries. The dregs, the hopeless dregs of that jail delivery settled here -- the lees of the hot wine of new black slavery.

The hills twist and yawn. Slowly the climate changes - cold pines replace the yellow monarchs of the South. There is no cotton. From the door of hewn log cabins wild faces appear, -- dead white faces and drawn, thin forms, grim visages. Here live the remnants of the poor whites. They fight and hate. Some half starve here; some go down and triumph in Atlanta and as they triumph they riot in joy and revenge. They feed greed with their blood.

I am in the hot, crowded and dirty "Jim Crow" car, where I belong. A black woman with endless babies is faring forth from Georgia, "north". Two of the babies are sitting on parts of me. I am not comfortable. Then I look out the window.

Somehow it seems to me that here in the "Jim-Crow" car and there in the log cabin lies the future of Georgia - in the intelligence and union of these raped laborers, white and black, on this soil wet with their blood and tears. They hate and despise each other today. They lynch and murder body and soul. They are separated by the width of a world. And yet - and yet, stranger things have happened under the sun than understanding between those who are born blind.

Behold the end of Georgia and its high beginning! The earth is playing with the sun. It lifts its glad face and buries it again in the perfume of the flowers; it rears its massive shoulders and drops them to the dew. It rolls and leaps and then with pause, uprears its bulk to heaven. The hair of its forests brushes the far horizon, and peace and beauty come into

their own. I hear the falling waters singing to the hills. The morning is pale with sunshine. "Behold the beautiful land which the Lord thy God hath given thee".

32-3-25

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THE ANSWER OF AFRICA

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

Three things Africa has given the world, and they form the essence of African culture: Beginnings, the village unit, and art in sculpture and music.

Long before the last two thousand years, which we call the years of modern civilization, lay the beginnings of human culture. For ten thousand years,—perhaps fifty thousand years and more,—mankind struggled with the first steps of advance; struggled and wavered, forged forward, retreated, fell, and arose again. This was a period fateful for all mankind,—for all culture. It was far more tremendous in its ultimate significance than anything that has happened since.

It was during these years that the black race, in its own land, Africa, and in all the paths by which it wended its way thither, seems always to have been first. Wherever one sees the first faint steps of human culture, the first successful fight against wild beasts, the striving against weather and disease, there one sees black men. To be sure, they were not the only beginners, but they seem to have been the successful and the persistent ones. Thus Africa appears as the Father of mankind, and the people who eventually settled there, wherever they may have wandered before and since—along the Ganges, the Euphrates, and the Nile, in Cyprus and about the Mediterranean shores,—form the largest and often the only group of human beings successfully advancing from animal savagery toward primitive civilization. The ancient world looked upon them continually as creators of human culture and rang with their

51-51-84

tributes. Hammurabi, law giver of Babylonia, is called "to go forth like the sun over the Black race." The Greeks sent Zeus and Poseidon to feast annually with the "Blameless Blacks", and the Roman historians tell us that the Blacks "conceive themselves to be of greater antiquity than any other nation. They suppose themselves also to be the inventors of divine worship, of festivals, of solemn assemblies, of sacrifices, and every religious practice. They affirm that the Egyptians are one of their colonies."

Out of many things that these beginnings emphasize, we may select one: the discovery of the use of iron. Probably the properties of iron have been discovered in the world many times and in many places, but it seems likely that while Europe was still in its stone age and while neither Egypt nor Western Asia nor ancient China knew iron, the black Africans had invented the art of smelting. It was a moment big with promise for the uplift of the human race. No effective industry, no sure defense was possible for mankind with laboriously chipped stone tools. Copper and bronze made great advance over stone, but only hard iron founded modern industry; and this marvelous discovery was made by African Negroes.

The second thing that came out of the early strife of black folk was the village unit. I shall never forget my first glimpse of an African village. The night before, we had ridden the bar in the moonlight with the curious singing of lithe black boys. Above on the great headland twinkled Monrovia; below lay the black and silent forests beside a sombre sea. But this morning down by the sea and down by the forests suddenly we walked out into a little town. It was a town of the Vais. It was a thing of clay, colored cream and purple, clean, quiet, small, with perhaps a dozen or more homes. Authority was here and religion, industry and trade, education and art. It was not a complete thing from a modern point of view. It had little or no

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machinery; it lay almost defenseless against surrounding malaria. Of news service with the greater world, there was none. Though its whole inner being had been changed and in some respects upset by a new surrounding and invading economy, this little village was a mighty thing; it had come down from a mighty past. Its beginning stretched back in time thousands and thousands of years; it gathered to itself traditions and customs springing almost from the birth of the world. In space alone it stretched back along a path leading from the low thunder of the sea on the black West Coast to the great central plateau of Africa with forest, lake, and sand, two hundred miles away. Perhaps the great successive movements of this vast continent, so veiled today in mystery, had brought it even further seaward from the regions of the Mountains of the moon, past Ethiopia and Nubia, Melle and Songhay, Haussaland and Benin, those shadowy empires of the past. Perhaps even this little village here once knew Atlantis itself, and Greece and Phoenicia.

No matter whence the African village came and how it is to-day distorted and changed, and has been in the past glorified and degraded, it is a singularly persistent and eternal thing. Again and agin this village with its conical huts, its central fire, its grassy streets, its fields of grain and fruit, and its cattle has been reborn in Africa and has spread itself over the endless miles of the continent. Even the African city as it rose time and time again was a city of villages. Ancient Jenne, whence comes our modern word Guinea, "had seven thousand villages so near to one another that the chief of Jenne had no need of messengers," but cried his messages from gate to gate and village to village until within a few moments they had gone a hundred miles to Lake Dibo.

We know the village unit the world over and among all people, but among most folk the village early lost itself in some larger unit,

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and civilization became a matter of city and state and nation. But the African village, because of geography and climate, because perhaps of some curious inner tenacity and strength of tradition, persisted and did on a small scale what the world has continually attempted on a wider scale and never satisfactorily accomplished. The African village socialized the individual completely, and yet because the village was small this socialization did not submerge and kill individuality. When the city socializes the modern man he becomes mechanical, and cities tend to be all alike. When the nation attempts to socialize the modern man the result is often a soulless Leviathan. The African village attempted a small part of the task of the modern city and state, and accomplished that part more successfully. It lost thereby breadth and power, it failed to integrate into a larger permanent imperialism. It never succumbed wholly to a militarism of its own but for that very reason it tasted slavery of every sort to others. But it was and is and perhaps will long be in its limited way a perfect human thing.

In the African village were bred religion, industry, government, education, and art, and these were bred as integral inter-related things. The primitive religion of Africa as developed by the African village underlies the religions of the world. Egyptian religion was in its beginning and later development of purely Negro character and mulatto Egyptian priests on the stones of Egypt continually receive their symbols of authority from the black priests of Ethiopia. The Negro religion thus developed had something about it that was grim and terrible, and for that very reason it powerfully expressed the feelings of the first fighters in the world. The fire and desert, water and jungle of Africa, the beast and bird and serpent, the devil of disease with his flies and insects and worms and the infinitesimal germs that creep in the skin and veins and marrow of men,—all these are personified by the African fetish. Fetish is primitive philosophy

48-15-18

of life. It is a spiritual explanation of physical evil and it explains by making all things spirit, both the good and the bad, and by seeking spiritual cure for physical ill.

The religion of the black man spread among all the Mediterranean races. Shango, god of the West Coast, hurler of thunder-bolts and lord of the storms, render of trees and slayer of men, cruel and savage and yet beneficent, was prototype of Zeus and Jupiter and Thor.

The African villagers from early days wove cloth, baked earthenware, manufactured instruments and arms, baskets and shoes, soap and glass. They worked in iron, copper, brass, bronze, gold, silver, bone, and ivory. They built in fibre, wood, and stone. They developed an original division of industry, a division first by families and clans, so that even the militarized Zulus are to this day divided according to ancient industrial designation like "the men of iron" and "sons of corn cleaners." Beyond that, division of industry appeared among the villages so that they were grouped according to their reciprocal activities and became complements one to another. One village specialized in fishing, another in wine, another in metals, and still another in trade,—importing from without. Sometimes the division was even more delicate: One Congo village carves elephant tusks, another makes a particular style of hat, and others swords, copper rings, wood carvings, and burnt clay pitchers.

Out of this industry developed the African market-place which knit the continent together with paths and trade centres, from the Gulf of Guinea to Zanzibar and from Walfish Bay to Europe. The trade of African villages early reached the world,--Egypt, Persia, and India, Cyprus, Greece, and Rome, Byzantium, Spain, and Italy.

What the village system lacked in breadth and vision it gained in depth and personal knowledge. There was no monopoly, no poverty, no prostitution, and the only privilege was the definite, regulated,

48-15-19

and usually limited privilege of the chief and head men, given in return for public service and revocable for failure. This primal village life has to-day largely disintegrated before the white invader, before manchine goods and imperial compulsion, but it played its part in the world and was a rare contribution to civilization.

For stubbornly clinging to this fine and narrow village type of government and association, Africa has paid with dispersion and slavery. Dispersion came because the Village could not corral and hold its strongly developed individualities as could the state and empire. So that from days before the dawn of history down to our era s tream of black men have passed out of black Africa and into the world and profoundly influenced civilization by their genius. There was Nefertari, the black queen of Egypt who drove out the Hyksos and was, as Flinters Petrie says, "the most venerated figure of Egyptian history"; there was the black Mutemua, mother of the great Amen-hote III who built the temple at Luxor and whose direct descendant was the royal princess whp by marriage made Tut-ankh-amen Pharaoh of Egypt. As the late Professor Chamberlain wrote: "Besides these marked individual instances, there is the fact that the Egyptian race itself in general had a considerable element of Negro blood, and one of the prime reasons why no civilization of the type of that of the Nile arose in other parts of the continent, if such a thing were possible, was that Egypt acted as a sort of channel by which the genius of Negroland was drafted off into the service of Mediterranean and Asiatic culture."

The second and more terrible way in whicm Africa paid for her individualistic village culture was by the slave trade; Christian Europe traded in human beings for four hundred years. The slave trade alone cost Africa in dead and stolen nearly one hundred million souls. And yet people to-day ask the cause of the stagnation of culture in that land since 1600!

48-15-20

Nevertheless for all this there was compensation, and this compensation was African art. The sense of beauty is the last and best gift of Africa to the world and the true essence of the black man's soul. African art is the offspring of the African climate and the Negro soul. The sunshine of central Africa cloaks you like a golden blanket; it hangs heavy about your shoulders; it envelopes you; it smothers you in a soft but mighty embrace. The rain of African is a consuming flood, a river pouring out of heaven, without banks or current. In Africa the swift, the energetic are the dead. In Africa the "lazy" survive and live. This African laziness is several things; it is shelter from the penetrating rain; it is defense from malaria. And it brings with it leisure and dreams and human intercourse.

Deep in forest fastness and by the banks of low, vast rivers, in the deep tense quiet of the endless jungle, the human soul whispered its folk tales, carved its pictures, sang its rhythmic songs, and danced and danced. The languages of Africa grew and developed for their unique work, "so simple and clear in their phonology, so logical in their syntax.". From these has descended one of the richest masses of oral tradition of poetry and folk lore which the world knows. To this was early added the art of sculpture.

We have long known of the African artist. Traces of his work have been found in prehistoric Europe, in parts of Asia, and, of course, in Egypt. Later rich centres of African art were brought to European knowledge on the African western coast. It was long customary to think of this art first as imitation, secondly as inexpressibly crude and funny; but to-day more recent interpretations show that the primitive art of Africa is one of the greatest expressions of the human soul in all time, "that black men invented art as they invented fire," that they spread their ideas of art among their white neighbors, and that their earliest expressions had an originality and fidelity of purpose that the primitive world never surpassed.

48-15-21

Finally, out of Africa and out of the soul of Black folk came music and rhythm. The African not only sang beautiful melodies but he invented part singing, and his instinct for rhythm developed syncopation. He early made musical instruments, and especially did he make the drum a living and speaking thing. His songs "rich as is their weave of rhythm and polyphony are not the only music of the African, but through other instruments of his own invention the black man achieves the independence of human voice that presupposes a conception of music as an art, demanding an understanding of tone qualities and again a sense for the structural building of rhythmic and melodic balances of sound."

4/8-15-22

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

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Draft manuscripts, bibliography, fragments

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

BY W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. Ph.D. (Harv.)

1. Origin, Growth and Physique

The greatest migration of human beings within historic times, was the migration of black men from Africa to America from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. While there are no exact figures, the total migration has been variously estimated as certainly not less than 5,000,000, and possibly more than 10,000,000 Africans.

These Negroes came from all parts of Africa—the Soudan, Central and South and West Africa. Traces of Arab and Malay blood could be seen as well as that of the tall Nilotic Negroes, the Bantu, the yellow Hottentot and the African dwarfs. The Negroes drawn from this wide area centered for shipment on the west coast of Africa along the Gulf of Guinea, and these west coast Africans were consequently most frequently represented on the slave ships.

In the United States the growth of this Negro population has been steady. Bancroft estimates the colonial Negro population as follows:

1714--- 59,000
1727 --- 78,000
1754---293,000

The United States censuses give the following figures:

Date	Total Negroes	Per Cent of Increase
1790	757,208	
1800	1,002,037	32.3
1810	1,377,808	37.5
1820	1,771,656	28.6
1830	2,328,642	31.4
1840	2,873,648	23.4
1850	3,638,808	26.6
1860	4,441,830	22
1870	4,880,009	9.9
1880	6,580,793	34.9
1890	7,488,676	13.8
1900	8,833,994	18.0
1910	9,827,763	11.2
1920	10,463,131	6.5

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The variations in the rate of increase are due to many causes, beside faulty enumerating as in 1870. The illicit slave trade and a high birth rate increased numbers up to 1850. Emancipation and its struggles decreased the rate of growth, and recent large migration to northern cities has further decreased it. Today Negroes form 9.9 per cent of the population of the country.

While their birth rate has decreased, their death rate has also. In Reconstruction days, the Negro had a death rate of between 34 to 40 per cent a thousand; today it is about 17 per thousand. The greatest decrease in death rate has been effected in tuberculosis. Out of every 100,000 colored persons, 418 died of tuberculosis in 1911; and only 235 in 1926. Infant mortality, while still high, is dropping and typhoid fever and pneumonia have declined. On the other hand, the mortality from venereal disease is still high and from diseases of the heart and kidneys. Part of this is due to the change from country to city life in the last few decades.

The American Negroes are developing a definite physical type. They do not, of course, look alike. They range from what people call the "typical" Negro to the "typical" white man; but in a recent measurement of 30 physical traits, the variability of the American Negro is shown to be notably low in the majority of cases and to show in the main the characteristics of a homogeneous race. This is due as much to social heredity as to marriage within the group.

The Negro population is distributed throughout the nation, although its largest concentration is still in the former slave states. The center of Negro population was in Virginia in 1790. In 1880 it moved 443 miles Southwest to Walker County in the extreme Northwestern Georgia. In 1900 and 1910 it was in the extreme northeast of Alabama, moving slightly westward.

In 1920 the census showed 8,912,231 Negroes in the South; 1,472,309 in the North; and 78,591 in the far West. Since 1920 the number of Negroes in the North has greatly increased through migration so that there are probably in the North and West today, 2,000,000 or more Negroes, while the Negro population of the South has increased but little, remaining at about 9,000,000.

The proportion of Negroes in the various states varies greatly. There is not a single state in which Negroes do not live, although there are very few in states like New Hampshire and North and South Dakota. On the other hand, they formed in 1920 a majority of the population of South Carolina and Mississippi, and from 25 to 50 per cent of the population of the District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Arkansas, and Louisiana. Other states with from 10 to 25 per cent, were Delaware, Maryland, Tennessee and Texas. In the South Atlantic and South Central states the Negroes formed from between 20 to 30 per cent of the population and from 2 to 3 per cent in the Middle Atlantic and North Central states. The recent migration has been chiefly to cities; and New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis and Kansas City have received a large influx.

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THE AMERICAN NEGRO

Problems of Social Contact

Economic conditions in England in the 17th Century had filled the jails and workhouses with paupers and vagrants. Systematic effort was made to send these to America as indentured servants. Convicts and prostitutes were added and it was reported in 1680 that the stream of forced, kidnapped and voluntary white servants reached a total of 10,000 a year. The Thirty Years war brought some German workers and servants.

But this supply was limited by the home demand for labor and the difficulty of establishing in America a caste for white servants. On the other hand, the supply of black labor under the Dutch, and especially the English slave traders was almost unlimited. The Colonial law which at first applied to all "servants", white and black, began late in the 17th Century and early in the 18th to recognize a distinction between black servants for life and white servants for a term of years.

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By 1750 black slavery became a thoroughly established institution in the United States. Nevertheless, all Negroes were not slaves and for years, up until the rise of the Cotton Kingdom, it was recognized in law and custom that a free Negro could become a citizen, landholder and voter. Free Negroes voted in at least five colonies at the time the Constitution was adopted; they paid $8,322 in taxes in Virginia alone in 1833, and in 1830 there are recorded in the United States 3,777 free Negro owners of slaves, most of the slaves being members of their own families whom they had thus emancipated from whites.

Between 1790 and 1830 the percentage of free Negroes increased. The influence of the Revolutionary War nearly doubled the number between 1790 and 1800, and there was an increase of nearly 72% between 1800-1810, and smaller increases of 25 and 36% between 1810 and 1820 and 1820 and

1830. After that, there was a determined attempt to get rid of free Negroes, either by re-enslavement or colonization, and by making manumission difficult. As a result of economic pressure and Civil War, the great mass of the Negro slaves were freed by military order in 1863 and the whole status of slavery abolished by Constitutional Amendment December 18, 1865.

The presence of black slaves in America gave rise, first, to the slave codes, and then to the problem of civil and political rights of freed Negroes.

It was impossible to keep the black population in slavery; their own resistance; the limitation of fertile land; the increasing need of higher technique with tools and machinery, and the competition of white labor, overthrew the slave system in the West Indies and in the United States.

The so-called Negro problems arose in the United States with the freeing of the slaves. Economically, the Negroes were still in slavery after Emancipation. They had no capital, no land, very little skill, and no political rights. If they had been left thus with a mere edit of emancipation, slavery would have persisted in the United States without a legal slave trade and with increased competition revolt and turmoil. An attempt was made to give the freedman a little land and capital: "Forty acres and mule". This failed, because the original idea of paying for this through a seizure of enemy property, was not practicable. The legislation of the South at the time showed determination to re-establish Negro slavery in everything but in name.

The enfranchising of the Negro was not simply a method of forcing this economic emancipation, it was the only political expedient which could ensure the peaceful return of the rebellious Southern

states back into the Union. The result justified the experiment. There was extravagance, bribery, crime, vagrancy and disease during Reconstruction, but most of this was the inevitable accompaniment of emancipation. On the other hand, as a white contemporary said: The Negroes "obeyed the Constitution of the United States and annulled the bonds of states, counties and cities which had been issued to carry on the war of rebellion and maintain armies in the field against the Union. They instituted a public school system in a realm where public schools had been unknown. They opened the ballot box and jury box to thousands of white men who had been debarred from them by a lack of earthly possessions. They introduced home rule in the South. They abolished the whipping post, the branding iron, the stocks and other barbarous forms of punishment which had up to that time prevailed. They reduced capital felonies from about twenty to two or three. In an age of extravagance they were extravagant in the sums appropriated for public works. In all of that time no man's rights of persons were invaded under the forms of law."

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The white South immediately began to bargain with the commercial and industrial North for the restoration of political power to white folk. While the bargain was being negotiated, Negroes were gradually forced from the ballot box by force and fraud. Finally, beginning in 1890, a series of laws was passed and acquiesced in by the North which purported to disfranchise the poor and the illiterate; in reality they excepted white people from the operation of these restrictions by a "Grandfather Clause", and put the right of registration in the hands of petty local officials who proceeded almost without exception to disfranchise nearly all Negroes and to admit all whites.

The result has been the present legal caste system in the South and also a peculiar nullification of Democracy throughout the United

States; because the Southern states count the whole population, white and black, as the basis of their representation in Congress, but allow only the whites to vote, so that the Southern whites have thus double political power. Further than that, and in order to insure no political difference among the whites which might re-enfranchise the Negroes, the dominant political party of the South has proceeded by means of this disfranching machinery more white voters than Negro voters. The singular result is that although the population of the 11 Southern states has increased 100% in the last forty years, the number of voters, even with the recent addition of women, has increased only 50%. And in 5 of the Southern states of the far South there has been practically no increase. Also, it actually happens that today nine thousand voters in South Carolina exercise as much power in Congress as ninety thousand voters in Ohio.

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Next to the political problem, the problem which has always most perplexed white America, is that of the amalgamation of the white and black races. The increase of mixed bloods was one of the earliest problems. There were the early intermarriages of white men and free Negro women, especially in Virginia and Maryland. Mulatto children were early born of white women servants and even of free white women, especially in the time when status was determined by land holding and there were some free Negro landholders. Finally, there was the large percentage of mulattoes born from the union of white men and their slave women.

Laws on the subject early became frequent. The earlier laws were aimed at free white women and made their children slaves. As conditions changed and most mulatto children were the offspring of masters and slave women, the law simply prevented legal marriage and, reversing all precedent, made the children follow the condition of the mother. Such laws actually encouraged mulatto children and the

result is today large proportion of white blood in the so-called Negro race and much unacknowledged Negro blood among the whites.

The number of legal mixed marriages between white and colored people has never been large on account of the social stigma. In Boston, Massachusetts, for instance, there were 600 such marriages between 1855 and 1887. Michigan had 111 such marriages, 1874-1893, and Rhode Island 58, 1881-1893.

No successful attempt to count the number of mulattoes in the United States has ever been made. The admittedly uncomplete figures of the census gave 15.2% of the Negroes in 1890, 20.9% in 1910, and 15.9% in 1920. Herskovits after careful measurements believes that over 70% of the American Negroes have some white blood.

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III

SOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT

As a result of four centuries of migration, three centuries of enslavement, and 65 years of restricted American citizenship, we have in the United States, not simply a social problem, but a developing dark nation within a modern white nation. A large group of people closely intermingled physically with the rest of the nation, and sharing the same language and culture, is nevertheless, socially separate from the nation. This setting off is not complete. There is some intermarriage; there is very large economic inter-dependence; and despite the grouping of Negroes in sections and neighborhoods, large numbers of them live side by side with white people as neighbors.

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And yet, more than any other portions of American citizens, the American Negro forms a nation to himself. This arose, historically, by the pressure of slavery which tried, and nearly succeeded in making slave and black man synonymous in the United States. After emancipation, ignorance and poverty continued the isolation of slavery; and today, color caste and social ostracism without, together with group loyalty and organization within, tend to maintain and complete the closed circle.

Color caste in the United States at present involves distinctions based on race and color. These distinctions are not always definite and they vary from place to place and from decade to decade. We may distinguish three main regions: The Southern South, containing today approximately 70% of the Negroes, the Border States, containing 10-12%, and the North and West, containing 18-20%.

In the Southern South by law and custom:

1. The overwhelming majority of the qualified

Negroes cannot vote.

2. They live usually in the least desirable districts with streets mostly unpaved and with limited city facilities, like sewage, lighting and policing.

3. Their wages are low, and they are restricted mainly to menial occupations, hard physical labor, or the lower grades of skilled labor.

4. There can be no legal inter-marriage between whites and persons of Negro descent, and a betrayed colored girl has in practice no relief in the courts.

5. They are not recognized as citizens in civil life: they usually cannot join white religious or cultural organizations; they are either not admitted or only admitted on special terms to public places, public assemblies, churches, lectures, theatres, concerts, museums, parks and libraries. Sometimes, separate institutions or parts of institutions are set aside for them, but in that case the facilities are poorer and less effective. They are not admitted to hotels, restaurants and places of public entertainment.

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6. There is an entirely separate system of public schools, with poorer equipment, poorer financial support, and usually without high schools or night schools. White colleges do not admit them, even when they are supported by the state. In such cases, there is usually state institution with limited equipment and curtailed curriculum for their accommodation.

7. In the courts they receive a distinct standard of justice. They seldom sit on juries, even when Negroes are being tried. They are liable to longer and harsher sentences and often are in danger of mob violence and even lynch law. From 1885-1926, 2,911 Negroes accused of crime have been lynched by mobs without trial.

8. So far as possible in every walk of life Negroes are segregated; they have separate rooms in railway stations; separate and inferior cars or parts of cars on railway trains; separate seats in street cars; and sometimes they are allowed only on the freight elevators of public buildings. They invariably pay equal prices for inferior accommodations and are equally taxed on their property.

9. They are subject to other more or less intangible and indefinite discriminations, and lack of protection; as for instance, their women are liable to insult; their property and wages are peculiarly open to exploitation; they are required to show more or less public deference to white folk.

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In many of these discrimimations there are personal and local exceptions, and in the last ten years mob violence and lynching have becoms less frequent. There is increasing chance of justice in the courts, and the city schools, and in some cases, the country schools have been improved.

These, however, are still exceptional cases, and as a rule, all Negroes, no matter what their training, position and trait, are subject to the above disabilities. Beyond the limits of these legal and customary caste distinctions, there is much good will and kindliness, and a great deal of personal charity and help.

In the Border States, the Negroes suffer less restriction. Usually, they have the right to vote, although economic pressure is brought to bear. There is less personal insult and discrimination; but there are still separate churches, often separate libraries and parks, or at least limited facilities in public places. The schools in the Border States are separate but show less discrimination, and in general, public funds are spent more equably. The Negro quarters in towns and cities are better served with public facilities. Inter-marriage is prohibited. The economic condition is somewhat

better, the wages being higher, and the opportunities for work wider.

In the North, there is the minimum of discrimination, but it is still there. In some regions, contiguous to the South, there are separate schools, but the per capita expenditure is usually equal to that of the white schools. In the North in general, there is no discrimination in schools, parks or libraries. There is usually considerable discrimination in semi-public institutions, like hotels and restaurants. Most of the Northern states have no laws against inter-marriage. Voting is free, and while Negroes are not confined to particular residence sections, nevertheless, it is difficult for them to rent good homes or to secure mortgage accommodations in buying them.

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There is no segregation in trains or street cars and public and personal insult is rare. Usually, Negroes keep to their own churches. The economic difficulties persist. They have trouble in finding better classes of work; working with white workers on their own merits; joining trades unions, or having a chance for advancement. Here, however, there are again considerable and individual exceptions. In other words, while there is a color line in the North, it tends to fade out here and there, and is not a rigid caste system, as in the South. Also, in the North, there is always some social intercourse between the races, usually in art and literary and musical circles.

From such outward pressure it was natural for the Negro to turn inward toward himself and to develop widespread social organization. Historically, this began with their churches. For two centuries the church has been the great center of American Negro life. The Negro church is not simply a religious organization. It is the only surviving social institution of the Negroes which had

its roots in the African forests and survived slavery. Out of the churches developed eventually the Negro secret and fraternal organizations, practical insurance and benevolence, and the beginnings of economic co-operation.

Next to the churches come the beneficial and insurance societies, of which there are probably 100, some of which are large and flourishing organizations. The secret societies, including Masons, Odd Fellows, Pithians, Elks, etc., own between five and ten million dollars worth of property and collect at least $2,000,000 a year. There are various co-operative benevolences, including homes and orphanages, hospitals and cemeteries. There are economic organizations, including some fifty small banks, a large number of building and loan associations, and in all about 70,000 commercial enterprises with an annual overturn of $1,500,000,000.

By means of these organizations and individual enterprise, the American Negro has built up a group economy, so that Negro professional men and most of the Negro business men, serve almost exclusively a Negro clinetele, while the mass of the Negroes increasingly patronize Negro professional men and Negro business. Thus, the Negro group today is serving itself with religious ministration, medical care, legal advice, and education; and partially with homes, food, books, newspapers, bank credit, photographers, hotels, beauty parlors, drug stores, undertakers, etc. This economic circle is by means closed. The mass of colored people still work for white people. Negro professional men have white people among their clinets, and Negro business men serve some white customers. Still the growing tendency is to form a fairly complete circle. The greatest gap remaining is the matter of capital and technical management.

Education and intelligence among American Negroes show remarkable increase. The official figures for illiteracy are incomplete, but they indicate the trend. Of American Negroes 10 years of age and over, there were unable to read and write: 1870, 79.9%; 1880, 70%; 1890, 57.1%; 1900, 44.5%; 1910, 30.4%; 1920, 22.9%. The urban Negro population showed only 13.4% of illiteracy in 1920, which was about equal to the illiteracy of the foreign-born.

The educational facilities offered to American Negroes are still greatly limited. There are at present 31 exclusively Negro colleges with about 3,300 students and about 1,500 other Negro students are in white colleges.

The wealth and property of the Negro-American group has steadily grown. One estimate makes their total property $1,800,000,000, and their land ownership 34,000 square miles, or an area nearly as large as that of Portugal, and larger than the whole of Ireland.

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There is no accurate measure of crime in the United States. The crime census of 1923 indicates us that American Negroes, having 9.3% of the population, 18 years of age and over, furnished 23.3% of the commitments to prisons and jails. This is partially accounted for by the fact that it is easier in the United States to commit a Negro for alleged offenses than to commit a white person. On the other hand, crime among Negroes is decreasing. In 1910, for every 100,000 of the Negro population, 1,823 were committed to prisons during the year. Thirteen years later, the proportion had fallen to 1,306, a decrease of over 25%. Of the commitments one-fifth are for disorderly conduct, one-eighth for drunkenness, one-tenth for stealing, and one-thirteenth for vagrancy.

What has been the spiritual and social result for America of this racial reaction and inner group development? The contributions

of American Negroes to the making of America have been many and continuous. First, as a labor force they laid the foundation of the enormous economic development which made modern America. They worked not simply as slaves in the furnishing of the four great crops, tobacco, rice, sugar and cotton, which with the slave trade, formed the beginning of modern international trade, but they worked also as artisans, pioneers and inventors.

Previous to the full establishment of slavery, they were with the earliest of explorers, and possibly the Negro race was in America even before Columbus. Nuflo de Olana, a Negro, was with Balboa when he discovered the Pacific Ocean; many were with Cortes, De Soto and other Spanish explorers. Negro artisans helped Menendez found St. Augustine in 1565. Stephen Dorantes, a Negro, was with the Narvaez expedition, was himself the discoverer of what is now Arizona, New Mexico and the Southwest of the United States in 1539.

Negro soldiers have fought in all American wars. A few of them were in the Colonial Wars. About 4,000 were in the Continnental Army during the war for American independence, which was as large a proportion (9%) of American Negroes as of American whites; although seven-eighths of the blacks were in slavery. In the War of 1812, Negroes distinguished themselves on the high seas and Battle of Lake Erie, among the land forces, and particularly at the Battle of New Orleans, where they formed over one-eighth of the soldiers in line. In the Civil War, they not only furnished a large number of laborers, helpers and spies, but also 180,000 enrolled soldiers, which represented over 4% of the total Negro population, slave and free. The free white North furnished 10%. In the World War, the Negro forming one-tenth of the population, furnished 13% of the soldiers called to the colors; 342,277 Negroes were accepted for full military service.

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The Negro by his insistent struggle to be free in the United States has broadened the basis of Democracy in America and in the world. This was not only by means of a continuous series of slave insurrections in the West Indies and on the continent culminating in the freedom of Haiti and the consequent gift of the vast territory of Louisiana to the United States; but it was also carried out by the systematic running away of slaves under organized Negro leadership, and by a continuous appeal by Negroes to the conscience of America from the early 18th Century down to the Civil War.

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After the Civil War it was Negro loyalty and the Negro vote alone that restored the South to the Union, established a new Democracy, both for white people and black, established the first system of popular education in the South, and began a new social legislation. Negro women as workers have done much to free the American working women from the harem idea of cloistered ease.

Many distinguished Americans have been of Negro descent. The first National Holiday of the United States was the Fifth of March which marked the death of Crispus Attucks, a mulatto, in the initial clash of the Revolutionary War. Frederick Douglass shares with William Lloyd Garrison the honors of the fight for the emancipation of slaves. Sojourner Truth was a singularly successful Abolitionist and radical agitator. Prince Hall, a Negro, was a pioneer Mason, deriving his authority directly from England. Granville Wood was an inventor of parts of the telephone, and Matseliger's inventions revolutionized shoemaking. Elijah McCoy was the inventor of modern locomotive lubrication. Booker T. Washington was a pioneer in industrial education and a statesman in inter-racial adjustment. Mat Henson went to the North Pole with Peary.

There have been two Negro Senators and 21 Congressmen and several judges on the Bench. Charles Young, a West Point graduate, was one of the best officers in the American army. Many other Americans, including statesmen of the highest rank, churchmen and artists, have been of Negro descent, although this fact was seldomed mentioned in their careers.

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The psychological results of the racial situation in America are extraordinary, especially in the Negro group. A spirit of revolt strives with an inferiority complex. Counsels of despair oppose a determination to survive at all costs. The push upward wavers as to its objects and ideals. Out of this, however, comes one inescapable result: the beginnings of literature and art. First and foremost comes, of course, the Negro folk-song. To this must be added the Negro rhythm in other forms of music and in dancing and the recent development of the Negro idiom of white composers like Dvorak and the colored composers like Handy, Burleigh and Dett.

Turning to literature, we think first of the appeal of the color problems to white writers of American literature. It is not too much to say that without the Negro, white American literature would have lost its main theme. The early colonial writers wrote about him and the masters of the nineteenth century, and in recent literature both North and South, the Negro still holds a foremost place. Negro folk lore is the only folk lore save the Indian indigenous to American soil.

Even more significant, however, is the effect of the racial situation on the literature written by Negroes. We may tentatively distinguish four waves of this movement; from the end of the 18th Century, to the days of Reconstruction was a period of rather diffident groping; from 1875 to the World War, there was a surge of

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THE AMERICAN NEGRO

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. Ph.D (Harv.)

1. Origin, Growth and Physique

The greatest migration of human beings within historic times, was the migration of black men from Africa to America from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. While there are no exact figures, the total migration has been variously estimated as certainly not less than 5,000,000, and possibly more than 10,000,000 Africans.

These Negroes came from all parts of Africa—the Soudan, Central and South and West Africa. Traces of Arab and Malay blood could be seen as well as that of the tall Nilotic Negroes, the Bantu, the yellow Hottentot and the African dwarfs. The Negroes drawn from this wide area centered for shipment on the west coast of Africa along the Gulf of Guinea, and these west coast Africans were consequently most frequently represented on the slave ships.

The usual assumption concerning this race is that it reporesents a pure Negro type. This is an error. Outside the question of what the pure Negro type is, the Negro-American represents a very wide and thorough blending of nearly all African peoples from north to south; and more than that, it is to a far larger extent than many realize, a blending of European and African blood.

Not only was there the immense demand for slaves which had its outlet on the west coast, but the slave caravans were streaming up through the desert to the Mediterranean coast and down the valley of the Nile to the centers of Mohammedanism. Africa lost in kidnapping, war and disease, perhaps a hundred million souls. It was a rape of a continent to an extent never paralleled in ancient or modern times.

In the American trade there was not only the horrors of the slave raid, but also of what was called the "middle passage". As Sir William Dolben said, "The Negroes were chained to each other hand and foot, and stowed so close that they were not allowed above a foot and a half for each in breadth. Thus crammed together like herrings in a barrel, they contracted putrid and fatal disorders; so that they who came to inspect them in a morning had occasionally to pick dead slaves out of their rows, and to unchain their carcasses from the bodies of their wretched fellow-sufferers to whom they had been fastened."

In the United States the growth of the Negro population has been steady. Bancroft estimates the colonial population as follows:

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1714--- 59,000
1727--- 78,000
1754---293,000

The United States censuses give the following figures:

Date	Total Negroes	Per Cent of Increase
1790	757,208	
1800	1,002,037	32.3
1810	1,377,808	37.5
1820	1,771,656	28.6
1830	2,328,642	31.4
1840	2,873,648	23.4
1850	3,638,808	26.6
1860	4,441,830	22
1870	4,880,009	9.9
1880	6,580,793	34.9
1890	7,488,676	13.8
1900	8,833,994	18.0
1910	9,827,763	11.2
1920	10,463,131	6.5

The variations in the rate of increase are due to many causes, beside faulty enumerating as in 1870. The illicit slave trade and a high birth rate increased numbers up to 1850. Emancipation and its struggles decreased the rate of growth, and recent large migration to northern cities has further decreased it. Today Negroes form 9.9 per cent of the population of the country. While their birth rate has decreased, their death rate has also. In Reconstruction days, the Negro

had a death rate of between 34 to 40 per cent a thousand; today it is about 17 per thousand.

The greatest decrease in death rate has been effected in tuberculosis. Out of every 100,000 colored persons, 418 died of tuberculosis in 1911; and only 235 in 1926. Infant mortality, while still high, is dropping and typhoid fever and pneumonia have declined. On the other hand, the mortality from venereal disease is still high and from diseases of the heart and kidneys. Part of this is due to the change from country to city life in the last few decades.

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The sex composition of the American Negroes has changed considerably. The existence of males, reaching the United States under the slave system was large, and even as late as 1820 there were a thousand one hundred and thirty-four males to every thousand females. This dropped to a thousand and three in 1830 and 996 in 1860. There was 992 in 1920. The corresponding figures for the whites in 1920 was a thousand and forty-four males to every thousand females, showing more unstabled population due to white emigration.

The age composition shows decreasing population of children under fourteen and an increasing population of adults forty-five years of age and more. Negroes marry somewhat earlier than whites and their marriages are broken by death and divorce a little more frequently.

The American Negroes are developing a definite physical type. They do not, of course, look alike. They range from what people call the "typical" Negro to the "typical" white man; but in a recent measurement of 30 physical traits, the variability of the American Negro is shown to be notably low in the majority of cases and to show in the main the characteristics of a pomogeneous race. This is due, of course, to the social heredity as well as marriage within the group.

The Negro population is distributed throughout the nation

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although its largest concentration is still in the former slave states. In 1790, 91.1 per cent were in the South and all but 2.2 per cent of them in the South Atlantic division. The proportion increased until in 1830, 92.8 per cent of the Negroes were in the South and all but 2.2 per cent of them in the South Atlantic division. The proportion increased until in 1830, 92.8 per cent of the Negroes were in the South, but on the other hand, 21.5 had moved into the new East South Central cotton belt and 5.6 to the newer Southwest. The proportion living in the North was only 7.2 per cent. Since then the proportion of Negroes in the South has slowly declined; and of those in the South, the proportion in the East South Central section increased until after the war and then decreased a little, while the proportion in the Southwest greatly increased and the proportion in the North increased 10.5 per cent. One-half of one per cent in 1910 were in the West.

The so-called black belt represents a concentration of Negro population in the South due to cotton culture and rich land. Counties with 50 per cent or more of blacks had a Negro population as follows:

Date	Counties in which the percentage Negro was	
	50 to 74.9%	75 or more
1910	2,870,001	1,062,483
1900	2,966,976	1,090,483
1890	1,603,400	952,570
1880	2,674,953	717,282

The center of Negro population was in Virginia in 1790. In 1880 it moved 443 miles Southwest to Walker County in the extreme Northwestern Georgia. In 1900 and 1910 it was in the extreme northeast of Alabama, moving slightly westward. In 1920 the census showed 8,912,231 in the South; 1,472,309 in the North; and 78,591 in the far West. Since 1920 the number of Negroes in the North has greatly increased through migration so that there are probably in the North and

West today, 2,000,000 or more Negroes, while the Negro population of the Sout has increased but little, remaining at about 9,000,000.

The proportion of Negroes in the various states varies greatly. There is not a single state in which Negroes do not live, although there are very few in states like New Hampshire and North and South Dakota.

On the other hand, they formed in 1920 a majority of the population of South Carolina and Mississippi, and from 25 to 50 per cent of the population of the District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Arkansas, and Louisiana. Other states with from 10 to 25 per cent, were Delaware, Maryland, Tennessee and Texas. In the South Atlantic and South Central states the Negroes formed from between 20 and 30 per cent of the population and from 2 to 3 per cent in the Middle Atlantic and North Central states.

The recent migration has been chiefly to cities; and New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis and Kansas City have received a large influx.

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THE AMERICAN NEGRO

Problems of Social Contact

The establishment of the legal status of slavery in the confines of the United States was gradual. Not all the Negroes imported were by any means slaves. As early as 1790, there were nearly 60,000 free Negroes in the United States, and the number thereafter increased as follows:

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	Number	Percent of all Negroes	Decennial increase Percent
1860	488,070	11.0	12.3
1850	434,495	11.9	12.5
1840	386,293	13.4	20.9
1830	319,599	13.7	36.8
1820	233,634	13.2	25.3
1810	186,446	13.5	71.9
1800	108,435	10.8	82.2
1790	59,557	7.9	

That there were free Negroes in the United States before 1790 is clear from numerous accounts of their activities. Moreover, while the main mass of the Negroes imported were regarded and treated as slaves, the legal status of slavery in the United States was not recognized until many years after the importation began. Indeed, the earlier assumption was that imported black labor stood upon exactly the same basis as imported white labor.

Economic conditions in England in the 17th Century had filled the jails and workhouses with paupers and vagrants. Systematic effort was made to send these to America as indentured servants. Convicts and prostitutes were added and it was reported in 1680 that the stream of forced, kidnapped and voluntary workers reached a total of 10,000 a year. The Thirty Years war brought some German workers and servants.

But this supply was limited by the home demand for labor and the difficulty of establishing in America a caste for white servants. On the other hand, the supply of black labor under the Dutch, and

especially the English slave traitors was almost unlimited. The Colonial law which at first applied to all "servants", white and black, began late in the 17th Century and early in the 18th to recognize a distinction between black servants for life and white servants for a term of years.

By 1750 black slavery became a thoroughly established institution in the United States. Nevertheless, all Negroes were not slaves and for years up went the rice of the Cotton Kingdom, and it was recognized in law and custom that a free Negro could become a citizen landholder and voter. They voted in at least five colonies at the time the Constitution was adopted; they had $8,322 in taxes in Virginia alone in 1833 and in 1830 there are recorded 3,777 Free Negro owners of slaves, most of the slaves being members of their own families whom they had thus emancipated.

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Between 1790 and 1830 the percentage of free Negroes increased. The influence of the Revolutionary War nearly doubled the number between 1790 and 1800, and there was an increase of nearly 72% between 1800-1810, and smaller increases of 25 and 36% between 1810 and 1820 and 1820 and 1830. After that, there was a determined attempt to get rid of free Negroes, either by re-enslavement or colonization, and by making manipulation difficult. As a result of economic pressure and Civil War, the great mass of the Negro slaves were freed by military order in 1863 and the whole status of slavery abolished.

Negro slavery in America was the beginning of the expansion of International Trade which followed the discovery of America. A vast amount of free fertile land had been opened to the world, which white servants and Negro slaves began to cultivate. Out of slave labor flowed four great crops: rice, cotton, tobacco and sugar; so cheap that they appealed to a world wide demand. They, together with

the trade in black labor, were the beginning of a new vastly profitable international trade. When to this was added the economic revolution of the 19th Century in the technique of industry, the modern world was born.

It was, however, impossible to keep the black population in slavery; their own resistance; the limitation of fertile land; the need of higher technique with tools and machinery, and the competition of white labor, overthrew the slave system in the West Indies and in the United States.

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The so-called Negro problems arose in the United States with the freeing of the slaves. Economically, the Negroes were still in slavery after Emancipation. They had no capital, no land, very little skill, and no political rights. If they had been left thus with a mere edict of emancipation, slavery would have persisted in the United States without a slave trade and with increased revolt and turmoil. An attempt was made to give the freedman a little land and capital: "Forty acres and mule". This failed, because the original idea of paying for this through a seizure of enemy property, was nor practicable.

The alternative was to give the Negro political power, and through this he forced himself into freedom by the establishment of public schools, by protecting himself as a wage laborer, and beginning a new social legislation. His political power was quickly curtailed and he was largely disfranchised by indirect methods, but he had already gone too far toward freedom to be entirely re-enslaved. There persisted, however, the problem of restoration of his political rights and the question of his economic and social status.

The disfranchisement of Negro citizens by direct and indirect methods has curiously complicated the working out of Democratic Government in the United States. During slavery in determining the basis of congressional representation, five slaves counted as three white men; after emancipation came, each Negro counted as one.

But the Negroes were kept from voting at first by force and intimidation, then by fraud and finally by a series of laws which puported to disfranchise the illiterate, the propertyless, and those who did not pay their poll tax. At the same time, until this part of the law was declared unconstitutional, hereditary descent from one who had the right to vote before emancipation entitled a person to register. The result of these laws was to disfranchise the majority of Negroes. Meantime, however, the Negroes have increased in wealth and intelligence. Nevertheless, in a state like Louisiana, where over 100,000 adult Negroes can read and write, and where Negroes own large amounts of property, only 980 were allowed to register. And in Mississippi, only 850 were registered out of a total literate population, twenty-one years of age and over, of 290,000. Moreover, this disfranchisement of Negroes is accompanied by a more or less voluntary disfranchisement of whites through a white primary system which forces through public opinion and economic pressure over white voters to enter a single party primary and to promise to abide by the results. That is, to disfranchise themselves from all choice in the real elections. The singular result is that although the population of 11 Southern states has increased 100% since 1888, the number of voters in the Presidential Elections has increased only 50%, and that disfranchised woman suffrage. In five states of the Southern South with an equally large increase in population, the number of voters has remained stationary. Thus, the continued disfranchisement of the Negro American in the South is hastening a crisis similar to the Routine Bureau crisis of the time of the first Reform Bill, which actually happens that today nine thousand voters in South Carolina exercise as much power in Congress as 90,000 voters in Ohio.

The problem which has always most perplexed white America, is the question of the amalgamation of the white and black races in

36-2-49

America. Years of propaganda has led the whites to associate slavery and black blood and to regard mulattoes as degenerates. The increase of mixed bloods became, therefore, one of the first problems that came to the front. There were the early intermarriages of white men and free Negro women, especially in Virginia and Maryland. Mulatto children were early born of white women servants and even of free white women, especially in the time when status was determined by land holding and there were some free Negro landholders. And finally there was the large percentage of mulattoes born from the union of white men and their slave women.

36-2-50

Laws on the subject early became frequent. The earlier laws were aimed at free white women and made their children slaves. As conditions changed and most mulatto children were the offspring of masters and slave women, the law simply prevented legal marriage and, reversing all precedent, made the children follow the condition of the mother. Such laws actually encouraged mulatto children and the result was a large proportion of white blood in the so-called Negro race and much unacknowledge Negro blood among the whites.

The number of legal mixed marriages between white and colored people has never been large on account of the social stigma. In Boston, Massachusetts, for instance, there were 600 such marriages between 1855 and 1887. Michigan had 111 such marriages, 1874-1893, and Rhode Island 58, 1881-1893.

No successful attempt to count the number of mulattoes in the United States has ever been made. The admittedly uncomplete figures of the census are:

Date	Black	Mulatto	
		Number	Per cent
1920	8,802,577	1,660,554	15.9
1910	7,777,077	2,050,686	20.9
1890	6,377,980	1,132,060	15.2
1870	4,295,960	584,049	12.0
1860	3,853,467	588,363	13.2
1850	3,233,057	405,751	11.2

36-2-51

A recent study by Herskovits, concludes that only 20 per cent of American Negroes today are unmixed, while 80 per cent are mixed with white or American Indian stocks, or both.

III SOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT

As a result of four centuries of migration, two centuries of enslavement, and 65 years of restricted American citizenship, we have in the United States, not simply a social problem, but a developing dark nation within a modern white nation. The European ideal of a nation is a physically homogeneous group speaking the same language and having approximately the same culture. Under pressure of the facts this has been modified so as to include in nations, geographically separate, groups not homogeneous in blood, culture or language; today more of less autonomy for such groups has begun to be recognized.

In the case of the American Negro, on the other hand, we have a still newer idea, and that is that of a large group of people physically closely intermingled with the rest of the nation, and sharing the same language and culture, but nevertheless, a group which socially and spiritually is largely separate from the nation. Their setting off from the nation is not complete. There is some intermarriage; there is very large economic inter-dependence; and despite the grouping of Negroes in sections and neighborhoods, large numbers of them live side by side with white people as physical neighbors.

And yet, more than any other portion of American citizens, and perhaps all things considered, more than any similar European group, the American Negro forms a nation to himself. This arose, historically, by the pressure of slavery which tried, and nearly succeeded in making slave and black man synonymous in the United States. After emancipation, ignorance and poverty continued the isolation of slavery; and today, the color caste and social ostracism without, together with group loyalty and organization within, tend to maintain and complete the closed circle.

Color caste in the United States at present involves

distinctions based on race and color. These distinctions are not always definite and they vary from place to place and from decade to decade. We may distinguish three main regions: The Southern South containing approximately 70% of the Negroes, the Border States containing 10-12%, and the North and West, containing 18-20%.

1. In the Southern South by law and custom, the majority of the qualified Negroes cannot vote.

2. They live usually in the least desirable districts with streets mostly unpaved and limited city facilities, like sewage, lighting and policing.

3. Their wages are low, and they are restricted mainly to menial occupations, hard physical labor, or the lower grades of skilled labor.

4. There can be no legal inter-marriage between whites and persons of Negro descent, and a betrayed colored girl has in practice no relief in the courts.

5. They are not recognized as citizens in civic life: they usually cannot join white religious or cultural organizations; they are either not admitted or only admitted on special terms to public places, public assemblies, churches, lectures, theatres, concerts, museums, parks and libraries. Sometimes, separate institutions, like hospitals, libraries and parks are set apart for them, but in that case the facilities are poorer and smaller. They are not admitted to hotels, restaurants and places of public entertainment.

6. There is an entirely separate system of public schools, with poorer equipment, poorer financial support, and usually without high schools or night schools. White colleges do not admit them, even when they are supported by the state. In such case, there is usually state institution with limited equipment and resources for their accommodation.

7. In the courts they receive a distinct standard of justice.

They seldom set on juries, even when Negroes are being tried. They are liable to longer and harsher sentences and often are in danger of mob violence and even lynch law.

8. So far as possible in every walk of life they are segregated; they have separate rooms in railway stations, separate and inferior cars or parts of cars on railway trains, separate seats in street cars, and sometimes they are allowed only on the freight elevators of public buildings. They invariably pay equal prices for such inferior accommodations and are equally taxed on their property.

30-18-32

9. They are subject to other more or less intangible and indefinite discriminations, and lack of protection; as for instance, their women and often liable to insult; their property and wages are peculiarly open to exploitation; they are required to show more or less deference to white folk by taking off their hats or yielding the road, etc.

In many of these discriminations there are personal and local exceptions, and in the last ten years mob violence and lynching have become less frequent. There is more chance of justice in the courts, and the city schools, and in some cases, the country schools have been improved. These, however, are still exceptional cases, and as a rule, all Negroes, no matter what their training, position and trait, are subject to most of the above disabilities. Without the limits of these legal and customary caste distinctions, there is much good will and kindness, and a good deal of personal charity and help.

In the Border States, the Negroes suffer less restriction. Usually, they have the right to vote, although economic pressure is brought to bear. There is less of the personal insult and discrimination, but there are still separate churches, often separate libraries and parks, or at least limited facilities in the public places. The schools in the Border States show less discrimination, and

in general, public funds are spent more equably. The Negro quarters in towns and cities are better served with public facilities. Intermarriage is prohibited. The economic condition is better, the wages being higher, and the opportunities for work wider.

In the North, there is the minimum of discrimination, but it is still there. In some regions, like the southern parts of Ohio, Illinois and Indiana, there are separate schools, but the per capita expenditure is usually equal to that of the white schools. In the North in general, there is no discrimination in schools, parks or libraries. There is usually considerable discrimination in semi-public institutions, like hotels and restaurants. Most of the Northern states have no laws against inter-marriage. Voting is free, and while Negroes are not confined to particular residence sections, nevertheless, it is difficult and not impossible for them to rent good homes or mortgage accommodations in buying them, although they are continually overcoming such difficulties.

30-18-33

There is no segregation in trains or street cars and public and personal insult is rare. Usually, they still keep to their own churches. The economic difficulties persist. They have trouble in finding better classes of work; working with white workers on their own merits; joining trades unions, or having a chance for advancement. Here, however, there are again considerable and individual exceptions. In other words, while there is color line in the North, it tends to fade out here and there, and is not a rigid caste system, as in the South. Also, in the North, there is always some social intercourse between the races, usually in art and literary and musical circles.

It is, of course, difficult to express definitely just what the social ostracism of American Negroes has meant in the past and just what it means now. Its manifestations are subtle and its changes almost imperceptibly gradual. And yet perhaps a statement something

like this will illustrate the situation:

Up until twenty years ago, it was impossible, even in a city like New York, for colored persons to appear at public dinner and more especially, at a dinner where both men and women were present, without either open insult or caustic comment in the press; up until ten years ago it was good form, even in the freest parts of the United States and in the better circles of American Negroes, for the leaders to assert publicly and vehemently, that they did not wish to be treated as social equals by their white fellow Americans.

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This situation still holds true in the South and the Border States, and even in some parts of the North; but in other parts of the North, Negroes now and then are not only made welcome at public social occasion, and it has become common for Negro leaders to say frankly that like everybody else, they wish social equality wherever it is freely and voluntarily extended; and that under no circumstances, except by compulsion, will they accept a status of social inferiority.

From such outward pressure there has arisen widespread social organization among American Negroes. Historically, this began with their churches. For two centuries

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THE AMERICAN NEGRO

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. Ph.D (Harv.)

1. Origin, Growth and Physique

The greatest migration of human beings within historic times, was the migration of black men from Africa to America from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. While there are no exact figures, the total migration has been variously estimated as certainly not less than 5,000,000, and possibly more than 10,000,000 Africans.

These Negroes came from all parts of Africa—the Soudan, Central and South and West Africa. Traces of Arab and Malay blood could be seen as well as that of the tall Nilotic Negroes, the Bantu, the yellow Hottentot and the African dwarfs. The Negroes drawn from this wide area centered for shipment on the west coast of Africa along the Gulf of Guinea, and these west coast Africans were consequently most frequently represented on the slave ships.

The usual assumption concerning ~~this race~~ these migrants is that it represents a pure Negro type. This is an error. Outside the question of what the pure Negro type is, the Negro-American represents a very wide and thorough blending of nearly all African peoples from north to south; and more than that, it is to a far larger extent than many realize, a blending of European and African blood.

Not only was there the immense demand for slaves which had its outlet on the west coast, but the slave caravans were streaming up through the desert to the Mediterranean coast and down the valley of the Nile to the centers of Mohammedanism. Africa lost in kidnapping, war and disease, perhaps a hundred million souls. It was a rape of a continent to an extent never paralleled in ancient or modern times.

46-2-111

In the American trade there was not only the horrors of the slave raid, but also of what was called the "middle passage". As Sir William Dolben said, "The Negroes were chained to each other hand and foot, and stowed so close that they were not allowed above a foot and a half for each in breadth. Thus crammed together like herrings in a barrel, they contracted putrid and fatal disorders; so that they who came to inspect them in a morning had occasionally to pick dead slaves out of their rows, and to unchain their carcasses from the bodies of their wretched fellow-sufferers to whom they had been fastened."

In the United States the growth of the Negro population has been steady. Bancroft estimates the colonial Negro population as follows:

1714--- 59,000
1727--- 78,000
1754---293,000

The United States censuses give the following figures:

Date	Total Negroes	Per Cent of Increase
1790	757,208	
1800	1,002,037	32.3
1810	1,377,808	37.5
1820	1,771,656	28.6
1830	2,328,642	31.4
1840	2,873,648	23.4
1850	3,638,808	26.6
1860	4,441,830	22
1870	4,880,009	9.9
1880	6,580,793	34.9
1890	7,488,676	13.8
1900	8,833,994	18.0
1910	9,827,763	11.2
1920	10,463,131	6.5

The variations in the rate of increase are due to many causes, beside faulty enumerating as in 1870. The illicit slave trade and a high birth rate increased numbers up to 1850. Emancipation and its struggles decreased the rate of growth, and recent large migration to northern cities has further decreased it. Today Negroes form 9.9 per cent of the population of the country. While their birth rate has decreased, their death rate has also. In Reconstruction days, the Negro

had a death rate of between 34 to 40 per cent a thousand; today it is about 17 per thousand.

The greatest decrease in death rate has been effected in tuberculosis. Out of every 100,000 colored persons, 418 died of tuberculosis in 1911; and only 235 in 1926. Infant mortality, while still high, is dropping and typhoid fever and pneumonia have declined. On the other hand, the mortality from venereal disease is still high and from diseases of the heart and kidneys. Part of this is due to the change from country to city life in the last few decades.

The sex composition of the American Negroes has changed considerably. The ~~existence~~ excess of males, reaching the United States under the slave system was large, and even as late as 1820 there were a thousand one hundred and thirty-four males to every thousand females. This dropped to a thousand and three in 1830 and 996 in 1860. There was 992 in 1920. The corresponding figures for the whites in 1920 was a thousand and forty-four males to every thousand females, showing a more unstabled population due to white emigration.

The age composition ~~shows~~ a decreasing ~~population~~ proportion of children under fourteen and an increasing ~~population~~ proportion of adults forty-five years of age and more. Negroes marry somewhat earlier than whites and their marriages are broken by death and divorce a little more frequently.

The American Negroes are developing a definite physical type. They do not, of course, look alike. They range from what people call the "typical" Negro to the "typical" white man; but in a recent measurement of 30 physical traits, the variability of the American Negro is shown to be notably low in the majority of cases and to show in the main the characteristics of a homogeneous race. This is due ~~of course,~~ as much to ~~to the~~ social heredity as ~~well as~~ to marriage within the group.

The Negro population is distributed throughout the nation

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although its largest concentration is still in the former slave states. In 1790, 91.1 per cent were in the South and all but 2.2 per cent of them in the South Atlantic division. The proportion increased until in 1830, 92.8 per cent of the Negroes were in the South and all but 2.2 per cent of them in the South Atlantic division. ~~The proportion increased until in 1830, 92.8 per cent of the Negroes were in the South,~~ but on the other hand, 21.5 had moved into the new East South Central cotton belt and 5.6 to the newer Southwest. The proportion living in the North was only 7.2 per cent. Since then the proportion of Negroes in the South has slowly declined; and of those in the South, the proportion in the East South Central section increased until after the war and then decreased a little, while the proportion in the Southwest greatly increased and the proportion in the North increased 10.5 per cent. One-half of one per cent in 1910 were in the West.

The so-called Black Belt represents a concentration of Negro population in the South due to cotton culture and rich land. Counties with 50 per cent or more of blacks had a Negro population as follows:

Date	Counties in which the percentage Negro was	
	50 to 74.9%	75 or more
1910	2,870,001	1,062,483
1900	2,966,976	1,090,483
1890	1,603,400	952,570
1880	2,674,953	717,282

The center of Negro population was in Virginia in 1790. In 1880 it moved 443 miles Southwest to Walker County in the extreme Northwestern Georgia. In 1900 and 1910 it was in the extreme northeast of Alabama, moving slightly westward. In 1920 the census showed 8,912,231 Negroes in the South; 1,472,309 in the North; and 78,591 in the far West. Since 1920 the number of Negroes in the North has greatly increased through migration so that there are probably in the North and

West today, 2,000,000 or more Negroes, while the Negro population of the South has increased but little, remaining at about 9,000,000.

The proportion of Negroes in the various states varies greatly. There is not a single state in which Negroes do not live, although there are very few in states like New Hampshire and North and South Dakota.

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On the other hand, they formed in 1920 a majority of the population of South Carolina and Mississippi, and from 25 to 50 per cent of the population of the District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Arkansas, and Louisiana. Other states with from 10 to 25 per cent, were Delaware, Maryland, Tennessee and Texas. In the South Atlantic and South Central states the Negroes formed from between 20 and 30 per cent of the population and from 2 to 3 per cent in the Middle Atlantic and North Central states.

The recent migration has been chiefly to cities; and New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis and Kansas City have received a large influx.

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

Problems of Social Contact

The establishment of the legal status of slavery in the confines of the United States was gradual. Not all the Negroes imported were by any means slaves. As early as 1790, there were nearly 60,000 free Negroes in the United States, and the number of free Negroes thereafter increased as follows:

	Number	Percent of all Negroes	Decennial increase Percent
1860	488,070	11.0	12.3
1850	434,495	11.9	12.5
1840	386,293	13.4	20.9
1830	319,599	13.7	36.8
1820	233,634	13.2	25.3
1810	186,446	13.5	71.9
1800	108,435	10.8	82.2
1790	59,557	7.9	

That there were free Negroes in the United States before 1790 is clear from numerous accounts of their activities. Moreover, while the main mass of the Negroes imported were regarded and treated as slaves, the legal status of slavery in the United States was not recognized until many years after the importation began. Indeed, the earlier assumption was that imported black labor stood upon exactly the same basis as imported white labor.

Economic conditions in England in the 17th Century had filled the jails and workhouses with paupers and vagrants. Systematic effort was made to send these to America as indentured servants. Convicts and prostitutes were added and it was reported in 1680 that the stream of forced, kidnapped and voluntary white servants reached a total of 10,000 a year. The Thirty Years war brought some German workers and servants.

But this supply was limited by the home demand for labor and the difficulty of establishing in America a caste for white servants. On the other hand, the supply of black labor under the Dutch, and

especially the English slave traders was almost unlimited. The Colonial law which at first applied to all "servants", white and black, began late in the 17th Century and early in the 18th to recognize a distinction between black servants for life and white servants for a term of years.

By 1750 black slavery became a thoroughly established institution in the United States. Nevertheless, all Negroes were not slaves and for years, up until the rise of the Cotton Kingdom, and it was recognized in law and custom that a free Negro could become a citizen, landholder and voter. Free Negroes voted in at least five colonies at the time the Constitution was adopted; they held $8,322 in taxes in Virginia alone in 1833, and in 1830 there are recorded in the United States 3,777 Free Negro owners of slaves, most of the slaves being members of their own families whom they had thus emancipated from whites

Between 1790 and 1830 the percentage of free Negroes increased. The influence of the Revolutionary War nearly doubled the number between 1790 and 1800, and there was an increase of nearly 72% between 1800-1810, and smaller increases of 25 and 36% between 1810 and 1820 and 1820 and 1830. After that, there was a determined attempt to get rid of free Negroes, either by re-enslavement or colonization, and by making manumission difficult. As a result of economic pressure and Civil War, the great mass of the Negro slaves were freed by military order in 1863 and the whole status of slavery abolished ~~by Constitutional amendment in 1865~~ by Constitutional Amendment on December 18, 1865. The presence of black slaves in America gave rise, first, to the slave codes, and then to the problem of civil and political rights of freed Negroes. The slave codes were built up gradually on the basis of West Indian legislation. The slaves under these codes, had no ordinary rights of citizenship. He could be condemned by the

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word of one witness and sentenced without jury. He could be killed for resisting his master. He was regarded as real estate and could not be admitted as a witness in a court of law, except against another slave. The family relation among slaves was not recognized, and they could, ~~of course,~~ be bought and sold.

the trade in black labor, were the beginning of a new vastly profitable international trade. When to this was added the economic revolution of the 19th Century in the technique of industry, the modern world was born.

It was, however, impossible to keep the black population in slavery: their own resistance; the limitation of fertile land; the monetary need of higher technique with tools and machinery, and the competition of white labor, overthrew the slave system in the West Indies and in the United States.

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The enfranchising of the Negro was not simply a method of forcing this economic emancipation, it was the only political expedient which could ensure the peaceful return of the rebellious Southern states back into the Union. The result justified the experiment. There was extravagance, bribery, crime, vagrancy and disease during Reconstruction, but most of this was the inevitable accompaniment of emancipation. On the other hand, as a white contemporary said: "The Negroes ~~obeyed the constitution of the United States.~~ "They obeyed the Constitution of the United States and annulled the bonds of states, counties and cities which had been issued to carry on the war of rebellion and maintain armies in the field against the Union. They instituted a public school system in a realm where public schools had been unknown. They opened the ballot box and jury box to thousands of white men who had been debarred from them by a lack of earthly possessions. They introduced home rule in the South. They abolished the whipping post, the branding iron, the stocks and other barbarous forms of punishment which had up to that time prevailed. They reduced capital felonies from about twenty to two or three. In an age of extravagance they were extravagant in the sums appropriated for public works. In all of that time no man's rights of persons were invaded under the forms of law."

The legislation of the South ~~directly after the war and before the Negroes were enfranchised,~~ showed determination to re-establish Negro slavery in everything but in name. The white South ~~therefore, compelled~~ immediately began to bargain with the commercial and industrial North ~~and to allow free Negro labor and a minimum of civil rights in return~~ for the restoration of political power to white folk. While the bargain was being negotiated, Negroes were gradually ~~taken~~ forced from the ballot box by force and fraud. Finally, beginning

in 1890, a series of laws was passed and acquiesced in by the North which, disfranchised the poor and the illiterate; ~~in addition to that,~~ ~~it~~ excepted white people from the operation of these restrictions by a "Grandfather Clause", and ~~it~~ put the right of ~~legislation~~ in the hands of petty local officials who proceeded almost without exception to disfranchise all Negroes and to admit all whites. The result has been the present legal caste system in the South and also a peculiar nullification of Democracy throughout the United States, because the Southern states ~~wanted~~ the whole population, white and black, as the basis of their representation in Congress, but allow only the whites to vote, so that ~~then~~ the Southern whites have thus ~~debarred~~ political power. Further than that, and in order to insure no political ~~difiance~~ among the whites which might re-enfranchise the Negroes, ~~the dominant political party of the South has succeeded in disfranchising even~~ more white voters than Negro voters. The singular result is that although the population of the 11 Southern states has increased 100% in the last forty years, the number of voters, even with the recent addition of women, has increased only 50%. And in 5 of the Southern states of the Far South there has been practically no increase. Also, it actually happens that today nine thousand voters in South Carolina exercise as much power in Congress as ninety thousand voters in Ohio.

Next 2 The political problem, The

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10 America. ~~Years of propaganda has led the whites to associate slavery and black blood and to regard mulattoes as degenerates.~~ The increase of mixed bloods was, therefore, one of the earliest problems that ~~came to the front.~~ There were the early intermarriages of white men and free Negro women, especially in Virginia and Maryland. Mulatto children were early born of white women servants and even of free white women, especially in the time when status was determined by land holding and there were some free Negro landholders. And finally there was the large percentage of mulattoes born from the union of white men and their slave women.

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No successful attempt to count the number of mulattoes in the United States has ever been made. The admittedly uncomplete figures of the census and gave 15.2% of Negroes in 1890, 20.9% in 1910 and 15.9% in 1920. Investigators after careful measurements believe that over 70% of the American Negroes have some White blood

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III SOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT

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4. There can be no legal inter-marriage between whites and persons of Negro descent, and a betrayed colored girl has in practice no relief in the courts.

5. They are not recognized as citizens in civic life: they usually cannot join white religious or cultural organizations; they are either not admitted or only admitted on special terms to public places, public assemblies, churches, lectures, theatres, concerts, museums, parks and libraries. Sometimes, separate institutions, or parts of institutions, ~~like hospitals, libraries and parks~~ are set aside ~~apart~~ for them, but in that case the facilities are poorer and less effective ~~smaller~~. They are not admitted to hotels, restaurants and places of public entertainment.

6. There is an entirely separate system of public schools, with poorer equipment, poorer financial support, and usually without high schools or night schools. White colleges do not admit them, even when they are supported by the state. In such case, there is usually state institution with limited equipment and Curtailed Curriculum ~~resources~~ for their accommodation.

7. In the courts they receive a distinct standard of justice.

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They seldom sat on juries, even when Negroes are being tried. They are liable to longer and harsher sentences and often are in danger of mob violence and even lynch law.(over)

8. So far as possible in every walk of life ~~they~~ Negroes are segregated; they have separate rooms in railway stations, separate and inferior cars or parts of cars on railway trains, separate seats in street cars, and sometimes they are allowed only on the freight elevators of public buildings. They invariably pay equal prices for ~~such~~ inferior accommodations and are equally taxed on their property.

9. They are subject to other more or less intangible and indefinite discriminations, and lack of protection; as for instance, their women ~~and often~~ are liable to insult; their property and wages are peculiarly open to exploitation; they are required to show more or less Austin deference to white folk, ~~by taking off their hats or yielding the road, etc~~.

In many of these discriminations there are personal and local exceptions, and in the last ten years mob violence and lynching have become less frequent. There is ~~more~~ increasing chance of justice in the courts, and the city schools, and in some cases, the country schools have been improved. These, however, are still exceptional cases, and as a rule, all Negroes, no matter what their training, position and trait, are subject to ~~most of~~ the above disabilities. ~~Without~~ Beyond the limits of these legal and customary caste distinctions, there is much good will and kindness, and a ~~good~~ great deal of personal charity and help.

In the Border States, the Negroes suffer less restriction. Usually, they have the right to vote, although economic pressure is brought to bear. There is less of ~~the~~ personal insult and discrimination, but there are still separate churches, often separate libraries and parks, or at least limited facilities in ~~the~~ public places. The schools in the Border States are separate but show less discrimination, and

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in general, public funds are spent more equably. The Negro quarters in towns and cities are better served with public facilities. Inter-marriage is prohibited. The economic condition is somewhat better, the wages being higher, and the opportunities for work wider.

In the North, there is the minimum of discrimination, but it is still there. In some regions, ~~like the southern parts of Ohio, Illinois and Indiana,~~ contiguous to the South there are separate schools, but the per capita expenditure is usually equal to that of the white schools. In the North in general, there is no discrimination in schools, parks or libraries. There is usually considerable discrimination in semi-public institutions, like hotels and restaurants. Most of the Northern states have no laws against inter-marriage. Voting is free, and while Negroes are not confined to particular residence sections, nevertheless, it is difficult ~~and not impossible~~ for them to rent good homes or to secure mortgage accommodations in buying them, ~~although they are continually overcoming such difficulties.~~

There is no segregation in trains or street cars and public and personal insult is rare. Usually, ~~they still~~ Negroes keep to their own churches. The economic difficulties persist. They have trouble in finding better classes of work; working with white workers on their own merits; joining trades unions, or having a chance for advancement. Here, however, there are again considerable and individual exceptions. In other words, while there is a color line in the North, it tends to fade out here and there, and is not a rigid caste system, as in the South. Also, in the North, there is always some social intercourse between the races, usually in art and literary and musical circles.

It is, ~~of course,~~ difficult to express definitely just what the social ostracism of American Negroes ~~has~~ meant in the past and just what it means now. Its manifestations are subtle and its changes almost imperceptibly gradual. And yet perhaps a statement something

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like this will illustrate the situation:

Up until twenty years ago, it was impossible, even in a city like New York, for colored persons to appear at public dinner and more especially, at a dinner where both men and women were present, without either open insult or caustic comment in the press; up until ten years ago it was good form, even in the freest parts of the United States and in the better circles of American Negroes, for the leaders to assert publicly and vehemently, that they did not wish to be treated as social equals by their white fellow Americans.

This situation still holds true in the South and the Border States, and even in some parts of the North; but in other parts of the North, Negroes now and then are not only made welcome at public social occasion, and it has become common for Negro leaders to say frankly that like everybody else, they wish social equality wherever it is freely and voluntarily extended; and that under no circumstances, except by compulsion, will they accept a status of social inferiority.

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From such outward pressure there has arisen widespread social organization among American Negroes. Historically, this began with their churches. For two centuries the church has been the great center of American Negro life. The Negro church is not simply a religious organization. It is the only surviving social institution of the Negroes which had its roots in the African forests and survived slavery. Under the leadership of the priest and medicine man, and afterward of the Christian minister, the church preserved in itself the remnants of African tribal life, and became, after emancipation, the center of Negro social life. Out of the churches developed eventually the Negro secret and fraternal organizations, practical insurance and benevolence, and the beginnings of economic co-operation. A number of great colored church leaders, who were really guides in

social development, have arisen. Especially Richard Allen, (1760-1831), organizer of the A. M. E. Church; Asalon Jones, first colored Episcopal rector; George Leile, (1750), an early Baptist pioneer; John Chavis, (1801*, a Presbyterian preacher, and Alexander Crummell, a great Episcopalian minister.

Next to the churches come the beneficial and insurance societies, of which there are probably 100, some of which are large and flourishing organizations. The secret societies, including Masons, Odd Fellows, Pithians, Elks, etc., who own between five and ten million dollars worth of property and collect at least $2,000,000 a year. There are various co-operative benevolences, including homes and orphanages, hospitals and cemeteries. There are economic organizations, including some fifty small banks, a large number of building and loan associations and in all about 70,000 commercial enterprises with an annual overhead of $1,500,000.

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By means of these organizations and individual enterprise, the American Negro has built up a group economy, so that Negro professional men and most of the Negro businessmen, serve almost exclusively a Negro clientele, while the mass of the Negroes increasingly patronize Negro professional men and Negro business. Thus, the Negro group today is serving itself with religious ministration, medical care, legal advice, and education, and partially with homes, food, books, newspapers, bank credit, photographers, hotels, beauty parlors, drug stores, undertakers, etc. This economic circle is by no means closed. The mass of colored people still work for white people. Negro professional men have white people among their clients, and Negro businessmen serve some white customers. Still the growing tendency is to form a fairly complete circle. The greatest gap remaining is the matter of capital and technical management.

The occupations in which there were at least five thousand men

or women of Negro descent employed in 1920 were as follows:

The men were employed as follows:

in agriculture	1,566,627
in extraction of minerals	72,892
in manufacturing and mechanical industries	781,827
in transportation	308,896
in trade	129,309
in public service	49,586
in professional service	41,056
in domestic and personal service	273,959
in clerical occupations	28,710

The women were employed as follows:

in agriculture	612,261
in manufacturing and mechanical industries	104,983
in trade	11,158
in professional service	39,127
in domestic and personal service	790,631
in clerical occupations	8,301

Education and intelligence among American Negroes show remarkable increase. The official figures for illiteracy are inaccurate, but they indicate the trend. Of American Negroes 10 years of age and over, there were unable to read and write: 1870, 79.9%; 1880, 70%; 1890, 57.1%; 1900, 44.5%; 1910, 30.4%; 1920, 22.9%. The urban Negro population showed only 13.4% of illiteracy in 1920, which was about equal to the illiteracy of the foreign-born. It is interesting to know that illiteracy among Negro women is slightly less than that among the men.

Of the Negro population from five to twenty years of age, there were in 1920, 53.5% attending school. The girls being slightly in the majority. Of those seven to thirteen years of age, 76.5% were in school.

The corresponding figures for native whites of native parentage was 66.9% and 92.2% in 1910, 44.7% of the children five to twenty years of age were in school, and 64.1% of those seven to thirteen years of age. This, of course, gives but a partial picture of the real situation. The educational facilities offered to American Negroes are still greatly limited. There are at present 31 exclusively Negro colleges with about 3,300 students and about 1,500 other Negro students arein white colleges. The number of Negro graduating from colleges has greatly increased:

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1820-1829	3
1830-1849	7
1850-1859	12
1860-1869	44
1870-1879	313
1880-1889	738
1890-1899	1,126
1900-1909	1,613
1910-1919	2,861
1920-1927	4,146

This has reference simply to the Batchelor's Degree in Arts. In addition to that a considerable number of Masters of Arts, a few Doctors of Philosophy and a large number of professional graduates may be added. The wealth and property of the Negro-American group has steadily grown. One estimate makes their total property $1,800,000,000, and their land ownership 34,000 square miles, or an area nearly as large as that of Portugal, and larger than the whole of Ireland.

There is no reliable measure of crime in the United States. The crime census of 1923 shows us that American Negroes, having 9.3% of the population, 18 years of age and over, furnished 23.3% of the committments to prisons and jails. Of course, this is partially accounted for by the fact that it is easier in the United States to commit a Negro for alleged offenses than to commit a white person. On the other hand, crime among Negroes is decreasing. In 1910, for every 100,000 of the Negro population, 1,823 were committed to prisons

during the year. Thirteen years later, the proportion had fallen to 1,306, a decrease of over 28%. Of the committments one-fifth are for disorderly conduct, one-eighth for drunkenness, one-tenth for stealing, and one-thirteenth for vagrancy. What has been the spiritual and social result for America of this racial reaction and inner group development?

The contributions of American Negroes to the making of America have been many and continuous. First, of course, as a labor force they laid the foundation of the enormous economic development which made modern America. They worked not simply as slaves in the furnishing of the four great crops: tobacco, rice, sugar and cotton, which with the slave trade formed the beginning of modern international trade, but they worked also as free artisans and pioneers.

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Previous to the full establishment of slavery, they were among the earliest of explorers, and possibly the Negro race was in America even before Columbus. Nuflo de Olana, a Negro, was with Balboa when he discovered the Pacific Ocean. Many were with Cortes, De Soto and other Spanish explorers. Negro artisans helped Menendez found St. Augustine in 1565. Stephen Dorantes, a Negro, was was with the Narvaez expedition, was the discoverer of what is now Arizona, New Mexico and the Southwest of the United States in 1539.

Negro soldiers have fought in all American wars. A few of them were in the Colonial Wars. About 4,000 were in the Continnental Army during the war for American independence, as large a proportion (9%) of American Negroes as of American whites, although seven-eighths of the blacks were in slavery. In the War of 1812, Negroes distinguished themselves on the high seas and Battle of Lake Erie, among the land forces, and particularly at the Battle of New Orleans, where they formed over one-eighth of the soldiers in line. In the Civil War, they not only furnished a large number of laborers, helpers and spies, but also 180,000 enrolled soldiers, which represented over 4% of the total

Negro population, slave and free. The free white North furnished 10%. In the World War, the Negro forming one-tenth of the population, furnished 13% of the soldiers called to the colors; 342,277 Negroes were accepted for full military service. The Negro by his insistent struggle to be free in the United States has broadened the basis of Democracy in America and in the world. This was not only by means of a continuous series of slave insurrections in the West Indies and on the continent which culminated in the freedom of Haiti and the consequent gift of the vast territory of Louisiana to the United States, but it was also carried out by the systematic running away of slaves under organized Negro leadership, and by a continuous appeal by Negroes to the conscience of America from the early 18th Century down to the Civil War.

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After the Civil War it was Negro loyalty and the Negro vote alone that restored the South to the Union, established a new Democracy, both for white people and black, established the first system of popular education in the South, and began a new social legislation. Negro women as workers have done much to free the American working women from the harem idea of cloistered ease.

Many distinguished Americans have been of Negro descent. The first National Holiday of the United States was the Fifth of March which marked the death of Crispus Attucks, a mulatto, in the initial clash of the Revolutionary War. Richard Allen, was a great black religious leader, while John Steward founded the mission work of the white Methodist Episcopal Church. David Walker was one of the earliest Abolitionists; Frederick Douglass shares with William Lloyd Garrison the honors of the fight for the emancipation of slaves. Sojourner Truth was a singularly successful Abolitionist and radical agitator. Prince Hall, a Negro, was a pioneer Mason, deriving his authority directly from England. Granville Wood was an inventor of parts of the telephone,

and Matseliger's inventions revolutionized shoemaking. Elijah McCoy was the inventor of modern locomotive lubrication. Booker T. Washington was a pioneer in industrial education and a statesman in inter-racial adjustment. Mat Henson went to the North Pole with Peary.

There have been two Negro Senators and 21 Congressmen and several judges on the Bench. Charles Young, a West Point graduate, was one of the best officers in the American army. Many other Americans, including statesmen of the highest rank, churchmen and artists, have been of Negro descent, although this fact was seldomed mentioned in their careers.

The psychological results of the racial situation in America are extraordinary, especially in the Negro group. A spirit of revolt strives with an inferiority complex. Counsels of despair oppose a determination to survive at all costs. The push upward wavers as to its objects and ideals, ~~which might be either for America or for the black race.~~

Out of this, however, comes one inescapable result: the beginnings of literature and art.

~~In literature and art the Negro has done much for America.~~ First and foremost comes, of course, the Negro folk-song.

"Little of beauty has America given the world save the rude grandeur God himself stamped on her bosom; the human spirit in this new world has expressed itself in vigor and ingenuity rather than in beauty. And so by fateful chance the Negro folk-song—the rhythmic cry of the slave—stands today not simply as the sole American music, but as the most beautiful expression of human experience on this side of the seas. It has been neglected, it has been persistently mistaken and misunderstood; but notwithstanding, it still remains as the singular spiritual heritage of the nation and the greatest gift of the Negro people."

To this must be added the Negro rhythm in other forms of music and in dancing and the recent development of the Negro idiom of white composers like Dvorak and the colored composers like Handy, Burleigh and Dett.

by speech, history, stories and poetry to make clear his claim to manhood. William Wells Brown wrote a half dozen stories, essays and books of travel; A. A. Whitman wrote difuse poetry, with here & there startling bits of beauty; Frances Harper wrote conventional verse, with ~~now and then an~~ a rare appealing stanza; ~~and~~ George W. Williams ~~wrote~~ compiled the first standard history of the Negro in America.

This represented a ~~great beginning of the attack on prejudice and~~ however feeble and ineffective attempt at self-expression which ~~it~~ culminated in the last decade of the 19th century, with the two first ~~really~~ great figures in American Negro literature: Paul Laurence Dunbar, and Charles Waddell Chesnutt. Both of them ~~surrendering~~ wrote under the enthusiasm and over-statement of propaganda, ~~taking~~ and assuming the detached attitude of the artist, Dunbar ~~writing~~ wrote mainly of the simpler ~~and finer~~ joys and laughter reactions of Negro peasant life and Chesnutt portraying ~~ing~~ mainly the effect of the Negro on the main current of ~~Negro~~ white life ~~or~~ and the tragedy of the mulatto.

~~This brought~~ In the first fifteen years of the 20th century there developed the ~~reaction~~ clash between those who believed in a docile and good tempered acceptance of the unfortunate facts of a racial contact, ~~in order that through this retreat they might~~ so as to gain ~~favor from the~~ the good will and help of the white world; ~~for further advance~~; and those, on the other hand, who believed in ~~a more~~ an agressive and uncompromising fight on prejudice. Booker T. Washington, as statesman and writer, represented the first school, and his "Up From Slavery" was its classic. A number of other and younger writers opposed him, while still a third and smaller number, like Kelley Miller, stood between. ~~This period of Sturm und Drang dropped after the War, between 1915 and 1920, to a mass of new young writers, mainly idealists.~~ There were William Stanley Braithwaite, poet and critic; Benjamin Brawley, historian and essayist; Carter Woodson, scientific historian; and a half dozen poets—Joseph Cotter, Jr., Fenton Johnson, ~~and~~ George McClellan, ~~together with~~ Georgia Douglass Johnson, and James Weldon Johnson, ~~and Angelina Grimke.~~ These were mainly idealists in the sense that they believed ~~in the future of the Negro race, but they~~ ~~were~~ primarily ~~artists~~ and not ~~race~~ leaders dealing with the

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This period of Sturm und Drang lasted until the World War. But even before
German new writers who heralded the
new German spirit had begun to appear

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Since 1920, perhaps twenty-five writers, mostly young men and women, deserve mention in Negro-American literature. Their attitude and message seems at first a little bewildering until one remembers their historical genesis. Out of the controversy that surrounded the policies of Booker T. Washington there crystallized two attitudes of mind toward the Negro and his future in the United States. One we may call the Self-Assertive school. This attitude did not necessarily involve aggression or even agitation, but it was an attitude of mind which believed that self-assertion and self expression on the part of the black man was necessary to his development as a free American citizen. On the other hand, there emerged a state of mind which we may call, by the way term, Defeatist; which despaired of any chance of self-assertion on the part of the Negro. At most, it hoped that after surrender to the demands of the dominant white world, there might be some yielding to Negro ambition and recognition of Negro genius. This main division of Negro thought is manifest in recent Negro literature. In addition to that, there has come a cross division between Realists and the Romantics. The Romantics follow the natural tendency to idealize the rise of the Negro and see a fine future. The Realists follow the general trend of post-war American literature which dissects unpleasant truths. This trend in Negro-American literature was especially emphasized by the success of certain white writers who exploited Negro themes in books which were both realistic and defeatist; going ruthlessly into the slum life of the lowest level and finding no outlet for Negro ambition. Taking now these four sets of writers, we may plot present Negro-American literature somewhat as follows: most of the recent writers belong among the Self-assertive school in the sense that they believe in the Negro race and in its ultimate gaining of civil rights and artistic self-

manthes, [illegible] unfettered by any classic
[illegible]ream and [illegible]raint, Rehemy, ij self-
[illegible] of [illegible] future in Negroes; ij Defects
[illegible] possessions & despair; The Realists
[illegible] generation, hand of fred. wm Armstrong Education and
[illegible]ralth truth and facts. They Elder
manthes;
[illegible] or Raint subtle struggle twixt
[illegible]thers abandon as Realists

expression. These writers include some whom we have mentioned before, like Braithwaite, Brawley, James Weldon Johnson and Georgia Johnson. They include, the newer poets, Countee Cullen, Arna Bontemps, Lewis Alexander, and they include novelists, like Walter White and Jessie Fauset. All these belong to the Romantics ~~swing, and Contrasting with them on the side of those whose writing is more realistic is a playwright, Willis Richardson~~, a poet, ~~like~~ Helene Johnson, an essayist, like Franklin Frazier, and social and historical students, like Carter Woodson and Charles Johnson. Of these, however, only Braithwaite, Cullen and Woodson have received any wide recognition from the American reading public. On the other hand, the Defeatists have had much ~~greater~~ popularity, showing that their message appeals more to white America. Claude McKay, for instance, who was Romantic in his poetry, becomes a Defeatist ~~Realist~~ in his novel. Rudolph Fisher and Eric Waldron ~~in their short stories~~ are intensely realistic in their short stories and at the same time Defeatists in their ~~novels~~ Angelina Grimke ~~is a Romantic Defeatist~~. This classification is, of course, tentative and somewhat mechanical. Tendencies in the ~~last~~ few years may quite invalidate it and yet in the main, it seems a fair picture of what is occuring today.

But they ~~include~~ have also been realists and realistic tendencies among themselves!

Treatment some of the work of Cullen and others can be classed among the realists for the time is far from past

Show for instance could race clash be portrayed when actors of the two races were not permitted to play on the same stage.

The dramatizing of the situation of Negroes in America, while an absorbing ~~drama~~ theme, has been held back from full expression by the strong racial prejudices involved. For a long time the problems of the Negro were portrayed exclusively by white writers and actors, and his humor by white ministrels, blacked up. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and Boucicault's "Octoroon" were early and successful plays, but ~~of course~~ staged with white players. In time colored minstrels replaced white minstrels, but they were ~~pretty~~ strictly limited to fun-making. Gradually out of this grew the Negro musical comedy in the hands of Cole-Johnson, Williams and Walker and Ernest Hogan. More recently they have been followed by striking comedy and ~~forceful~~ vaudeville artists, like Florence Mills and Josephine Baker.

For a long time, ~~however~~, the Negro actor was not allowed in serious drama. Ira Aldridge, a colored man born in Maryland, had to go to Europe for his opportunity, where he became famous and received the decorations of four nations. During the War and thereafter, white dramatists, like Torrance, O'Neill and Green, began to write serious plays on Negro themes and the managers tried colored actors. They had no particular popular success until Charles Gilpin triumphed in O'Neill's "Emperor Jones". Evelyn Preer, Paul Robeson, Frank Wilson and Rose McClendon followed the path that he blazed. ~~Then at last the~~ Today a few Negro dramatists are beginning ~~began~~ to appear, first, in the folk pageant, "The Star of Ethiopia", given in four cities in 1913 thereafter; then in the Laboratory Theater at Howard University, and finally, in various Little Theatres. Angeline Grimké, Mary Burrill, Willis Richardson and Eulalie Spence are some of the new Negro emerged as dramatic writers.

There were a few Negro painters before Tanner, like Bannister in 1876 and Harper in 1910, but the great Negro American painter is

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Henry O. Tanner, who has done most of his work in Paris and whose "Raising of Lazarus" is hung in the Luxemberg. Recently excellent new young painters have come to the fore: W. E. Scott, who studied under Tanner, Albert A. Smith, Laura Wheeler Waring, Aaron Douglas, Hale Woodruff and a number of others.

In sculpture there is Edmonia Lewis in the past, and today, Meta Warrick Fuller, pupil of Rodin, and Mae Howard Jackson with her portrait busts of mulatto types.

The American Negro has had little opportunity to pursue a scientific career and yet no one can ignore the work on insects done by C. H. Turner, or the work in psychiatry by Dr. S. C. Fuller, or that in ~~serology~~ pathology by Dr. Julian H. Lewis of the University of Chicago. Ernest Just's investigations in the ~~origin of life~~ marine biology places him in the front rank of modern scientists; behind these came the pioneer work of Thomas Derham in 1788 and Benjamin Banneker, who published the first almanac in the United States in 1792.

G. W. Carver of Tuskegee is a well known agricultural chemist.

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1 Carton

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. Ph D (Harv.)

1. Origin growth and Physique

The greatest migration of human beings within historic times, was the migration of black men from Africa to America ~~in~~ from the ~~fif-~~ ~~teenth,~~ sixteenth ~~& the~~ ~~seventeenth, eighteenth, and~~ nineteenth centuries. Exact figures concerning this trade are unobtainable. It is said that as early as 1528 there were at least 10,000 Negroes in the new world. Between 1698 and 1707 the yearly migration of Negroes averaged perhaps 25,000 a year. It dwindled after a while but after the Asiento Treaty between England and Spain in 1713, it soon reached 30,000 a year. Just before the American Revolution, from 40,000 to 100,000 were being imported. In 1787, after the Revolution, the British, French, Portuguese, Dutch and Danes were transporting 74,000 slaves a year to America. At the beginning of the nineteenth century England had in her colonies a Negro population of 800,000 Negroes; France 250,000; Denmark, 27,000; Spain and Portugal, 60,000; Holland, 50,000; Brazil, 2,000,000; and the United States, 900,000. This was the result of an importation which has been variously estimated as ~~not less than~~ certainly not less than 5,000,000, ~~nor more than~~ and possibly more than 10,000,000 Africans.

while these are no exact figures the total magnitude undoubtedly 30-2-95

Assuming that each imported slave represented four or five deaths from war, the march to the coast, and the sea voyage, it can be seen that this extraordinary migration meant the loss of at least 50,000,000 inhabitants to Africa and when there is added to this the Mohammedan slave trade, the figures may reach 100,000,000.

What kind of persons were thus introduced into the new world? They came out of all parts of Africa and they represented various degrees of racial intermixture and cultural background. They were all Negroes in the sense that they belonged predominantly to the darker races of mankind living in African and Southern Asia; but

they did not all, or even predominantly represent any extreme specialized type of mankind such as some scientists have tried to find and call the "pure" Negro. Neither were they the lowest of barbarians. Physically they were, for the most part, tall, strong, well-developed men. Culturally they represented everything from the Egypto-Ethippian culture of the Nile Valley to the carving of the Congo basin and the art of the West Coast. Suddenly and violently transplanted to America, they endured a terrific physical fight for sheer survival.

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The slaves thus procured came from all parts of Africa—the Soudan, Central and South Africa. Distinct traces of Arab and even Malay blood could be seen side by side with the tall Bantu, the yellow Hottentot and the African dwarfs. The shipment of the slaves drawn from this wide area centered on the west coast of Africa along the Gulf of Guinea, and these west coast Africans were consequently most frequently represented on the slave ships.

The first and usual assumption concerning this race is that it represents a pure Negro type. This is an error. Outside the question of what the pure Negro type is, the Negro-American represents a very wide and thorough blending of nearly all African peoples from north to south; and more than that, it is to a far larger extent than many realize, a blending of European and African blood.[1]

Such a large number of slaves could be supplied only by organized slave raiding in every corner of Africa. The African continent gradually became revolutionized. Whole regions were depopulated, whole tribes disappeared; villages were built in caves and on hills or in forest fastnesses; the character of peoples like those of Benin developed their worst excesses of cruelty instead of the already flourishing arts of peace. The dark irresistible grasp of fetish took firmer hold on men's minds.

Further advances toward civilization became impossible. Not only was there the immense demand for slaves which had its outlet on the west coast, but the slave caravans were streaming up through the desert to the

1. Atlanta University Studies of the Negro Problem. Vol. II, Number 11 & 12. By Du Bois. Atlanta, Ga., 1906. p.28.

Mediterranean coast and down the valley of the Nile to the centers of Mohammedanism. It was a rape of a continent to an extent never paralleled in ancient or modern times.

In the American trade there was not only the horrors of the slave raid, ~~which lined the winding paths of the African jungles with bleached bones~~, but ~~there was~~ also ~~the horrors~~ of what was called the "middle passage", ~~that is, the voyage across the Atlantic.~~ As Sir William Dolben said, "The Negroes were chained to each other hand and foot, and stowed so close that they were not allowed above a foot and a half for each in breadth. Thus crammed together like herrings in a barrel, they contracted putrid and fatal disorders; so that they who came to inspect them in a morning had occasionally to pick dead slaves out of their rows, and to unchain their carcases from the bodies of their wretched fellow-sufferers to whom they had been fastened."

It was estimated that out of every one hundred lot shipped from Africa only about fifty lived to be effective laborers across the sea, and among the whites more seamen died in that trade in one year than in the whole remaining trade of England in two. The full realization of the horrors of the slave trade was slow in reaching the ears and conscience of the modern world, just as to-day the treatment of dark natives in European colonies is brought to publicity with the greatest difficulty. The first move against the slave trade in England came in Parliament in 1776, but it was not until thirty-one years later, in 1807, that the trade was banned through the arduous labors of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Sharpe, and others. 2.

Exclusively of the slaves who died before they sailed from Africa twelve and on half per cent were lost during their passage to the West Indies; at Jamaica four and one half per cent died whilst in the harbours or before the sale, and on-third more in the "seasoning". Thus, out of every lot of 100 shipped from Africa 17 died in about 9 weeks, and not more than 50 lived to be effective labourers in the islands. The circumstances of their subsequent life on the plantations were not favourable to the increase of their numbers. In Jamaica there were, in 1690, 40,000; from that year till 1820 there were imported 800,000; yet at the latter date there were only 340,000 in the island. One cause which prevented the natural increase of population was the inequality in the numbers of the sexes; in Jamaica alone there was in 1789 an excess of 30,000 males. 3.

2. The Negro. By Du Bois. New York, 1915. pp. 156 - 157.

3. History of Slavery. By Ingram. London, 1895. p. 153.

In the United States the growth of the Negro population has been steady as shown by the following numbers. Estimates of Negro population as follows in the 18th century:

1710	50,000
1725	75,000
1750	220,000
1754	260,000
1760	310,000
1770	462,000
1780	462,000

1714 - 59000
1727 - 78000
1754 - 273000

36-2-98

The United States censuses give the following figures

Date	Total Negroes	Per Cent. of Increase
1790	757,208	
1800	1,002,037	32.3
1810	1,377,808	37.5
1820	1,771,656	28.6
1830	2,328,642	31.4
1840	2,873,648	23.4
1850	3,638,808	26.6
1860	4,441,830	22.0
1870	4,880,009	9.9
1880	6,580,793	34.9
1890	7,488,676	13.8
1900	8,833,994	18.0
1910	9,827,763	11.2
1920	10,463,131	6.5

The first census showed 750,000 Negroes in the United States of whom nearly 60,000 were free. The Negroes formed nearly one-fifth of the total population of the United States and 91 per cent

The variations in the rate of increase are due to many causes, beside family, community as in 1870. The illegal slave trade and a high birth rate increased numbers up to 1850

Environment + its struggles decreased the rate of growth and recent large migration to Northern cities has further decreased it. To day Negroes form ~~of them lived in the South.~~ There were over 1,000,000 Negroes in 1800. The Louisiana Purchase brought in 50,000 more and in 1810 there were 1,400,000. Thus the Negro population nearly doubled in twenty years due to importations, annexations, and a high birth rate. During the nineteenth century, the increase of the population was at the rate of about 2.5 per cent a year and the population doubled in 30 years. In 1840 there were 2,874,000 Negroes and in 1880, 6,561,000. Then the increase slowed down. Until 1920, their decennial increase was 6.5 and they formed 9.9 per cent of the population of the country. ~~For a while, it was prophesied under~~ while their death rate has decreased their death rate has also ~~freedom the American Negro would die out. This idea has been completely given up.~~ In Reconstruction days, the Negro had a death rate of between 34 to 40 per cent a thousand; today it ~~has been reduced to~~ is about 17 per thousand.

The greatest decrease in death rate has been effected in tuberculosis. Out of every 100,000 colored persons, 418 died of tuberculosis in 1911; and only 235 in 1926. Infant mortality, while still high, is dropping and typhoid fever and pneumonia have declined. On the other hand, the mortality from venereal diseases is till high and from diseases of the heart and ~~from nephritis.~~ kidneys. Part of this is due to the change from country to city life in the last few decades.

36-2-100

201-4-93

The American Negroes are developing a definite physical type. They do not, of course, look alike, They range from what people call the "typical" Negro to the "typical" white man; but in a recent measurement of 30 physical traits, the variability of the American Negro is shown to be notably low in the majority of cases. The population is distributed throughout the nation although its largest concentration is still in the former slave states. In 1790, 91.1 per cent were in the South and all but 2.2 per cent of them in the South Atlantic division. The proportion increased until in 1830, 92.8 per cent of the Negroes were in the South, but on the other hand, 21.5 had moved into the new East South Central cotton belt and 5.6 to the newer Southwest. The proportion living in the North was only 7.2 per cent. Since then the proportion of Negroes in the South ahs slowly declined; and of those in the South, the proportion in the East South Central section increased until after the war and then decreased a little, while the proportion in the Southwest greatly increased and the proportion in the North increased 10.5 per cent. One half of one per cent in 1910 were in the West. * (insert)

The center of Negro population was in Virginia in 1790. In 1880 it moved 443 miles Southwest to Walker County in the extreme Northwestern Georgia. In 1900 and 1910 it was in the extrem northeast of Alabama, moving slightly westward. In 1920 the census showed 8,912,231 in the South; 1,472,309 in the North; and 78,591 in the far West. Since 1920 the number of Negroes in the North has greatly increased through migration so that there are probably in the North and West today, 2,000,000 or more Negroes, while the Negro population of the South has increased but little, remaining at about 9,000,000.

The proportion of Negroes in the various states varies greatly. There is not a single state in which Negores do not live, although there are very few in states like New Hampshire and North and South Dakota.

* insert

The so-called black belt represents a concentration of Negro population in the South due to cotton culture and rich land. Counties with 50 per cent or more of blacks had a Negro population as follows:

Date	Counties in which the percentage Negro was	
	50 to 74.9 %	75 or more
1910	2,870,001	1,062,483
1900	2,966,976	1,090,483
1890	1,603,400	952,570
1880	2,674,953	717,282

36-2-101

In the first fifteen years of the 20th Century, there developed the inevitable clash between those who believed in a docile and good tempered acceptance of the unfortunate facts of a racial contact, so as to gain the good will and help of the white world; and those, on the other hand, who believed in an agressive and uncompromising fight on prejudice.

36-2-103

Booker T. Washington, as statesman and writer, represented the first school, and his "Up From Slavery" was its classic. A number of other and younger writers represented by books like the "Souls of Black Folk", opposed him, while still a third and smaller number, like Kelley Miller, stood between. This period of Sturm und Drang lasted until the World War. But even before the war new writers who heralded the post-war period had begun to appear. There was William Stanley Braithwaite, poet and critic; Benjamin Brawley, historian and essayist; Carter Woodson, scientific historian; and a half dozen poets—Joseph Cotter, Jr., Fenton Johnson, George McClellan, Georgia Douglass Johnson and James Weldon Johnson.

This

Since 1920, perhaps twenty-five writers, mostly young men and women, deserve mention in Negro-American literature. Their attitude and message seems at first a little bewildering until one remembers their historical genesis. Out of the old controversy that surrounded the policies of Booker T. Washington there crystallized two attitudes of mind toward the Negro and his future in the United States. One we may call the Self-Assertive school. Their attitude ~~did~~ does not involve aggression or even agitation, but it ~~was~~ is an attitude of mind which believes that self-assertion and self-expression on the part of the black man ~~was~~ are necessary to his development as a free American citizen. On the other hand, there emerged a state of mind which we may call by the war term, Defeatist; which dispairs of or ignores any chance of self-assertion on the part of the Negro.

It simply looks the truth in the face and records ~~it~~ impressions. At most, it hopes that after surrender to the demands of the dominant white world, there may be some yielding to Negro ambition and recognition of Negro genius. Meantime, it smiles cynically at the "Problem" and at life and seeks in literature "Art for arts sake".

36-2-104

These main divisions of Negro thought are manifest in recent Negro literature. But they do not wholly explain it for, in addition, there has come a cross division separating this up and down cleft— a division between what we may roughly designate as the Realists and the Romantics.

The Romantics, unfettered by any classic tradition, dream and paint, believing, if self-assertive, in a rosy future for Negroes; if Defeatists, in a fine pessimism and grim despair. The Realists follow the general trend of post-war American literature and appeal to stark truth and facts. They either find hope as Romantics; or paint futile struggle with gay purposeless abandon as Realists.

This latter trend in Negro-American literature was especially hastened and emphasized by the success of certain white writers who exploited Negro themes in books which were both realistic and defeatist; they went ruthlessly into black slum life of the lowest level and painted no outlet for Negro ambition.

Taking now these four sets of writers, we may plot present Negro-American literature somewhat as follows: most of the recent writers belong among the self-assertive school in the sense that they believe in the Negro race and in its ultimate gaining of civil rights and artistic self-expression. These writers include the post-war work of some whom we have mentioned before, like Braithwaite, Brawley, James Weldon Johnson and Georgia Johnson. They include, especially, the newer poets, Countée Cullen, Arna Bontemps, and Lewis Alexander;

and they include novelists, like Walter White and Jessie Fauset. All these belong to the Romantic wing. But they have also their realists and realistic tendencies among themselves. To Realists of this group belong a poet like Helene Johnson, an essayist, like Franklin Frazier, and social and historical students, like Carter Woodson and Charles Johnson. Moreover, some of the work of Cullen and others can be classed among the Realists, for the line is far from fast.

Of these writers, however, only Braithwaite, Cullen and Woodson have received any wide recognition from the white American reading public. On the other hand, the Defeatists have had much wide popularity, showing that their message appeals much more to white America. Claude McKay, for instance, who was Romantic in his poetry, becomes a realistic Defeatist in his recent novel. Jean Toomer, Rudolph Fisher and Eric Walrond are intensely realistic in their short stories and at the same time Defeatists in their ideals. Langston Hughes, while a frank Realist is only at times Defeatist. Nella Larson occupies a similar position on the border line. This classification is, of course, tentative and somewhat mechanical. Tendencies in the next few years may quite invalidate it and yet in the main, it seems a fair picture of what is occurring today.

36-2-105

The dramatizing of the situation of Negroes in America, while an absorbing theme, has been held back from full expression by the strong racial prejudices involved. How, for instance, could race clash be portrayed when actors of the two races were not permitted to play on the same stage? For a long time the problems of the Negro were portrayed exclusively by white writers and actors, and his humor by white ministrels, blackened up. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and Boucicault's "Octoroon" were early and successful plays, but staged

with white players.

In time colored minstrels replaced white minstrels, but they were strictly limited to fun-making. Gradually, out of this grew the Negro musical comedy in the hands of Cole and Johnson, Williams and Walker and Ernest Hogan. More recently they have been followed by striking comedy and vaudeville artists, like Florence Mills and Josephine Baker.

For a long time the Negro actor was not allowed in serious drama. Ira Aldridge, a colored man born in Maryland, had to go to Europe for his opportunity, where he became famous and received the decorations of four nations. During the War and thereafter, white dramatists, like Torrance, O'Neill and Green, began to write serious plays on Negro themes and the managers tried colored actors. They had no particular popular success until Charles Gilpin triumphed in O'Neill's "Emperor Jones". Evelyn Preer, Paul Robeson, Frank Wilson and Rose McClendon followed the path that he blazed.

Today a few Negro dramatists are beginning to appear; first, in the folk pageant, "The Star of Ethiopia", given in four cities in 1913 thereafter; then in the labratory Theatre at Howard University, and finally, in various Little Theatres. Angeline Grimké, Mary Burrill, Willis Richardson and Eulalie Spence are some of the new Negro dramatic writers.

There were a few Negro painters before Tanner, like Bannister in 1876 and Harper in 1910; but the great Negro American painter is Henry O. Tanner, who has done most of his work in Paris and whose "Raising of Lazarus" is hung in the Luxemberg. Recently, excellent new young painters have come to the fore: W. E. Scott, who studied under Tanner, Albert A. Smith, Laura Wheeler Waring, Aaron Douglas, Hale Woodruff and a number of others.

In sculpture there is Edmonia Lewis in the past, and today, Meta Warrick Fuller, pupil of Rodin, and Mae Howard Jackson with her portrait busts of mulatto types.

The American Negro has had little opportunity to pursue a scientific career and yet no one can ignore the work on insects done by C. H. Turner, or the work in psychiatry by Dr. S. C. Fuller, or that in pathology by Dr. Julian H. Lewis of the University of Chicago. G. W. Carver of Tuskegee is a well-known agricultural chemist. Ernest Just's investigations in the marine biology place him in the front rank of modern scientists; behind these came the pioneer work of Thomas Derham in 1788 and Benjamin Banneker, who published one of the first almanacs in the United States in 1792.

36-2-107

like this will illustrate the situation:

Up until twenty years ago, it was impossible, even in a city like New York, for colored persons, to appear at public dinners and more especially, at dinners where both men and women were present, without either open insult or caustic comment in the press; up until ten years ago it was good form, even in the freest parts of the United States and in the better circles of American Negroes, for the leaders to assert publicly and vehemently, that they did not wish to be treated as social equals by their white fellow Americans.

This situation still holds true in the South and the Border States, and even in some parts of the North; but in other parts of the North, Negroes now and then are not only made welcome at public social occasion, and it has become common for Negro leaders to say frankly that like everybody else, they wish social equality wherever it is freely and voluntarily extended; and that under no circumstances, except by compulsion, will they accept a status of social inferiority.

From such outward pressure, there has arisen widespread social organization among American Negroes. Historically, this began with their churches. For two centuries the church has been the great center of American Negro life. The Negro church is not simply a religious organization. It is the only surviving social institution of the Negroes which had its roots in the African forests and survived slavery. Under the leadership of the priest and medicine man, and afterward of the Christian minister, the church preserved in itself the remnants of African tribal life, and became, after emancipation, the center of Negro social life. Out of the churches developed eventually the Negro secret and fraternal organizations, practical insurance and benevolence, and the beginnings of economic co-operation. A number of great colored church leaders, who were really guides in

social development, have arisen. Especially Richard Allen, (1760-1831), organizer of the A. M. E. Church; Asalom Jones, first colored Episcopal rector; George Leile, (1750), an early Baptist pioneer; John Chavis, (1801), a Presbyterian preacher, and Alexander Crummell, a great Episcopalian leader.

Next to the churches come the beneficial and insurance societies, of which there are probably 100, some of which are large and flourishing organizations. The secret societies, including Masons, Odd Fellows, Pithians, Elks, etc., own between five and ten million dollars worth of property and collect at least $2,000,000 a year. There are various co-operative benevolences, including homes and orphanages, hospitals and cemeteries. There are economic organizations, including some fifty small banks, a large number of building and loan associations and in all about 70,000 commercial enterprises with an annual turnover of $1,500,000,000.

By means of these organizations and individual enterprise, the American Negro has built up a group economy, so that Negro professional men and most of the Negro businessmen, serve almost exclusively a Negro clientele, while the mass of the Negroes increasingly patronize Negro professional men and Negro business. Thus, the Negro group today is serving itself with religious ministration, medical care, legal advice, and education; and partially with homes, food, books, newspapers, bank credit, photographers, hotels, beauty parlors, drug stores, undertakers, etc. This economic circle is by no means closed. The mass of colored people still work for white people. Negro professional men have white people among their clients, and Negro businessmen serve some white customers. Still the growing tendency is to form a fairly complete circle. The greatest gap remaining is the matter of capital and technical management.

~~The occupations in which there were at least five thousand men~~

or women of Negro descent employed in 1920 were as follows:

The men were employed as follows:

in agriculture	1,566,627
in extraction of minerals	72,892
in manufacturing and mechanical industries	781,827
in transportation	308,896
in trade	129,309
in public service	49,586
in professional service	41,056
in domestic and personal service	273,959
in clerical occupations	28,710

The women were employed as follows:

in agriculture	612,261
in manufacturing and mechanical industries	104,983
in trade	11,158
in professional service	39,127
in domestic and personal service	790,631
in clerical occupations	8,301

Education and intelligence among American Negroes show remarkable increase. The official figures for illiteracy are incomplete, but they indicate the trend. Of American Negroes 10 years of age and over, there were unable to read and write: 1870, 79.9%; 1880, 70%; 1890, 57.1%; 1900, 44.5%; 1910, 30.4%; 1920, 22.9%. The urban Negro population showed only 13.4% of illiteracy in 1920, which was about equal to the illiteracy of the foreign-born. It is interesting to know that illiteracy among Negro women is slightly less than that among the men.

Of the Negro population from five to twenty years of age, there were in 1920, 53.5% attending school, the girls being slightly in the majority. Of those seven to thirteen years of age, 76.5% were in school.

The corresponding figures for native whites of native parentage was 86.9% and 92.2% in 1910. 44.7% of the children five to twenty years of age were in school, and 64.1% of those seven to thirteen years of age. ¶ This ~~of course~~ gives but a partial picture of the real situation. The educational facilities offered to American Negroes are still greatly limited. There are at present 31 exclusively Negro colleges with about 3,300 students and about 1,500 other Negro students are in white colleges. The number of Negro graduating from colleges has greatly increased:

1820-1829	3
1830-1849	7
1850-1859	12
1860-1869	44
1870-1879	313
1880-1889	738
1890-1899	1,126
1900-1909	1,613
1910-1919	2,861
1920-1927	4,146

This has reference simply to the Batchelor's Degree in Arts. In addition to that a considerable number of Masters of Arts, a few Doctors of Philosophy and a large number of professional graduates may be added. ¶ The wealth and property of the Negro-American group has steadily grown. One estimate makes their total property $1,800,000,000, and their land ownership 34,000 square miles, or an area nearly as large as that of Portugal, and larger than the whole of Ireland.

There is no ~~reliable~~ accurate measure of crime in the United States. The crime census of 1923 ~~shows~~ indicates us that American Negroes, having 9.3% of the population, 18 years of age and over, furnished 23.3% of the commitments to prisons and jails. ~~Of course,~~ This is partially accounted for by the fact that it is easier in the United States to commit a Negro for alleged offenses than to commit a white person. On the other hand, crime among Negroes is decreasing. In 1910, for every 100,000 of the Negro population, 1,823 were committed to prisons

during the year. Thirteen years later, the proportion had fallen to 1,306, a decrease of over 28%. Of the committments one-fifth are for disorderly conduct, one-eighth for drunkenness, one-tenth for stealing, and one-thirteenth for vagrancy. What has been the spiritual and social result for America of this racial reaction and inner group development?

The contributions of American Negroes to the making of America have been many and continuous. First, ~~of course~~, as a labor force they laid the foundation of the enormous economic development which made modern America. They worked not simply as slaves in the furnishing of the four great crops; tobacco, rice, sugar and cotton, which with the slave trade formed the beginning of modern international trade, but they worked also as ~~free~~ artisans, ~~and~~ pioneers and inventors

Previous to the full establishment of slavery, they were ~~among~~ with the earliest of explorers, and possibly the Negro race was in America even before Columbus. Nuflo de Olana, a Negro, was with Balboa when he discovered the Pacific Ocean; Many were with Cortes, De Soto and other Spanish explorers. Negro artisans helped Menendez found St. Augustine in 1565. Stephen Dorantes, a Negro, was was with the Narvaez expedition, was himself the discoverer of what is now Arizona, New Mexico and the Southwest of the United States in 1539.

Negro soldiers have fought in all American wars. A few of them were in the Colonial Wars. About 4,000 were in the Continnental Army during the war for American independence, which was as large a proportion (9%) of American Negroes as of American whites; although seven-eighths of the blacks were in slavery. In the War of 1812, Negroes distinguished themselves on the high seas and Battle of Lake Erie, among the land forces, and particularly at the Battle of New Orleans, where they formed over one-eighth of the soldiers in line. In the Civil War, they not only furnished a large number of laborers, helpers and spies, but also 180,000 enrolled soldiers, which represented over 4% of the total

46-2-129

Negro population, slave and free. The free white North furnished 10%. In the World War, the Negro forming one-tenth of the population, furnished 13% of the soldiers called to the colors; 342,277 Negroes were accepted for full military service. The Negro by his insistent struggle to be free in the United States has broadened the basis of Democracy in America and in the world. This was not only by means of a continuous series of slave insurrections in the West Indies and on the continent ~~which culminated~~ culminating in the freedom of Haiti and the consequent gift of the vast territory of Louisiana to the United States; but it was also carried out by the systematic running away of slaves under organized Negro leadership, and by a continuous appeal by Negroes to the conscience of America from the early 18th Century down to the Civil War.

After the Civil War it was Negro loyalty and the Negro vote alone that restored the South to the Union, established a new Democracy, both for white people and black, established the first system of popular education in the South, and began a new social legislation. Negro women as workers have done much to free the American working women from the harem idea of cloistered ease.

Many distinguished Americans have been of Negro descent. The first National Holiday of the United States was the Fifth of March which marked the death of Crispus Attucks, a mulatto, in the initial clash of the Revolutionary War. ~~Richard Allen, was a great black religious leader, while John Steward founded the mission work of the white Methodist Episcopal Church. David Walker was one of the earliest Abolitionists;~~ Frederick Douglass shares with William Lloyd Garrison the honors of the fight for the emancipation of slaves. Sojourner Truth was a singularly successful Abolitionist and radical agitator. Prince Hall, a Negro, was a pioneer Mason, deriving his authority directly from England. Granville Wood was an inventor of parts of the telephone.

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and Matseliger's inventions revolutionized shoemaking. Elijah McCoy was the inventor of modern locomotive lubrication. Booker T. Washington was a pioneer in industrial education and a statesman in inter-racial adjustment. Mat Henson went to the North Pole with Peary.

There have been two Negro Senators and 21 Congressmen and several judges on the Bench. Charles Young, a West Point graduate, was one of the best officers in the American army. Many other Americans, including statesmen of the highest rank, churchmen and artists, have been of Negro descent, although this fact was seldomed mentioned in their careers.

In literature and art the Negro has done much for America. First and foremost comes, of course, the Negro folk-song.

"Little of beauty has America given the world save the rude grandeur God himself stamped on her bosom; the human spirit in this new world has expressed itself in vigor and ingenuity rather than in beauty. And so by fateful chance the Negro folk-song—the rhythmic cry of the slave—stands today not simply as the sole American music, but as the most beautiful expression of human experience on this side of the seas. It has been neglected, it has been persistently mistaken and misunderstood; but notwithstanding, it still remains as the singular spiritual heritage of the nation and the greatest gift of the Negro people."

To this must be added the Negro rhythm in other forms of music and in dancing and the recent development of the Negro idiom of white composers like Dvorak and the colored composers like Handy, Burleigh and Dett.

Turning to literature, we think first of the passive contribution of the Negro of the extent to which he has been the object of thought and writing, characterization and caricature, by white Americans. It is not too much to say that without the Negro, white American literature would have lost its main theme. The early colonial writers wrote about

him and the masters of the nineteenth century like Emerson, Whittier, Lowell, Whitman, Howe and Stowe. Later writers like Cabel, Paige, Howells and Hittinson often turned to the Negro and in the recent renaissance of literature in the South, Green, Heywood and Peterkin have used Negro themes. Negro folk lore is almost the only folk lore indigenous of American soil and while it was first put into literary form by a white writer, Joel Chandler Harris, it is in its essence a Negro contribution.

The contribution of Negro writers to American literature.

36-2-59

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The forerunner of these poets was Paul Laurence Dunbar, who published "Lyrics of Lowly Life" in 1896. We have the annual "Anthologies of Magazine Verse", edited by William Stanley Braithwaite since 1913.

There are several collections of Negro biographies. The most notable autobiographies are: "The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass"; and Booker T. Washington's "Up From Slavery".

The leading white writers who have made recent studies in the Negro's problems are: E. P. Reuter, "The American Race Problem", 1927; Melvill J. Herskovits, "American Negro", 1928; L. I. Dublin, "Health and Wealth", chapter 12, 1928; H. A. Miller, "Races, Nations and Classes"; F. G. Detweiter, "Negro Press in the United States; E. P. Reuter, "The Mulatto in the United States"; Mary White Ovington, "Portraits in Color", 1927.

36-2-75

THE AMERICAN NEGROES

INTRODUCTION. One-half page. 700. ~~2 th mss~~

The Slave Trade; the Growth and Physique of the Negro population.

PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL CONTACT. One page. 1400 ~~4 th mss~~

Slavery, Emancipation, Civil and Political Rights.

16 th

SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT, Two pages. 2800 ~~8 th mss~~

36-2-37

Distribution of the population, sex, age, conjugal condition, education, organization, occupation, land and property, religion and crime, literature, science and art.

PICTURES.

Douglas, Bruce, Dunbar, Tanner, Chesnutt, Woodson, McCoy, Washington, Young, Payne, Aldridge, Burleigh.

1400
700
2800
4900

1. The slave trade.

2. Growth and physique of the Negro-American population, including death rate, emancipation, etc.

3. Social history, including slavery, emancipation, civil and political rights.

4. Social conditions, including the distribution of the pupulation, sex, age and conjugal condition, education, occupation, land and property, religion and crime.

5. Problems of racial contact, including discriminatory laws and customs and a general statement of the Negro problem.

6. The Negro in social leadership, literature, science and art.

7. References and bibliography.

8. Pictures.

		Pages
1.	The slave trade.	¼
2.	Growth and physique of the Negro-American population, including death rate, amalgamation, etc.	½
3.	Social history, including slavery, emancipation, civil and political rights.	¾
4.	Social conditions, including the distribution of the population, sex, age and conjugal condition, education, occupation, land and property, religion and crime.	1
5.	Problems of racial contact, including discrimimatory laws and customs and a general statement of the Negro problem.	½
6.	The Negro in social leadership, literature, science and art.	2
7.	References and bibliography.	1/8
8.	Pictures.	1
	Total	5 7/8

36-2-39

Dec 2 1927

36-2-40

1. The slave trade.
2. Growth and physique of the Negro-American population, including death rate, emancipation, etc.
3. Social history, including slavery, emancipation, civil and political rights.
4. Social conditions, including the distribution of the population, sex, age and conjugal condition, education, occupation, land and property, religion and crime.
5. Problems of racial contact, including discriminatory laws and customs and a general statement of the Negro problem.
6. The Negro in social leadership, literature, science and art.
7. References and bibliography.
8. Pictures.

Introduction ½

Problems of racial contact 1

Social & intellectual development 2

Pictures 1

Negro in ... Church Structural Education Art

§3. (8th) Social & Structural Development 1924 1813 55

As a result of migration, enslavement, emancipation & 65 years of restricted free citizenship we have had racial, social problems and a developing nation in a nation

old idea of homogeneous nation
new idea of progressive growth culture
Negro in & structure " "

Total picture – intermarriage, ~~color~~ economic interdependence, segregation
& get a group formed & welded first by slavery, then
formerly, then color caste, now race & social group loyalty & ideal

The physical growth (Hankins) p. 19-22, 25-6, 30-33.
This population is distributed.

36-2-108

The age composition has changed considerably
The excess of male slaves existent gone 1034 & every
thousand females in 1820 & a normal larger proportion
earlier. This doubled to 1003 in 1830, 996 in 1860
& 989 in 1810 & 992 in 192. The whites in 1920
had 1044. The age composition shows a decreasing
proportion of children under 14 & an increase of those 45 years
of age & more. Negroes marry considerable earlier than
whites and marriages are broken by death not divorce
remarriage more frequently

Education & intelligence show remarkable increase The
official figures of illiteracy of Negroes 10 years of age & over are

1870 –	79.9	1910 –	30.4
80	70	1920 –	22.9
90	57.1		
00	44.5		

Negro literature

The Dark Ages
Voices before 1910
Wesley Chesnutt, B.T.W., Dunbar, Williams, Henry Mark

The Renaissance 1910-25
Growth - self consciousness - expression.

1 Telling one's own adventures
Horton, Downing, Wallace, Wright Cuney, Reynolds, Wallace Thurman
B.T.W., Pickens, Private Cotton
Loss of Innocence - self consciousness

2. The Problem
K Miller, Fauset - Reynolds, crisis Messenger Press [Schuyler]

3. Sexual Ethics
A.V. Shirley, Van Vechten, Haynes, Work, Gruelthorpe
[Shuyler] Ellis

4. The Past
Woodson, Bassett, Jarvis, Scott, Hurston Shepherd, Bontemps
[Sir Harry J. Nicholas, N.W. Adams]

5 The Present
Poetry { J.W. Johnson, McClellan, McKay, Cullen
G. Johnson, Hughes, Cullen, Hill, Braithwaite
[Locke, Fauset, C.B. Johnson, Cornhill] [Kerlin]
[Moore, Toomer, Jones.
Fiction { B.W. Huppe, Fauset, White [Ovington, Fortune, Heyward]
Drama Reckardson [Locke] [Edelstein]
Prose Folk lore - J.W. Johnson, Talley Cullen.

6 New Negro.

36-2-31

Negro Literature

Biography

~~Heroes~~ N. Negro Leaders of Today — Cromwell, R.R. Moton, Holly Clan., Locke, Elder & Tr. [Carl Miller]

N. Problems

Kelly Miller — C.W. Roman — Cisco, Lynch, Frazier (Rogers)

Economics

B.T. Washington, Q & Studies, N. in Chicago, Haynes, Locke, Ellis, Thakeyan work, general bur. [Sutton Oliganday] [Delmeiler] [Seligman]

N. Theology

Woodson, Brawley, Scott, Jones (Slevin, Brawley) [Johnson N. in new World]
Hunton & Johnson

Poetry

Cullen, McKay, J.W. Johnson, G. Johnson, Hughes, Cotter, Hill, McClellan, Braithwaite [Kerlin] (more, Zenia Johnson, Cromwell, McClellan) Margaret C.B. Johnson

Fiction

Fauset, Fauset, Torrence, White, J.W. Johnson, B. Jones [Ovington, Hayward, Fishback]

Plays

Richardson (Grimké) [Sheldon]

Annuals & Old Ans

Johnson, Talley, J.S. Cotter [Odum & Johnson]

New Negro.

36-2-32

Colored

~~[illegible] in Books~~

~~Ham [illegible]~~

Johnson Jones

J. A Rogers

Wm. F. Vassall

Under the Skin

R.R. Moton

E. Franklin Frazier

Negro in Chicago

The Brownies' Book

Negro Year Book

With the Red Hand in France

McClung's Title Legality of Negro Exclusion

Negro Soldiers

Negro Regiments in U.S. Army

Hunter & Johnson

2 col. women teach in A&T

J. Negro Reader

Upton, Crawford

Goodtown

Mississippi Blues

Clarksdale Bank

C Barton Johnson Yazoo "

Locke Hill

William Penn

Maria Quander

R. Jamison

Mrs Jackson down

R.T. Washington

Under Reed Problems

Bruce Negro Athletes

Brotherwoods

Kelly Miller

C.G. Woodson

Rudolf Tucker

Desire Parent

Countie Cullen

Dan Toomer

Claude McKay

Walter White

A.C. Rhodes

J.W. Johnson

Georgia "

J.S. Cotter Jr.

L. Hughes

Wilbur Reichmann

A H Taylor

(Locke)

Talley

Brawley

Upton

Mississippi Woods

Country - Hare - Negro Country

Negro Types & Traits

Creole Army

36-2-33

Mrs. Hall
Weymouth
Turbank.

Mabel Rowland: Bert Williams
Chicago Exhibition Odyssey
Delineator Negro Race.
Burleigh
Fleischmann
Kerlin
Odum & Johnson.
Oberholtzer
Woodson Negro
Negro Family
Archer Slave Afro-American
Johnston: Negro in New World
Sheldon: The Negro
Varick Lindsay

W. T. Carmichael

Crisis April 1919

Mary Burrill - Aftermath

C 18 - 92

Lem R Harris C 18-246

Du Bois Darkwater

Cobb's Unmuzzled Ethiopia

Beasley, N.T. Trail Blazers

Scott: Negro Migration

36-2-34

Diary: Geo T Downing – by S.A.M. Wadsworth

Geo E. Haynes
Negro as Work in Ney C.

J.W.J. Anthony
Ex Colrd Man

J.D. Corrothers Poems & Dr. Eph of the Colored

W.H. Ferris The African Abroad

Lynch: Reconstruction

Cromwell: N. in American Society

Elemwood: Harlem Renaissance

L. Lawrence: Edgar Tolson

J.W. Ellis: Negro Culture in W Africa

W.H. Halbeclain Black Man's Burden

J.S. Cotton Negro Tales
Band of Gideon

~~J.H. Roe~~

William Pickens Biographer.

J.M. McClellan

C.W. Russell: American Civ. & Negro

World Negro Year Book

Scott & Stowe: B.T.W

The Messenger

R.R. Wright Cyclopedia

Richard Wallace: My life & work

30-2-35

Raeby
amerman
Brookdale
Doss

N. Brookins
IC Fuller.
J.A Rogers
Criss
Dodson

N. Wesley
C.G. Woodson.
Brawley
Scott
Stewart
Beasley

N. Fisher
Fisher
Jarrett
Turner
Wesley

W. Pooley
Cullen
McKay
J.W. Johnson
G Johnson
L. Hughes
Cullen Jr.
Hill
Moore
Zenobia Johnson
Countee
Ina Cullen

Crosby
A.C. Stokes
B.T. Washington
N. in Chicago
Goldsmith
Haynes
~~Armour~~
Ellis
Work

36-2-36

Plenty
Richardson

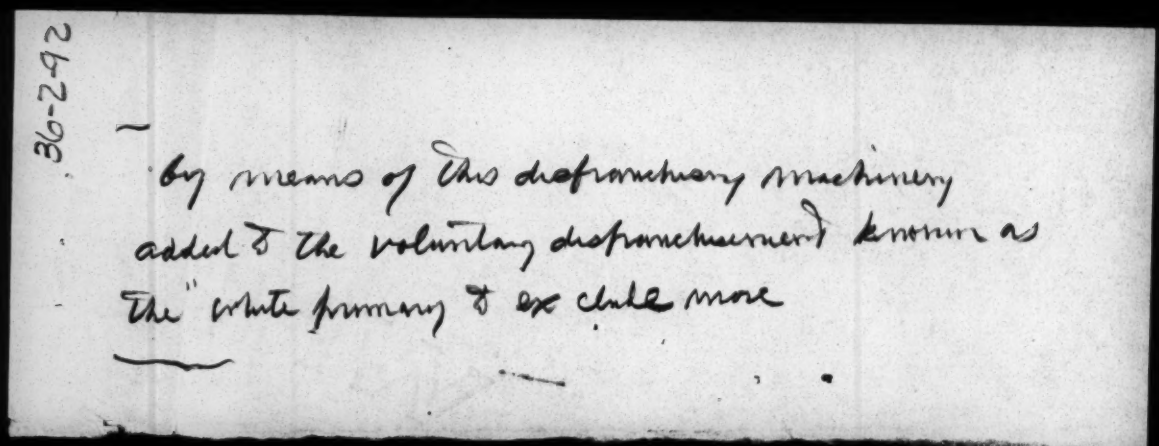
Yolande
Talley

Pauline
Lipscomb

Essary
Fraser

Bray
Amy Hare
Perkins

Moore



The alternative was to give the Negro political power, and through this he forced himself into freedom by the establishment of public schools, by protecting himself as a wage laborer, and by beginning a new social legislation. His political power was quickly curtailed and he was largely disfranchised by indirect methods, but he had already gone too far toward freedom to be entirely re-enslaved. There persisted, however, not only the problem of restoration of his political rights but the question of his economic and social status.

30-2-93

The disfranchisement of Negro citizens by direct and indirect methods has curiously complicated the working out of Democratic Government in the United States. During slavery in determining the basis of congressional representation, five slaves counted as three white men; after emancipation came, each Negro counted as one.

But the Negroes were kept from voting at first by force and intimidation, then by fraud and finally by a series of laws which puported to disfranchise the illiterate, the propertyless, and those who did not pay their poll tax. At the same time, until this part of the law was declared unconstitutional, hereditary descent from one who had the right to vote before emancipation entitled a person to register. The result of these laws was to disfranchise the majority of Negroes. Meantime, however, the Negroes have increased in wealth and intelligence. Nevertheless, in a state like Louisiana, where over 100,000 adult Negroes can read and write, and where Negroes own large amounts of property, only 980 were allowed to register. And in Mississippi, only 850 were registered out of a total literate population, twenty-one years of age and over, of 290,000. Moreover, this disfranchisement of Negroes is accompanied by a more or less voluntary disfranchisement of whites through a white primary system which forces through public opinion and economic pressure over white voters to enter a single party primary and to promise to abide by the results. That is, to disfranchise themselves from all choice in the real elections. The singular result is that although the population of 11 Southern states has increased 100% since 1888, the number of voters in the Presidential Elections has increased only 50%, and that disfranchised woman suffrage. In five states of the Southern South with an equally large increase in population, the number of voters has remained stationary. Thus, the continued disfranchisement of the Negro American in the South is hastening a crisis similar to the ~~Routine Bureau~~ "Rotten Borough" crisis of the time of the first Reform Bill, ~~which~~ 97 actually happens that today nine thousand voters in South Carolina exercise as much power in Congress as 90,000 voters in Ohio.

36-2-20

In the first fifteen years of the 20th Century, there developed the inevitable clash between those who believed in a docile and good-tempered acceptance of the unfortunate facts of a racial contact, so as to gain the good will and help of the white world; and those, on the other hand, who believed in an agressive and uncompromising fight on prejudice.

Booker T. Washington, as statesman and writer, represented the first school, and his "Up From Slavery" was its classic. A number of other and younger writers represented by books like the "Souls of Black Folk", opposed him, while still a third and smaller number, like Kelley Miller, stood between. This period of Sturm und Drang lasted until the World War. But even before the war new writers who heralded the post-wurm period had begun to appear. There was William Stanley Braithwaite, poet and critic; Benjamin Brawley, historian and essayist; Carter Woodson, scientific historian; and a half dozen poets—Joseph Cotter, Jr., Fenton Johnson, George McClellan, Georgia Douglass Johnson and James Weldon Johnson.

36-2-81

For the special achievements of the American Negro in Art, Music, Literature, etc., see special articles on these subjects.

Since 1920, perhaps twenty-five writers, mostly young men and women, deserve mention in Negro-American literature. Their attitude and message seems at first a little bewildering until one remembers their historical genesis. Out of the old controversy that surrounded the policies of Booker T. Washington there crystallized two attitudes of mind toward the Negro and his future in the United States. One we may call the Self-Assertive school. Their attitude does not involve aggression or even agitation, but it is an attitude of mind which believes that self-assertion and self-expression on the part of the black man are necessary to his development as a free American citizen. On the other hand, there emerged a state of mind which we may call by the war term,

36-2-93

Next to the churches come the beneficial and insurance societies, of which there are ~~probably 100~~ a hundred or more, some of which are large and flourishing organizations covering several states. The secret societies, including Masons, Odd Fellows, Pythians, Elks, etc., own between ~~five and ten~~ ten and fifteen million dollars worth of property and collect at least $3,000,000 a year. There are various co-operative benevolences,

including homes and orphanages, hospitals and cemeteries. There are economic organizations, including some fifty small banks, a large number of building and loan associations, and in all about 70,000 commercial enterprises with an estimated annual overturn of $1,500,000,000.

36-2-94

By means of these organizations and by individual enterprise, the American Negro has built up a group economy, so that Negro professional men and most of the Negro business men, serve almost exclusively a Negro clientele, while the mass of the Negroes increasingly patronize Negro professional men and Negro business. Thus, the Negro group today is serving itself with religious ministration, medical care, legal advice, and education; and partially with homes, food, books, newspapers, bank credit, photographers, hotels, beauty parlors, drug stores, undertakers, etc. This economic circle is by means closed. The mass of colored people still works for white people. ~~Negro professional men have white people among their clients, and Negro business men serve some white customers.~~ Still the growing tendency is to form a fairly complete circle. The greatest gap remaining is the matter of capital and technical management.

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46-2-137

36-2-91

States; because the Southern states count the whole population, white and black, as the basis of their representation in Congress, but allow only the whites to vote, so that the Southern whites have thus double political power. Further than that, and in order to insure no political difference among the whites which might induce some group to appeal to for support in return for the right to vote, ~~enfranchise~~ the Negroes, the dominant political party of the South has proceeded by ~~means of this disfranchising machinery~~ to create more white voters than Negro voters. This singular result is, shown by the fact that although the popula-

States; because the Southern states count the whole population, white and black, as the basis of their representation in Congress, but allow only the whites to vote, so that the Southern whites have thus double political power. Further than that, and in order to insure no political difference among the whites which might induce some group to appeal to the Negroes for support in return for the right to vote, the dominant political party of the South has proceeded by means of this disfranchising machinery added to the voluntary disfranchisement known as the "white primary" to exclude more white voters than Negro voters. This singular result is shown by the fact that although the popula-

46-2-139

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

2. Problems of Social Contact

The vast stretches of new free land in America called for laborers. Economic conditions in England in the 17th Century had filled the jails and workhouses with paupers and vagrants. Systematic effort was made to send these to America as indentured servants. Convicts

821-2-128

36-2-99

The sex composition of the American Negroes has changed considerably. The existence of males, reaching the United States under the slave system, was large, and even as late as 1820 there were a a thousand one hundred and thirty-four males to every thousand females. This dropped to a thousand and three in 1830 and 996 in 1860. There was 992 in 1920. The corresponding figures for the whites in 1920 was a thousand and forty-four males to every thousand females, showing more unstabled population due to white emmigration.

The age composition shows decreasing population of children under fourteen and an increasing population of adults forty-five years of age and more. Negroes marry somewhat earlier than whites and their marriages are broken by death and divorce a little more frquently.

DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY

Biographies of James DeWolf, Frederick Douglass, Elijah Johnson, Joseph Jenkins Roberts, Edward James Roye, John Brown Russwurm. Prepared for the Dictionary of American Biography, 1928-37.

De Wolf, James, (March 18, 1764 to December 21, 1837), slave trader, manufacturer and senator, was born in Bristol County, Rhode Island and was the seventh son of Mark A. and Abigail (Potter) De Wolf. Both his father and his brother-in-law were sea-faring men and had been interested in slave raiding in French Guinea. The family was poor and the boys hoed corn on their father's farm until throwing down their hoes, the walked to Providence and sailed upon one of Potter's privateers. This was during the Revolutionary War and the sea was infested with private pirates who increased in audacity and lucrative gain after the French Revolution.

36-1-10

James De Wolf went through wild experiences. He fought in many naval battles, was captured twice by the enemy and once was imprisoned. The result of this cruelty and hardship made him a man of force and indomitable energy with no nice ethical distinctions. Before his twentieth birthday he was master of a ship and before he was twenty-five, he had accumulated wealth enough to make him independent for the rest of his life.

His earliest voyages were made to Africa where he siezed and transported Negroes as slaves to the West Indies. Prividence merchants of highest commercial and social standing backed him in this trade. Apparently he had no qualms of conscience, and often went to Southern ports personally to supervise the sale of his captured Negroes. He was careful to follow the lines of largest profit. While the slave trade was flourishing after the Revolutionary War, his ships were in it. Later they turned to the furs of the North West coast, to whale fishing and even went to China. His principal trade was in the West

Indies and when, in 1804, South Carolina threw open her ports to the importation of Negroes because of the threatened national prohibition, Mr. De Wolf leaped to aid and ten of the two hundred and two vessels that entered Charleston between 1804 and 1808 belonged to him.

The attitude of England during the Napoleonic Wars greatly angered and embarrassed De Wolf and he sustained great losses through the impressment of seamen. He was a strong advocate for fighting England and eleven days after the declaration of the War of 1812, he offered the government at his own expense "an armed brig, (one of the most suitable in this country for a privateer) of one hundred and sixty tons burden, mounting eighting guns and carries one hundred and twenty men, called the 'Yankee', commanded by Oliver Wilson". The "Yankee" was immensely successful. It made six cruises in less than three years and captured more than five million dollars worth of British property.

36-1-11

After the close of the War, Mr. De Wolf sensed the coming development of manufactures in the United States. Gradually he withdrew his capital from shipping and he had already built one of the earliest cotton mills in the United States in 1812. He sensed, too, that the new industry needed political influence. For thirty years he represented the town of Bristol in the Rhode Island legislature, becoming finally, Speaker of the House and in 1821 he was elected to the United States Senate. Here he was a strong advocate of protection for the new young industries and he also opposed the extention of slavery to Missouri and the West. His interest now was no longer with the Negro slave but with the white mill laborer.

He did not like the atmosphere of Washington and resigned his seat in the Senate in 1825 and returned to the legislature of Rhode Island. He made the town of Bristol his especial care. Here on a great plantation of one thousand acres, he built himself a stately mansion and he devised many schemes for the advancement of the town and its industries.

Mr. De Wolf was tall and commanding in person and very careful about his dress. He married a daughter of William Bradford and died in New York City.

36-1-12

The chief sources of information about James De Wolf are: W. H. Monro, The History of Bristol, Rhode Island, Providence, 1880; W. H. Monro, Tales of an Old Sea Port, Princeton, 1917; C. B. Perry, Charles D'Wolf of Guadeloupe, His Ancestors and Descendents, New York, 1902.

(National Encyclopedia of Biography, 1900)

De Wolf, James, senator, was born in Bristol County, Rhode Island, March 18, 1764, son of Mark Anthony and Abigail (Potter) De Wolf. His opportunities for education were limited and during the Revolutionary war he left his home and shipped as a sailor boy on a private armed vessel. He participated in several naval encounters, was twice captured by the enemy and was confined for some time on the island of Bermuda. His zeal and ability quickly brought him to notice. Before he was twenty years of age, he was made the master of a ship. His earliest voyages as captain were made to the Coast of Africa in the slave trade. His employers were Providence merchants of the very highest commercial and social standing. Mr. De Wolf retired from the sea at an early age, and, settling in Bristol, engaged in extended commercial ventures that soon made him one of the wealthiest men in the United States. His principal business was in Cuba and other West Indian islands. He also built up a large trade with the ports of both northern and Southern Europe, especially with those of Russia. He entered somewhat into the China trade, and when the whale fishery was revived, many of his ships were transformed into whalers. In 1804 the ports of South Carolina were opened for four years for the importation of slaves; and of the 202 vessels that entered the port of Charleston during that period, 10 and their African cargoes belonged to Mr. De Wolf. When the war of 1812 broke out, he eagerly took part in it, and eleven days after war was proclaimed, his private and armed brig of War, the Yankee, was ready for sea. Mr. De.Wolf was one of the pioneers in the business of cotton manufacturing. In 1812 he built

36-1-13

in Coventry, Rhode Isla[illegible], the Arkwright Mills. Like all his enterprises they were immedia[illegible]ly and continuously successful. For nearly thirty years Mr. De Wolf represented Bristol in the General Assembly of his native State. In 1821, he entered the United States Senate as one of the members from Rhode Island. In the senate his unequalled business experience made him the recognized authority in all matters purely commercial. He was a strong Protectionist and was the first to propose the "drawing back system", which has since become so popular. He resigned his seat in 1825. Until his death he continued to represent Bristol in the General Assembly of Rhode Island. As a citizen he filled a position ne one ever held before. It may be questioned whether the interests of a town were ever more completely identified with those of an individual than were Bristol's with his. Mr. De Wolf married a daughter of William Bradford. He died in New York City, Dec. 21, 1837.

36-1-14

Douglass, Frederick (February 1817?—February 20, 1895). Abolitionist, orator, journalist, was named Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey, but assumed the name of Douglass after his escape from slavery. He was born at Tuckahoe near Easton, Talbot County, Maryland, the son of an unknown white father, and Harriet Bailey, a Negro slave, who had also some Indian blood. Thus, as some one has said, Douglass was "thrice an American".

His life was an epitome of American slavery and also a singularly complete human document. Born in slavery, he died in vigorous old age as one of the best and most widely known Americans and the first American Negro to achieve international fame. Physically he was a commanding person, over six feet in height, with brown skin, frizzly hair, leonine head, strong constitution and a fine voice.

He experienced as a child all the vicissitudes of a Negro in the border states—neglect and cruelty, indulgence and hard work; but particularly the tyranny and circumscription of an ambitious human being who was legally classed as real estate.

He turned at last upon his cruelest master, and by fighting back for the first time, realized that resistance paid even in slavery. He was sent to Baltimore as a house servant and learned to read and write with the assistance of his mistress. Soon he conceived the possibility of freedom. The settlement of his dead master's estate sent him back to the country as a field hand. He conspired with a half dozen of his fellows to escape but their plan was betrayed and he was thrown in jail. His master's forbearance secured his return to Baltimore where he learned the trade of a ship's caulker and eventually was permitted to hire his own time. A second attempt to escape September 3, 1838, was entirely successful. He came to New York City; married Anna

Murray, a free colored woman whom he had met in Baltimore, and together they went to New Bedford, where he became a common laborer.

Suddenly a career opened. He had read Garrison's Liberator, and in 1841 he attended a convention of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in Nantucket. An abolitionist who had heard him speak to his colored friends asked him to address the convention. He did so with hesitation and stammering, but as William Lloyd Garrison testifies, with extraordinary effect: "I think I never hated slavery so intensely as at that moment," wrote Garrison.

36-1-17

Much to his own surprise, he was immediately employed as an agent to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. He took part in the Rhode Island campaign against the new constitution which proposed the disfranchisement of the blacks; and he became the central figure in the famous "One Hundred Conventions" of the New England Anti-Slavery Society held in New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, Ohio, Indiana and Pennsylvania. It was a baptism of fire and brought out the full stature of the man. He was mobbed and mocked, beaten, compelled to ride in "Jim Crow" cars, and refused accommodations; but he carried the program through to the bitter end.

It is not too much to say that with all the fundamental pioneer work of Lundy, Garrison and Phillips, it was Frederick Douglass that made the abolition argument unanswerable. He was exhibit "A" of the Anti-Slavery crusade. Theoretical attacks upon the system could be answered, but Douglass was an unanswerable fact. Any system of human industry which made him a chattel was inherently wrong; and everybody who listened to the blazing eloquence of this young, handsome giant, had to agree with his indictment even if they saw no remedy.

Persons who had heard Douglass on the platform, began to doubt his story. They questioned if this man who talked good English and

bore himself with independent self-assertion, could ever have been a slave. Thereupon Douglass wrote his Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass which Wendell Phillips advised him to burn. It was a daring recital of facts and might lead to his re-enslavement. Douglass published the little book in 1845 and then, to avoid possible consequences, he visited Great Britain and Ireland. Here he remained two years. He met nearly all of the English Liberals—the aged Clarkson, John Bright, Lord Brougham, Douglas Jerrold and others. For the first time in his life he was treated as a man and an equal. The resultant effect upon his character was tremendous. He began to conceive emancipation not simply as physical freedom; but as social equality and economical and spiritual opportunity.

He returned to the United States in 1847 with money to buy his freedom and to establish a newspaper for the American Negro. Differences immediately arose with his white abolition friends. Garrison did not believe such a journal was needed and others even more radical, thought that the very buying of his freedom was condoning slavery. Differences, too arose as to political procedure in the abolition campaign.

In all these matters, Douglass was eminently practical. With all his intense feeling and his reasons for greater depth of feeling than any white abolitionist, he had a clear head and a steady hand. He allowed his freedom to be bought from his former master; he established the North Star and issued it for seventeen years; and he co-operated with the Liberty party which finally became the Republican party and elected Abraham Lincoln president.

The years from 1847 to 1859 were, nevertheless, exceedingly difficult. Douglass lectured, supported woman suffrage, took part in politics, tried to help Harriet Beecher Stowe to establish an industrial school for colored youth, and counseled with John Brown. When Brown was arrested, the Governor of Virginia tried to apprehend Douglass as a conspirator.

Douglass hastily fled to Canada and for six months again lectured in England and Scotland.

With the War came his great opportunity. He thundered against slavery as its real cause; he offered black men as soldiers and plead with black men to give their services. He assisted in recruiting the celebrated Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Massachusetts colored regiments, giving his own sons as first recruits. Lincoln called him into conference and during Reconstruction, Douglass agitated in support of Negro suffrage and civil rights.

36-1-19

His life ended in ease and honor. He became successively Secretary of the Santo Domingo Commission, Marshall and Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia, and finally United States Minister to Haiti. His second marriage to a white woman, Miss Helen Pitts, in 1884, brought a flurry of criticism, but he laughingly remarked that he was quite impartial—his first wife "was the color of my mother, and the second, the color of my father". Frederick Douglass died after an all day attendance at a woman suffrage convention. His death brought tribute from the whole world, and with them, that deathless line of Theodore Tilton, his friend:

"He was a peer of princes—yea a king!
"Crowned in the shambles and the prison-pen!
The noblest slave that ever God set free!"

The chief sources of information about Frederick Douglass are his autobiographies:

1. The narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, written by himself. Boston, 1845. Republished in England and translated into French and German.

2. My Bondage and My Freedom. New York, 1855.

3. Life and Times of Frederick Douglass. Written by himself. Hartford, 1882, and Boston, 1892.

The best biographies are the following:

Frederick Douglass, the Colored Orator. By F. H. Holland. New York, 1891.

Frederick Douglass. By Charles W. Chesnutt. Boston, 1899.

Frederick Douglass. By Booker T. Washington. Philadelphia, 1907.

There are numerous references in the Life of William Lloyd Garrison, by his children, and throughout the literature of the abilition controversy. Many of Douglass's speeches have been published.

36-1-15

Frederick Douglass (1 copy)

The chief sources of information about Frederick Douglass are his autobiographies:

1. The narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, written by himself. Boston, 1845. Re-published in England and translated into French and German.

2. My Bondage and My Freedom. New York, 1855.

3. Life and Times of Frederick Douglass. Written by himself. Hartford, 1882, and Boston, 1892.

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Frederick Douglass. By Charles W. Chesnutt. Boston.

Frederick Douglass. By Booker T. Washington. Philadelphia, 1907.

There are numerous references in the Life of William Lloyd Garrison by his children, and throughout the literature of the abolition controversy.

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FREDERICK DOUGLASS

Chronology

1817

Frederick Douglass was born at Tuckahoe, near Easton, Talbot County, Maryland.

1825

Was sent to Baltimore to live with a relative of his master.

1833

March. Was taken to St. Michael's, Maryland, to live again with his master.

1834

January. Was sent to live with Edward Covey, slave breaker, with whom he spent a year.

1835-36

Hired to William Freeland. Made an unsuccessful attempt to escape from slavery. Was sent to Baltimore to learn the ship-calker's trade.

1838

May. Hired by his own time and worked at his trade.

September 3. Escaped from slavery and went to New York City. Married Miss Anna Murray. Went to New Bedfore, Massachusetts. Assumed the name of "Douglass".

1841

Attended Anti-Slavery Convention at New Bedford and addressed the meeting. Was employed as agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

1842

Took part in Rhode Island campaign against Dorr constitution.

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Lectured on slavery. Moved to Lynn, Massachusetts.

1843

Took part in the famous "One Hundred Conventions" of the New England Anti-Slavery Society.

1844

Lectured with Pillsbury, Foster, and others.

1845

Published Frederick Douglass' Narrative.

1845-46

Visited Great Britain and Ireland. Remained in Europe two years lecturing on slavery and other subjects. Was presented by English friends with money to purchase his freedom and establish a newspaper.

1847

Returned to the United States. Moved with his family to Rochester, New York. Established the North Star, subsequently renamed Frederick Douglass' Paper. Visited John Brown at Springfield, Massachusetts.

1848

Lectured on slavery and woman suffrage.

1849

Edited newspaper. Lectured against slavery. Assisted the escape of fugitive slaves.

1850

May 7. Attended meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society at New York City. Running debate with Captain Rynders.

1852

Supported the Free Soil Party. Elected delegate from Rochester, to Free Soil Convention at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Supported John

P. Hale for the Presidency.

1853

Visited Harriet Beecher Stowe at Andover, Massachusetts, with reference to an industrial school for colored youth.

1854

Opposed repeal of Missouri Compromise.

June 12. Delivered commencement address at Western Reserve College, Hudson, Ohio.

1855

Published My Bondage and my Freedom.

March. Addressed the New York Legislature.

1856

Supported Freemont, candidate of the Republican Party.

1858

Established Douglass' Monthly. Entertained John Brown at Rochester.

1859

August 20. Visited John Brown at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania.

May 12. Went to Canada to avoid arrest for alleged complicity in the John Brown raid.

November 12. Sailed from Quebec to England. Lectured and spoke in England, Scotland, for six months.

1860

Returned to the United States. Supported Lincoln for Presidency.

1862

Lectured and spoke in favor of the war and against slavery.

1863

Assisted in recruiting Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Massachusetts colored regiments. Invited to visit President Lincoln.

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1864

Supported Lincoln for re-election.

1866

Was active in procuring the franchise for the freedmen. September. Elected delegate from Rochester to National Loyalists Convention at Philadelphia.

1869

Moved to Washington, D. C. Established the New National Era.

1870

Appointed Secretary of the Santo Domingo Commission by President Grant.

1872

Appointed Councillor of the District of Columbia. Elected Presidential elector of the State of New York, and chosen by the electoral college to take the vote to Washington.

1876

Delivered address at the unveiling of Lincoln Statue at Washington.

1877

Appointed Marshal of the District of Columbia by President Hayes.

1878

Visited his old home in Maryland and met his old master.

1879

Bust of Frederick Douglass placed in Sibley Hall, of Rochester University. Spoke against the proposed Negro exodus from the South.

1881

Appointed Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia.

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1882

January. Published Life and Times of Frederick Douglass, the third and last of his biographies.

August 4. Mrs. Frederick Douglass died.

1884

February 6. Attended funeral of Wendell Phillips.

February 9. Attended memorial meeting and delivered eulogy on Phillips. Married Miss Helen Pitts.

1886.

Lectured on John Brown at Music Hall, Boston.

September 11. Attended a dinner given in his honor by the Wendell Phillips Club, Boston.

September. Sailed for Europe.

1886-87

Visited Great Britain, France, Italy, Greece and Egypt.

1888.

Made tour of the Southern states.

1889

Appointed United States Minister Resident and Counsul General to the Republic of Hayti and chargé d'affaires to Santo Domingo.

1890

September 22. Addressed abolition reunion at Boston.

1891

Resigned the office of Minister to Hayti.

1893

Acted as Commissioner fro Hayti at World's Columbian Exposition.

1895

February 20. Frederick Douglass died at his home on Anacostia Heights, near Washington, D. C.

46-2-206

Dictionary of American Biography

Elijah Johnson

1789 (?)—— 1849.

Elijah Johnson, sometimes called the father of Liberia, was probably born in New Jersey or else taken there during his childhood. Nothing is known of his parentage. At any rate, he was in New Jersey in 1789 and afterward received there and in New York some schooling. He took part in the War of 1812 against the British, serving in New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts. For a while, he studied for the Methodist ministry. Johnson joined the first shipload of emigrants which left New York on the ship "Elizabeth" in February, 1820. Eighty-eight colored persons and three white representatives of the United States Government and the American Colonization Society accompanied them.

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Two commissioners of the Colonization Society had previously recommended the British Colony of Sierra Leone as a place of settlement. The British Governor, however, would not consent to permitting the Americans to make permanent settlement there. They, therefore, went temporarily to the Island of Shebro where many of them, including the three white men, died of fever. Elijah Johnson and another Negro, Daniel Coker, took charge of the Colony and led them back to Sierra Leone. The next year, a second vessel arrived with other white representatives of the Colonization Society.

The coast was explored and Cape Mesurado, the present site of the capital of Liberia, was finally chosen. A colored trader, John Mill, already had a trading post there, and he helped the emigrants negotiate with the natives.

A settlement was made on Perservance Island and all of the

Colonists gathered there, but the place was low and unhealthy; the natives hostile, because they had negotiated, as they thought, for trade and not for actual sale of their land. And finally, there was difficulty with the white slavetraders. Ayres, the white American in charge, was discouraged and wished to return to Sierra Leone. Johnson was strongly opposed. He said: "Two years long have I wanted a home. Here I have found one and here I remain." His stubborn determination decided the fate of Liberia. Ayres returned to America, leaving Elijah Johnson in charge, with eighty Colonists, of whom only twenty-one were capable of bearing arms. Johnson did not hesitate. He knew that another rainy season passed on Perseverance Island would be fatal, and in spite of native opposition, he climbed the high Cape and cleared the site of a future Monrovia. The natives shot at the workers from the high shelter of the forest and launched determined attacks upon them. A British gunboat appeared off the Cape and the commanders offered to punish the natives if Johnson would cede a piece of land to the British Government and hoist the British flag. Johnson refused point-blank, remarking: "We want no British flagstaff put up here, and it would cost us more to get it down than it will to whip the natives."

Jehudi Ashmun, another white representative of the Colonization Society and by far the most efficient, arrived in August, 1822. He found Johnson in charge, but the negotiations with the natives still unsettled. He put the Colony under military law and made Johnson Commissary of Stores.

For the next thirteen years, the Colony, under the black men, Elijah Johnson and Lott Carey, and the white man, Jehudi Ashmun(who died in 1827) and with the co-operation of Russwurm, Mechlin and

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Buchanan, fought for existence against the natives and against the fever. There were serious wars with the natives in 1832, 1835 and 1838. The Colonial troops in all cases were led by Elijah Johnson, who had from seventy to one hundred and twenty soldiers, some of them Colonists and some of them recaptured slaves. His energetic actions gradually brought the neighboring chiefs into submission and alliance, and the Colony grew and began to take definite shape. Monrovia was built of houses on stone supports and in a style hitherto unknown to the African Coast. Johnson was a member of the conference which made its solemn declaration of independence for Liberia in July, 1847. But he was now an old man, certainly sixty, perhaps seventy years of age, and worn-out with his hard exertions and worry. He died March 23, 1849, having lived to see Liberia an independent state and a colored man elected as first President in 1847. His descendants to this day form one of the leading families in Liberia. His son, Hilary R. W. Johnson, became President in 1884, being the first native Liberian to hold the office. He served until 1892. Others of Johnson's family have occupied high position in the colony.

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Bibliography

Information concerning Elijah Johnson is scarce. The following books may be consulted:

Ralph R. Gurley, "Life of Jehudi Ashmun.
Sir Harry Johnston, "Liberia".
Frederick Starr, "Liberia".
Thomas H. B. Walker, "Liberia".
The African Repository, passive.

2 — articles

Elijah Johnson

178-(?)————1849.

Elijah Johnson, sometimes called the father of Liberia, was probably born in New Jersey. Nothing is known of his parentage. At any rate, he was in New Jersey in 1789 and received there and in New York some schooling. He took part in the War of 1812 against the British, serving in New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts. For a while, he studied for the Methodist ministry. Johnson joined the first shipload of emigrants which left New York on the ship "Elizabeth" in February, 1820, to establish an American Negro settlement in Africa, with eighty-eight colored persons and three white representatives of the United States Government and the American Colonization Society.

33-6-44

Two commissioners of the Colonization Society had previously recommended the British Colony of Sierra Leone as a place of settlement. The British Governor, however, would not consent to permitting the Americans to make permanent settlement there. They, therefore, went temporarily to the Island of Shebro where many of them, including the three white men, died of fever. Elijah Johnson and another Negro, Daniel Coker, took charge of the Colony until the next year, when a second vessel arrived.

The coast was explored and the present site of the capital of Liberia was finally chosen for settlement. The colony landed first on Perseverance Island in the harbor below Cape Mesurado. But the place was low and unhealthy, the natives hostile, and there was difficulty with the white slave-traders. Ayres, the white American in charge, was discouraged and wished to return to Sierra Leone. Johnson was strongly opposed. He said: "Two years long have I wanted

a home. Here I have found one and here I remain." His stubborn determination decided the permanent settlement of Liberia.

Ayres returned to America, leaving Elijah Johnson in charge. He knew that another rainy season passed on Perseverance Island would be fatal, and in spite of native opposition, he climbed the high Cape and cleared the site of Monrovia, the future capital. The natives shot at the workers from the shelter of the forest and launched determined attacks upon them. A British gunboat appeared off the Cape and the commanders offered to punish the natives if Johnson would cede a piece of land to the British Government and hoist the British flag. Johnson refused point-blank, remarking: "We want no ~~British~~ flagstaff put up here ~~it would~~ that will cost us more to get it down than it will to whip the natives."

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For the next thirteen years, the Colony, under the black men, Elijah Johnson and Lott Carey, and the white man, Jehudi Ashmun (who died in 1827) and with the co-operation of others, fought for existence against the natives and against the fever. The Colonial troops in all cases were led by Elijah Johnson and his energetic action gradually brought the neighboring chiefs into submission and alliance. The Colony grew and began to take definite shape.

Johnson was a member of the conference which made ~~his~~ solemn declaration of independence for Liberia in July, 1847. He died March 23, 1849, having lived to see Liberia an independent state and a colored man elected as first President in 1847.

His descendants to this day form one of the leading families

in Liberia. His son, Hilary R. W. Johnson, served as President, 1884-1892. He and others of Johnson's family have occupied high position in the colony.

Bibliography

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Ralph R. Gurley, "Life of Jehudi Ashmun.
Sir Harry Johnston, "Liberia".
Frederick Starr, "Liberia".
Thomas H. B. Walker, "Liberia".
The African Repository, passim.

33-6-46

Malone

Joseph Jenkins Roberts

1809-1876.

36-2-175

Joseph Jenkins Roberts, first President of the Republic of Liberia, West Africa, was born of free, colored parents at Petersburg, Virginia, March 15, 1809, having one-eighth or less of Negro blood. He married at an early age in Virginia but lost his wife and in 1829 migrated to Liberia with his widowed mother and younger brothers and became a merchant.

The governor of the colony at that time was T. H. Buchanan, a white appointee of the American Colonization Society. He was having trouble with the natives who were not reconciled to the invasion of the American Negroes. There was much fighting with the Dey and Golah Tribes and Roberts became one of Buchanan's most efficient leaders. Due to his energetic work, most of the more threatening natives were reduced to submission. Roberts then made every effort to make friends with the natives with the result that when Buchanan died in 1841, Roberts was the first colored man to become Governor of Liberia.

At that time Liberia held only the northern part of its best territory. Next to it was the Colony of Maryland and at the head of that was the first Negro graduate from college in the United States, John Russwurm, who gave Roberts full co-operation.

The necessity of organizing the country, pacifying the natives and repelling the illicit slave traders, called for larger revenues than Roberts or Russwurm had. Accordingly, they decided to lay import duties on goods brought to Liberia. This precipitated grave international difficulties for Liberia was not a sovereign country, nor was it, on the other hand, a recognized colony of America.

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The British approached the United States on the subject but received a non-committal answer.

A radical step was necessary and Roberts after strengthening his treaties with the native tribes, took a trip to the United States in 1844. He came at a difficult time, when the question of the annexation of Texas was forcing the slavery question to the front. No American government would have dared to take any strong ground in defense of Liberia. The American Colonization Society, therefore, gave up all claims upon the Colony and Liberia was cut adrift.

Roberts returned, continued his purchase of lands from the chiefs and in 1847 called a conference and the new Republic of Liberia was proclaimed. Roberts was elected as the first President. Maryland was practically a part of Liberia from the very first and her representatives sat in Congress, but its formal annexation did not take place until 1857.

As soon as the new nation was proclaimed, Roberts hurried to England. His unexpected success there was due largely to his own character and finesse. He was a man of intelligence and poise, slight and handsome, with olive skin and crisp hair. He was an excellent conversationalist and had the manners of a gentleman. His second wife, who was named Jane Waring, and whom he had married in Monrovia in 1836, was a woman of education and spoke French.

In Europe, Roberts received unusual attention. He signed a commercial treaty in 1849 with Great Britain which recognized Liberia as an independent nation and gave Englishmen freedom of domicile

Later, Roberts visited France, where he was received by Napoleon III.; and Belgium, where he met Leopold I., and also

Holland and Prussia. France recognized Liberia in 1852; Belgium in 1858, and Denmark in 1860. The United States did not venture to recognize the Negro republic until the Civil War.

Before Roberts left England ten thousand dollars was raised by his English friends and given to him to buy the territory between Liberia and Sierra Leone where the slave trade was flourishing.

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In 1849, Roberts was elected for a second term, which began in 1850. He remained in office until 1855, and after finishing his term was still active in the interests of Liberia, even to the extent of taking the field against rebellious natives. In 1861, he was elected first President of the new College of Liberia. Roberts visited Europe twice again in 1854 and 1863 and on his return from the last trip was appointed by the King of Belgium as Belgian Consul in Liberia.

Finally, when there arose in Liberia the financial difficulties with regard to an English loan, (See biography of E. J. Roye), and Liberia came near to revolution, Roberts at the age of 63 and already broken in health by his long service, was recalled to the presidency. He served until 1876, and died that year, February 1, two months after he had resigned the office.

References

Sir Harry Johnston's Liberia, N.Y., 1906, has a good account of Roberts and his wife; See also B. Brawley: Social History of the American Negro, Chapter IX.; Frederick Starr's Liberia, and the treatise by Maughan and Walker; also The African Repository, 1829-1892, and reports of the American Colonization Society passim.

Joseph Jenkins Roberts
1809-1876.

Joseph Jenkins Roberts was the first President of the Republic of Liberia, West Africa. He was born of free, colored parents at Petersburg, Virginia, March 15, 1809, having one-eighth or less of Negro blood. In early middle-age, he was slightly built and handsome, with brown hair, a blonde mustache, grey eyes and crisp, closely curled hair. He married at an early age in Virginia but lost his wife and at the age of twenty he migrated to Liberia in 1829 and became a merchant.

The settlement was having difficulty at this time with the natives. They were not reconciled to the invasion of the American Negroes and did not recognize them as having any more rights in Africa than white men. There was much fighting with the Dey and Golah Tribes and the white Governor of the colony, Buchanan, certainly needed help. Roberts became one of his leaders and due to his energetic work most of the more threatening natives were reduced to submission. Roberts then made every effort to make friends with the natives with the result that when the white governor died in 1841, Roberts was the first colored man to become Governor of Liberia under the general control of the American Colonization Society.

46-2-1

At that time Liberia held only the northern part of its best territory. Next to it was the Colony of Maryland and at the head of that was the first Negro graduate from college in the United States, John Russwurm. These two men co-operated in such a way that eventually the colonies were united.

They were for years especially bothered by the illicit slave trade. Slavers from all countries were operating on the coast and right in the territory claimed by Liberia. The necessity of organizing the

country, pacifying the natives and repelling the slave traders, called for larger revenues than Roberts or Russwurm had. Accordingly, they decided to lay import duties on goods brought to Liberia. This precipitated grave international difficulties. After all, Liberia was only a colony established by Americans. It was not a sovereign country, nor was it, on the other hand, a colony of America.

The British approached the United States on the subject, saying that in order to avoid future trouble England wanted to be informed of the relations between the United States and the colony of Liberia. The American Secretary of State was careful not to commit himself, and said that while the United States would be "unwilling" to see Liberia dispoiled of any of its territory, or restrained in its exercise of power, nevertheless, he made no claim that Liberia was any part of the United States government.

It was necessary, therefore, that Liberia should take some radical step, particularly as the English slavetraders at one end of the territory and the French Government at the other end, were making inroads upon the little state. Roberts proceeded to strengthen his treaties with the native tribles, and in 1844, took a trip to the United States. He came at a difficult time. The question of the annexation of Texas was forcing the slave problem to the front; Polk was elected President inthe fall of that year and the Abolitionists were growing stronger. No American government would have dared to take any strong ground in defense of Liberia. What happened, therefore, was that the American Colonization Society gave up all claims upon the Colony and Roberts hurried back to proceed with his purchasing of land from the natives along the whole coast line.

A conference was called, and in 1847, the new Republic of Liberia was proclaimed and Roberts was elected first President. Maryland was practically a part of Liberia from the very first and her representatives

sat in Congress, but its formal annexation did not take place until 1857. As soon as the new nation was proclaimed, Roberts hurried to England. His unexpected success there was due largely to his own character and finesse. He was a man of intelligence and poise, and an excellent conversationalist, with the manners of a gentleman. His second wife, who was named Jane Waring, and whom he had married in Monrovia in 1836, was a woman of education and spoke French. Her father had been a Baptist minister and migrated from the United States in 1824.

In Europe, Roberts received unusual attention. He signed a commercial treaty with Great Britain which recognized Liberia as an independent nation and gave Englishmen freedom of domicile. The treaty was signed by Viscount Palmers and was ratified by the Liberian Senate in 1849.

46-2-3

From England, Roy went to France, where he was received by Napoleon III.; and to Belgium, where he met Leopold I. He also visited Holland and Prussia. France recognized Liberia in 1852 and most of the other countries soon after. The United States did not dare to recognize the Negro republic until the Civil War.

On Roberts' return to England from the continent, ten thousand dollars was raised by his English friends and given to him to buy the territory of the natives when the slave trade was ripe.

Queen Victoria received the President on board the royal yacht and he and his whole official staff were sent back to Liberia on board the British warship Amazon.

Liberia had at this time an area of 12,830 square miles with 6,000 Liberians of American origin. It was exporting about $500,000 worth of goods. In 1849, Roberts was elected for a second term, which began in 1850. He remained in office until 1855.

After Mr. Roberts had finished his term as President, he was still

active in the interests of Liberia, even to the extent of taking the field against rebellious natives. In 1861, at the suggestion of the trustees of donations for Educational Liberia, an American organization, Mr. Roberts was elected President of the new College of Liberia. Under him was Edward W. Blyden, a Negro scholar of wide fame, and the Reverend Alexander Crommell, a black clergeman of the American Episcopal Church. Roberts visited Europe twice again in 1854 and 1863 and on his return from the last trip was appointed by the King of Belgium as Belgian Consul in Liberia. Afterward, when there arose in Liberia the financial difficulties (See biography of E. J. Roy) with regard to an English loan, Liberia came near to revolution. Roberts at the age of 63 and already broken in health by his long service, was recalled to the presidency. He served until 1876, and died that year, February 1, two months after he had resigned the office.

Joseph Jenkins Roberts was one of a group of colored men of unusual ability who gave their lives to the founding of a settlement of American Negroes on the West Coast of Africa. They fought tremendous difficulties in climate, territory, the hostility of the natives, the American slavetraders, and the hardships of work and industry in a primitive land. None of the group accomplished more than President Roberts.

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References

See African Repository, especially 1870, Vol. 46.

The studies of Liberia by Sir Harry Johnston, Frederick Starr, T. H. B. Walker and R. C. F. Maughan.

Also mention the main facts of the English loan.

46-2-7

Edward James Roye

1815-1871.

Edward James Roye, fifth President of the Republic of Liberia, was born in Newark, Ohio, February 3, 1815. His father came from Kentucky and was a descendant of the African Ebo tribe. He was thrifty and on his death left his son some personal property and land.

Edward Roye was educated in the public schools of Ohio, and had among his teachers, Salmon P. Chase, afterward Chief Justice of the United States. He spent three years at Ohio University at Athens, and taught school a few years in Chillicothe. He then started in business as a sheep trader and shop-keeper and lived in various parts of the Middle West. Finally, on the death of his mother in 1840, Roye began to consider the possibility of migrating to some foreign country in order to escape American prejudice. He first choose Haiti, and began to study French at Oberlin, but finally changed his mind and went to Liberia.

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He arrived there with a stock of goods in 1846. His energy soon made him the leading merchant in the country and he was rated, in 1870, as the richest man in Liberia. He filled various positions of influence; in 1849 he was Speaker of the House of Representatives, and he served as Chief Justice from 1865 to 1868, and three times he was candidate for the Presidency and was finally elected President in 1870. He immediately announced a progressive policy. He wished to inaugurate a complete financial reconstruction, some measures for general education, and an improved system of roads. For these purposes Liberia needed capital and Roye began to negotiate for a loan from England. He went then personally to settle a boundary dispute, and started negotiations for the loan. Unfortunately, he made the initial

mistake of yiadding too much to Lord Granville, agreeing to a rectification of the boundary which practically gave back to England land which Liberia had formerly bought.

He returned to Liberia before finishing the matter of the loan but left negotiations in the hands of two Liberians and a white man, David Chinery, who was Consul for Liberia in London. A loan for $500,000 was finally negotiated on very severe terms, carrying interest at 7%, and issued at 30 per cent below par, with three years' interest to be deducted.

President Roye hastily agreed to the terms without consulting the legislature and ordered certain goods to be charged against the loan. As a final result, Liberia actually received something like $89,515 cash, while her bonds were issued for at least $400,000. The result of these financial negotiations caused great resentment in Liberia against President Roye, and he foolishly increased this resentment by seeking to extend the two year term of the Presidency by edict. Public resentment was excited to fury and the people, rising in insurrection, overpowered President Roye and his friends, seized his house and imprisoned one of his sons. On October 1, 1781, the legislature declared that President Roye was deposed from his office and an executive committee was appointed to carry on the government until a new President was elected.

The ex-President was then summoned to trial before the Supreme Court but escaped during the night, either because of carelessness or connivance, and tried to reach an English steamer in the harbor. He was drowned in the attempt to ride the breakers in a native canoe.

THE FIFTH PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

On Monday, January 3, 1870, Hon. Edward James Roye was inaugurated President of Liberia. The election of Mr. Roye is the triumph of a party which have been striving for several years to obtain such a position in the country as would enable them to carry out certain principles which they regard as indispensable to the proper growth of that African nationality.

Edward J. Roye was born in Newark, Licking county, Ohio, February 3, 1815. His father, John Roye, was born in the state of Kentucky, but an unadulterated descendant of one of the tribes of the African continent - the Eboe - whose characteristics of industry, activity, energy and independence of spirit were visible in the mental and moral lineaments of John. Though born and reared under the disadvantages and disabilities which in those days depressed the negro in the United States, he soon, by his indomitable purpose and untiring energy, freed himself from the trammels of poverty and ignorance, and when he died, in 1829, left his son Edward, in addition to some personal property, six hundred and forty acres of land and a few town lots in and near Vandalia, Illinois.

Among the few colored children admitted to the schools of Ohio at that period was the subject of this sketch. His thirst for knowledge soon became apparent, and he made rapid progress in reading, writing, arithmetic, and other branches of elementary knowledge. After a while he gained admittance to the Newark High School, an institution which had numbered among its preceptors men eminent for their literary acquirements, among whom

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was the distinguished elocutionist, Bronson. During the time that young Roye attended, it was taught by Mr Chase, the present Chief Justice of the United States, a nephew of Bishop Chase, President of Gambier College.

Having succeeded in the necessary preparatory studies, he entered the University of Athens, Ohio, in the spring of 1832, where he spent three years, leaving at the close of the fall term of 1835. The Rev. Robert G. Wilson, D.D., of excellent and fragrant memory, was at that time President of the University.

After leaving the University, Mr. Roye taught school for a few years in the city of Chillicothe. With that provident forecast and prudence with which his life has been marked, he saved money enough to enable him to enter upon the sheep-trading business in prosecuting which he made a trip to New Orleans, and realized by that adventure near one thousand dollars.

6-2-94

At this time he had the care of a crippled mother, to whom he devoted the most affectionate attention, for which he had the respect and goodwill of all who knew him. Leaving his mother in comfortable circumstances, he set out in the fall of 1837 to find the lands left him in Illinois by his father. To make the journey as profitable as possible he bought a buggy and two horses, and with a variety of goods, started upon his tour. Owing to the inperfect condition of the roads at that early period, his horses were so worn down that he was obliged to stop at Terre Haute, Indiana, where he purchased a large two-story building and opened a shop with the remainder of his goods, hired barbers, and established the first bath house in that town.

Mr. Roye's success in business was now rapid, and his mind, disciplined by culture, began to look to the future, and to consider the question of a permanent and congenial home. The death

of his mother, in 1840, severed the ties of affection that had bound him to his native land. About this time, too, the leaders of the colored people began earnestly to discuss their condition in that country, and to hold conventions for the purpose of adopting measures for their elevation. Mr. Roye, whose education and refinement made him unpleasantly sensitive to the burdens and deprivations of his race, eagerly attended some of these conventions to learn if anything could possibly be done for his people in the United States; but he soon became satisfied that the remedial measures proposed were partial and defective, and must be powerless to effect their purpose as long as the negro remained in this country. He saw that the prejudices of race, the competitions of labor, and the rivalry of a superior wealth and education would never accord him an equal chance in the United States. He felt that the negro must be placed beyond this prejudice, in a country where nothing would obstruct his progress but a lack of energy and enterprise. He accordingly made up his mind to emigrate to Hayti; but, while residing at Oberlin, whither he had gone to study the French language to prepare for his residence in his new home, he changed his mind and concluded to go to Liberia.

46-2-10

On the 2nd of May, 1846, he embarked in New York with a stock of goods for Liberia, reaching his destination June 7th. On his arrival at Monrovia, being much pleased with the appearance of things, and the encouraging prospects for the future, he concluded to make Africa his home.

His energy and tact as a merchant have placed him in the front rank of the commercial community. He has owned several vessels, and he had the honor of first carrying the Liberian flag into American and European waters.

Mr. Roye has filled various positions of influence and usefulness

in the Republic of Liberia. In 1849 he was Speaker of the House of Representatives, and he served as Chief Justice from the beginning of 1865 to the beginning of 1868. He has been a candidate three times for the presidency, as leader of the True Whig party, and has always received large majorities in his own county.

He has several times visited Europe on business, but, in the summer of 1866, he combined business with pleasure, made a somewhat protracted visit, and spent with Mrs. Roye a portion of his vacation in Paris.

His administration is looked forward to with great hopes by the masses of the people. Prominent among his most ardent supporters is Ex-President Warner. His policy is progressive. Among the measures which he proposes to carry out are a complete financial reconstruction, without repudiation as a basis, the general education of the masses, colonists and aborigines, an improved system of roads for interior communication, the incorporation of the native tribes contiguous, and alliance with powerful distant tribes. For the efficient execution of his plans, it is proposed to add to the existing executive officers, a Secretary of the Interior and a Secretary of Education. The antecedents of Mr. Roye are a guarantee that intelligence, energy, and integrity will mark his administration.

From: "The African Repository", vol.XLVI - 1870. pp. 121-124.

11-2-94

Edward James Roye
--------1871.

Edward James Roye was fifth President of the Republic of Liberia. He was a full-blooded Negro. The time and place of his birth is unknown but without doubt he migrated from the United States. He became an energetic merchant and shipowner. But he is chiefly known as the one president of Liberia who was deposed and against whom violence was threatened.

Possibly, he does not deserve all the blame that has been caste upon him. At the time of his election to office in 1870, Liberian trade was small on account of the lack of capital to open up the interior. Roye went to England to settle the boundary question between Liberia and Sierra Leone. An English slave-trader, John Myers Harris, had refused to recognize Liberian authority in this territory, although the territory was presumably a part of that purchased by President Roberts through the gifts of English friends. Harris defied the government of Liberia and in 1862 attempted to establish himself as an independent chief. This caused an Inter-tribal War and the Liberian Government sent a force to intervene. In the fight, the natives destroyed one of the factories of Harris and he put in a claim against Liberia for $30,000 which the neighboring English Colony of Sierra Leone supported. Even when this claim was reduced, the Colony claimed that Liberia was unable to keep peace in this territory and that the English colony should advance its boundaries to the Mano River. President Benson tried to settle this matter in 1862 by going to Sierra Leone but was referred to England. Nothing was done until the election of Roy as President in 1870.

He proceeded to England to take up the question but being no diplomat, he was easily out-maneuvered by Lord Granville, who induced

him to agree to a proposal that the British frontier should be at the Sulima River, thus, practically giving back to England most of the territory which Liberia had bought from the natives. The matter was not finally settled until 1885.

In the meantime, the question of securing money for the development of Liberia had come to the fore. A proposal had been made that England loan Liberia $500,000. Roye did not settle the matter while in England but upon his return to Monrovia, appointed a white man, David Chinery, who was at that time Consul for Liberia in London and two Liberians, Henry V. Johnson and W. S. Anderson, as commissioners. The Liberians went to London, and through Chinery negotiated a loan for $500,000 at 7% interest to be issued at 30% below par and also 3 years' interest to be deducted in advance, leaving a balance of $245,000 actually to be received by Liberia. But not all of this was received. President Roye in great haste agreed to the loan without submitting the matter to the Legislature. He then ordered a large bill of goods to be charged against the loan and these goods were overpriced with high charges for transportation and insurance. The result was that Liberia received, according to the best accounts, $89,515 in cash, while she was obligated to pay interest on something between $400,000 and $500,000 worth of bonds issued.

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The object of the loan was to pay up $100,000 of current government indebtedness, deposit another $100,000 as security for the issue of paper currency, and deposit the balance as an emergency fund. The currency issued was to be used in public works and the opening up of roads. This plan fell through when the loan netted so small a sum and Liberia tried to repudiate the debt on the ground of fraud. Finally, in 1898, Liberia admitted a debt of something between $350,000 and $400,000, interest on which she paid until the loan was assumed by the new financial arrangements of the American loan of 1902.

As a result of these misfortunes, much resentment was felt against

President Roye which he foolishly heightened by seeking to extend his two-years of the presidency. The matter of making the term of the President four years instead of two had been discussed by the Legislature but had not been settled. In October, 1871, Roye declared that on his own authority he had extended the ten-years of the President for two years. Popular discontent on account of the loan was excited to fury by this and when Roye's partisans tried to fortify a building, the Liberian people rose in their first and last insurrection. They overpowered Roye and his friends, seized his house and imprisoned one of his sons. The Senate and House of Representatives met and on October 26, 1871, declared that President Edward James Roye was deposed from his office. An Executive Committee was appointed to carry on the government until a new President was elected. The ex-President was then summoned to trial before the Supreme Court but escaped during the night, either because of carelessness or connivance and tried to reach an English steamer which was anchored in the harbor. He was drowned in the attempt to ride the breakers in a native canoe.

36-2-174

John Brown Russwurm

1799-1854.

33-6-41

John Brown Russwurm, first Superintendent of Public Schools in Liberia, West Africa and afterward Colonial Secretary, Editor, and Governor of the Colony of Maryland, was born at Port Antonio, Jamaica, in 1799. He was the son of a white American and a colored woman. When his father left the Island, he put the boy in school in Canada. The father afterward married a white woman in Maine who learned of the existence of the boy, then called John Brown. She insisted that he join the family and assume his father's name. After the death of the father and her re-marriage, she still cared carefully for the boy.

He was sent to school in Maine and eventually entered Bowdoin College at Brunswick. He was reported by his classmates to have been a young man of sound intelligence, a great reader with a special fondness for history and politics. He was the first person of known Negro descent to finish an American college course, graduating in 1826.

He settled in New York City, where in 1827, he established the first colored paper in the United States, "Freedom's Journal". His paper espoused the abolitionists' cause and opposed migration to Africa, but after a time he changed his mind and said: "We consider it a mere waste of words to talk of ever enjoying a citizenship in this country." Thereupon, he migrated to Liberia in 1829 to become Superintendent of Public Schools and carry on trade. From 1830-1834, he acted as Colonial Secretary, editing and publishing at the same time the "Liberian Herald".

In 1836, he was appointed Governor of the Maryland Colony

at Cape Palmas, a position which he held until his death in 1851. The Maryland Colony was established under the auspices of the Maryland State ~~Organization~~ Colonization Society. The territory there was secured through Dr. James Hall, a friend and schoolmate of Russwurm. The President of the ~~Maryland Colonization~~ Society bore the testimony as to how well Governor Russwurm discharged his difficult duty.

"None knew better, or so well as the Board under what daily responsibilities Governor Russwurm's life in Africa was passed, and how conscientiously he discharged them; how at periods when the very existence of the then infant colony depended upon the relations with surrounding tribes of excited nations, his coolness and admirable judgment obviated or averted impending perils; how when the authority and dignity of the colonial government were at stake in lamentable controversies with civilized and angry white men, the calm decorum of his conduct brought even his opponents over to his side; how when the popular clamor among the colonists called upon him as judge to disregard the forms of law and sacrifice an offending individual in the absence of legal proof, he rebuked the angry multitude by the stern integrity of his conduct; and how, when on his visit to Baltimore in 1848, he was thanked personally by the members of the Board, he deprecated the praise bestowed upon him for the performance of his duty, and impressed all who saw him with the modest manliness of his character, and his most excellent and courteous bearing."

Hist. Howard Co. pp. 352-4

The Maryland Colony was distinct from Liberia, but Russwurm worked in careful collaboration with President Roberts of Liberia and was instrumental in the final union of the two colonies. Even before an actual union, they acted together in foreign affairs and established a common custom's tariff. Russwurm encouraged agriculture and trade,

built a stone jail which could also be used as a fort, took a census in 1843, and established a court with presiding justices. He married a daughter of Lieutenant-Governor McGill of Monrovia and at his death in 1851, left three sons and a daughter.

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33-6-43

Dictionary of American Biography

John Brown Russwurm
1799-1857.

36-2-170

John Brown Russwurm, who acted as Superintendent of Public Schools in Liberia, Colonial Secretary, Editor, and Governor of the Colony of Maryland, was born at Port Antonio, Jamaica in 1799. He was the son of a white American and a colored woman, and when his father left the Island, he put the boy in school in Canada. The father married a woman in Maine who learned of the existence of the boy they called John Brown. She insisted that he join the family and assume his father's name. After the death of the father and her re-marriage, she still cared carefully for the boy. He was sent to school with the existing prejudice and eventually entered Bodoin College at Brunswick, Maine. He was reported by his classmates to be a young man of sound intelligence, a great reader with a special fondness for history and politics. He was the first person of known Negro descent to finish an American college course, graduating in 1826. He went to New York, where he established the first colored paper, "Freedom's Journal". His paper espoused the abolitionists' cause and opposed migration to Africa, but after a time he changed his mind and said: "We consider it a mere waste of words to talk of ever enjoying a citizenship in this country." Thereupon, he migrated to Liberia in 1829 to become Superintendent of Public Schools and carry on trade. From 1830-1834, he acted as Colonial Secretary, editing and publishing at the same time the "Liberian Herald". In 1836, he was appointed Governor of the Maryland Colony at Cape Palmas, a position which

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he held until his death in 1851. The Maryland Colony was established under the auspices of the Maryland State Organization Society. The territory there was secured through Dr. James Hall, a friend and schoolmate of Russwurm. The President of the Colonization Society bore the testimony as to how Governor Russwurm discharged his difficulty duty at times when the very existence of the infant colony depended upon the relations between the Colonists and surrounding tribes and with various white men with whom he was thrown in contact. The calm decorum of his conduct brought even his opponents usually to his side. Russwurm worked in careful corroboration with President Roberts of Liberia and was instrumental in the final union of the two colonies. Before an actual union, they acted together in foreign affairs and established a common Custom's tariff. He co-operated with Roberts in taking the first census of Liberia in 1843. He encouraged agriculture and trade, built a stone jail which could also be used as a fort, and established a court with presiding justices. He married a daughter of Lieutenant-Governor McGill of Monrovia and at his death in 1851, left three sons and a daughter.